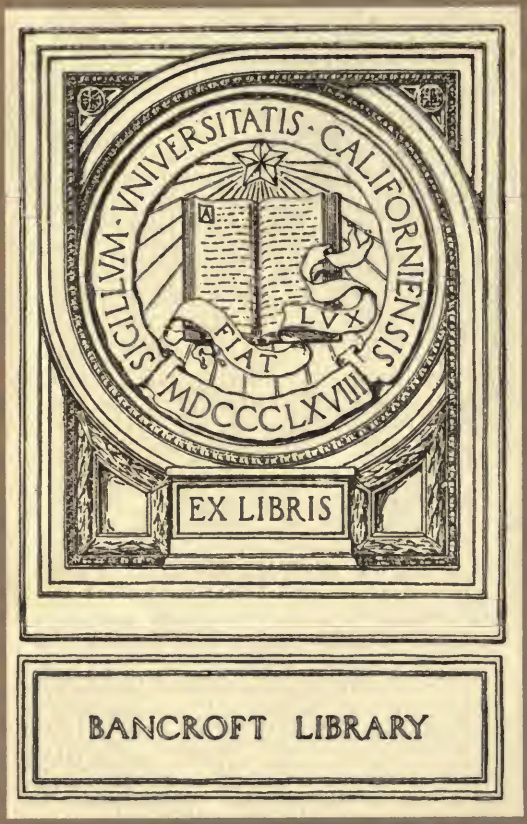

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THE WORKS

OF

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT

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OF

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT

VOLUME XXV

HISTORY OF NEVADA, COLORADO, AND WYOMING

1540–1888

SAN FRANCISCO
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PREFACE.

In this volume I have grouped together the history of what are commonly termed the silver and centennial states, including also the partially intervening territory of Wyoming, which, with Utah and southern Idaho, whose annals are related elsewhere, form the central division of our Pacific coast domain, extending eastward from California to the limits of the field occupied by this series. Here is a region full of natural wonders, with a climate and configuration, a mountain, lake, and river system, a fauna and flora, a geology and mineralogy, all of them peculiar and distinct.

As the discovery of gold peopled the state of California, so did that of the Comstock mines draw population to Nevada. Virginia City and a number of smaller towns in this vicinity sprang up almost in a night. Year by year the output of the great lode increased, eclipsing even the glories of Potosí, and so reducing the value of silver that men began to say it would soon be ranked among the base metals. After the advent of the railroad the heaviest machinery in the world was here erected, and with the development of two immense bonanzas, the total yield swelled into the hundreds of millions. Elsewhere in Nevada, especially in the Pioche aud Eureka districts, rich mineral deposits have been unearthed, but none of

them approaching the marvellous treasures of Comstock.

Next to her mining interests comes stock-raising, flocks and herds thriving on the nutritious bunch-grass common to the entire region between the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky Mountains. Though with an average rainfall of little more than five inches a year, in places the soil is fertile, and the climate favorable to the production of cereals and fruits, a yield of 30 or 40 bushels to the acre of wheat or barley being not unusual. In 1860 there were less than 100 farms in the entire territory; in 1889 there were over 2,000, with about 10,000,000 acres classed as irrigable land.

Since her admission to statehood, the political annals of Nevada are such as would do honor to an older and more conservative community. Especially is she to be commended for her liberality in the support of public institutions. Her financial condition, also, is of the soundest, with a revenue largely in excess of expenditure, a surplus in the treasury amounting, at the close of 1888, to about $1,250,000, and a school fund of equal amount invested in state and national bonds.

In the same year that witnessed the discovery of the Comstock lode occurred the great migration to Pike peak, when, in the summer of 1859, an army of 150,000 men traversed the plains between the Missouri and the base of the Rocky Mountains. Of these at least one third turned back, discouraged by evil reports, and of those who arrived on the ground probably less than 20,000 remained as permanent settlers. But here was the nucleus of a population, and that of the best material for empire-building—men

resolute of will, inured to hardship, and with all the energy and adaptability of the typical pioneer. Assuredly there was no lack of resources in this great and goodly region, with its magnificent soil and climate, its majestic cañon and river systems, its series of natural parks, its gardens of the gods, its virgin forests, and its untold mineral wealth.

Much attention has been given to irrigation, several thousand miles of canal, with branches of much greater length distributing their waters over the thirsty earth. And yet not ten per cent of all the irrigable land in Colorado is under cultivation. Within recent years stock-raising has attained to the second rank among her industries, and is probably destined erelong to surpass even mining in aggregate value. In manufactures a beginning has been made, and in this direction also the outlook is of the brightest. The public institutions of the centennial state, and especially her public schools, are second to none, and in this respect the young commonwealth is worthy of all commendation. No less remarkable is the character of her legislation and her public men, the former never being disgraced by the misappropriation of the people's funds or the latter by deeds of violence.

In Wyoming, with the awe-inspiring grandeur of her scenery, with her rare geologic formations, her mountain peaks, among the highest on the continent, her magnificent plateaux and rolling plains, her geysers and volcanoes, and her water-shed, dividing the streams that flow toward the Atlantic and Pacific, we have a veritable wonderland. Here, as elsewhere, the trapper was followed by the gold-hunter, and the latter by the farmer and stock-raiser, causing this region

to bloom forth into civilization like a flower in the wilderness. Almost before the world was aware of its existence, there was established here a flourishing commonwealth—full-fledged as sprang Minerva from the cranium of Jove. With resources unlimited, though as yet almost untouched, a great future is assured for this territory, soon to be admitted among the sisterhood of states.

In preparing the material for this volume, I have consulted, in addition to all the printed books, periodicals, and public documents bearing on the subject-matter, a large number of valuable manuscripts furnished by the actors in the scenes which they describe—men representing all classes of people, from the pioneers to those who now control the affairs of state or the channels of trade and industry.

CONTENTS OF THIS VOLUME.

HISTORY OF NEVADA.

CHAPTER I.

THE GREAT BASIN.

PAGE

Plain of Evaporation, or Elevated Sink—Its Situation—Prominent Characteristics—The Name Great Basin Inappropriate—A Group of Basins—Wonders of the Region—A Trapper's Story—Caves—Climate—Atmosphere—Aridity—Sand—Storms and Cloud-bursts—The Mirage—Soil, Configuaration, and Scenery—Rain-fall and Temperature—Change of Seasons—Altitude and Geologic Formation—Mountain System—Lakes and Sinks—Rivers—Springs—Deserts—Plants and Animals—Birds and Fishes—Minerals and Metals—Soil and Agriculture—Nomenclature 1

CHAPTER II.

EARLIEST EXPLORATIONS.

1540–1833.

Near Approach of Coronado's Expedition, and Especially of Pedro de Tobar—Party of Spaniards under Anza—Wanderings of Father Francisco Garcés—Peter Font's Journal and Map—Mythical Streams—Other Ancient Maps—Approach of Dominguez and Escalante to Nevada—Peter Skeen Ogden for the Hudson's Bay Company—Discovery of Mary or Ogden River—Advent of Free Trappers—Henry, Ashley, Bridger, and Green—Expedition to California of Jedediah S. Smith—Nevada Traversed from West to East—Influx of Trappers from the North—The Wolfskill Expedition—Parties under Nidever, Frapp, and Wyatt—Encounter with the Savages—Joseph Walker's Visit to California and Return—Ill-treatment of Indians—Meek's Statement—Something of Carson and Beckwourth 26

CHAPTER III.

PASSAGE OF THE EMIGRANTS.

1834–1846.

Trapping Becomes General—Opening of the Emigration Epoch—The Road to California—Progress of the Bartleson Company through Nevada—Bidwell, Henshaw, and Nye—Belden, Rickman, Chiles, and Weber

PAGE

—What they Severally Said of It—Scarch for Ogden River—They Abandon their Wagons—Friendly Intercourse with the Shoshones—Varied Adventures—Dissension—Search for a Pass—Over the Sierra—Hastings and his Book—Chiles over a New Route—Walker Guides a Party into California over his Return Route of 1834—First Wagons to Traverse the Entire Country—Frémont's Expeditions—Elisha Stevens or the Murphy Company—Snyder, Swasey, Blackburn, and Todd Company—Sublette from St Louis—Walker, Carson, Talbot, and Kern—Expedition of Scott and the Applegates from Oregon... 46

CHAPTER IV.

SETTLEMENT.

1847–1860.

Cession from Mexico—Advent of the Mormons—Colonization—Mormon Station—Traffic with Emigrants—Intercourse with California—Government Assumed—Land Claims Made and Recorded—Cattle Trade, Farming, and Building—First Settlers—Petition for Annexation to California—Movements toward a Territorial Government—Conflicts with the Latter-day Saints—Political and Judicial..... 65

CHAPTER V.

THE COMSTOCK LODE.

1849–1860.

Configuration—Placer Gold—Early Mining in Gold Cañon—Silver Found by the Grosch Brothers—Death of the Discoverers—Comstock, Old Virginia, and Associates—Johntown and Gold Hill Claims and Locations—Ophir, Silver City, or Virginia Town—Discoveries Elsewhere—Walsh and Woodworth—Testing and Separating—Introduction of Mills—Processes—Description of the California, a Representative Mill..... 92

CHAPTER VI.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS ON THE COMSTOCK.

1860–1888.

Speculation and Litigation—Fight between the Ophir and Burning Moscow—Violent Fluctuations of Supposed Values—Mining Laws—State of Society—Wild Extravagance—San Francisco Stock-board—Fortunes Made and Lost—Miner's Life—Association and Obligations—Yields and Dividends—The Bonanza Firm, Mackay, Fair, Flood, and O'Brien—Manipulations—The Sutro Tunnel—Geology of the Comstock Lode..... 121

CHAPTER VII.

TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION.

1859–1864.

PAGE

The Name Nevada—Area and Limits—The Question of Boundary—Commissions and Surveys—Difficulties with California—Territorial Officers—Governor Nye—First Legislature—Code of Laws and Course of Legislation—County Organizations and Officers—Capital—Judicial Districts and Judiciary—State of Society—Educational—Newspaper Press—Corruption of Lawyers and Judges..... 150

CHAPTER VIII.

STATE GOVERNMENT.

1864–1881.

Legislation—Movements toward State Organization—The Union Party—Union Sentiments—Military Companies—Governor Blasdel—First State Legislature—Finances—Taxation—Struggles for Senatorships—Money All-powerful—Governor Bradley—Governor Kinkead—Politics of the Period—Monopoly and Political Corruption—Silver in Congress—Public Institutions..... 176

CHAPTER IX.

INDIAN WARS.

1849–1882.

California Emigrants of 1849—Subsequent Deeds of Violence—Winnemucca and the Pah Utes—Outbreak of 1860—Attitude of Young Winnemucca—The Shoshones—Attack on Williams' Station—Organization of Forces—Battle of Pyramid Lake—Death of Ormsby—Movements of Troops—Further Fighting—Continued Troubles—The Gosh Ute War—Treaties and Reservations..... 205

CHAPTER X.

MATERIAL RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT.

1849–1886.

Questionable Value of Mines—Transportation—Roads and Railroads—Mail Routes and Telegraphs—Stages—Pony Express—Steamboats—Fisheries—Metals—Book Reviews—Agriculture—Climate—Whirlwinds and Earthquakes—Flora and Fauna—Live-stock—Cattle Raising—Lands and Surveys—Counties of Nevada—Summary of Resources—Society—Educational, Religious, and Benevolent Institutions—Newspapers—Bibliography..... 224

CHAPTER XI.

PROGRESS OF EVENTS.

1881–1888.

PAGE

Finances—Reduction of Expenses—Public Buildings—State Prison War—State University—Public Charities—Educational Affairs—Proposed Annexation of Southern Idaho—Mining—Railroads—Politics. 310

HISTORY OF COLORADO.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.

Mountain System—Primeval Waters—Upheaval, Evaporation, and Glacial Action—Dry Rivers—Flora and Fauna—Primitive Man—Cañons and River Systems—Series of Parks—Climate—Soil—Forests—Geological Formations—Minerals and Metals—Gold and Silver—Coal and Iron—Precious Stones—Land and Water Elevations.... 323

CHAPTER II.

DISCOVERY AND OCCUPATION

1541–1853.

What Coronado Failed to do—Escalante's Expedition—Spanish and French Occupation—Pike's and Long's Expeditions—Early Gold Discoveries—Adventures of the Williams Party—Santa Fé Trail—Trappers and Traders—Forts—The Bents, Vasquez, St Vrain, and Others—El Pueblo—La Junta—Immigration—Frémont's Efforts—The Mormons at Pueblo—Military Expeditions—Government Surveys by Gunnison, Hayden, Wheeler, and King..... 338

CHAPTER III.

GOLD DISCOVERIES.

1853–1859.

Mythological Mines—Men from Georgia—The Cherokees—Hicks and Russell—The Lawrence Party—Other Companies—Auraria versus Denver—The Town Builders—Early Merchants and Manufacturers—First Guide Books and Journals—Gold Discoveries on Boulder Creek and Clear Creek—Russell and Gregory—Central City and Fair Play—Pioneer Biography..... 363

CHAPTER IV.

PROGRESS OF SETTLEMENT.

1859–1860.

The Arkansas Valley—Road into South Park—El Paso Claim Club—Colorado City Company—Irrigation—The Fighting Farmers of Fon-

PAGE

taine City—Cañon City—Clear Creek—Pueblo—California Gulch—Pioneers in the Several Localities—Oro City—Leadville—Frying Pan Gulch—Road-making—Mining Developments—Freighting—Mail Facilities—Pony Express—Stage Companies..... 387

CHAPTER V.

ORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT.

1858–1861.

Bleeding Kansas—Representative from Arapahoe County—Provisional Government—Territory or State of Jefferson—Elections and Conventions—Governor Steele—Divers Governments—Popular Tribunals—The Turkey War—Squatters—The Name Colorado—Territorial Organization—Gilpin, Governor—Boundaries—Condition of the Country—Seal—Mint—Legislative Proceedings—Gilpin's Military Operations—The Colorado Regiments in the Civil War..... 401

CHAPTER VI.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

1861–1886.

Gilpin's Heroic Successes—Superseded by John Evans—Weld and Elbert—Legislative Action—Coinage—Bennett—Failure to Establish State Government—Further Efforts and Final Success—Current Territorial Affairs—Organic Law—Governor Cummings—Bradford—Chilcott—Hunt, McCook, and Elbert—Governor Routt—Chaffee—Postal Routes—Patterson, Boone, and Bromwell—The Judiciary—Politics under State Organization—Teller—Population and Lands—Governors Pitkin, Grant, and Eaton—Senators Hill and Bowen..... 425

CHAPTER VII.

INDIAN WARS.

1860–1880.

Tribes and Treaties—Aboriginal Brigandage—Unrecorded Outrages of the White Men—Appropriations—White Force in the Field—The Colorado Regiments—Depredations on the Overland Mail Company—Communication Cut off—The Sand Creek Massacre—Chivington Censured by Congress, but Thanked by the People of Colorado—Forts and Reservations—West of the Mountains Wide-spread Hostilities and Battles..... 455

CHAPTER VIII.

MATERIAL PROGRESS.

1859–1875.

Placer and Quartz Mining—Refactory Ores—Processes—Smelting—Swindling Corporations—The Flood—Indian Hostilities—Agricul-

PAGE

ture—Products and Prices—Discovery of Silver—Localities and Lodes—The San Juan Country—Adventures of John Baker's Party—Great Sufferings—Architectural Remains of Primitive Peoples—Pile's Expedition—Treaty Violations—Opening of Roads—Silver Lodes—San Miguel Gold District—Ouray 482

CHAPTER IX.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT.

1875–1886.

California Gulch Redivivus—Hills of Silver—The Carbonate Mines—Men of the Period—Organization of Leadville—Monetary and Political Institutions—Output of the Mines—Vigilance Committees—Miners' Strike—Martial Law Proclaimed—Disaffected Utes—The Gunnison Country—Scientific and Mining Expeditions—The Gunnison Colony—Coal—Towns Established—Bibliography—Newspapers 504

CHAPTER X.

AGRICULTURE AND STOCK RAISING.

1861–1886.

Land Surveys—Analyses of Soils—Altitudes—Irrigation—Importance of the Subject—Convention—Laws and Regulations—A Most Perfect System—Ditching—Greeley and the Union Colony—Land-investment, Canal, and Irrigating Companies—Grain-growing Districts—Products—Horticultural and Agricultural Societies—Granges—Failure of Coöperative Commerce—State Board of Agriculture—Agricultural College—Stock-raising—Native Grasses—Incorporated Cattle Companies—Sheep and Horses 533

CHAPTER XI.

DENVER AND ARAPAHOE COUNTY.

1859–1886.

Survey—Denver Lands—Municipal Organization—The Queston of Capital—Post-office and Assay Office—Railways—Telegraphs—Street Railways—Public Buildings—Schools and Churches—Style of Architecture—Water System and Drainage—Manufactures—Smelters—Chamber of Commerce—Exposition Grounds and Buildings—Banking—Society and Culture—Biography 548

CHAPTER XII.

COUNTIES OF COLORADO.

1859–1886.

Bent County—Industries, Towns, and People—Boulder County—Early Settlers—Quartz Mining—Coal and Iron—Chaffee County—Discov-

PAGE

eries and Development—Clear Creek County—Earliest Smelting—Stamp Mills—Conejos County—Costilla—Custer—Men and Towns—Mining—Delta, Dolores, Douglas, Eagle, Elbert, El Paso, and Fremont Counties—The Great Railroad War—Cañon City and its Institutions 574

CHAPTER XIII.

COUNTIES OF COLORADO CONCLUDED.

1859–1886.

Garfield County—Its Great Possibilities—Gilpin County and Central City—Express, Telegraph, Newspapers, Banks, Schools, and Churches, Library, Fire Departments, Military and Benevolent Institutions—Biography—Grand County—Gunnison and Huerfano Counties—Variety of Products in Jefferson County—Golden, Lake, and La Plata Counties—Biography—Larimer, Las Animas, Mesa, Montrose, Ouray, Park, Pitkin, Pueblo, Rio Grande, Routt, Saguache, San Juan, San Miguel, Summit, and Weld Counties—Society—Retrospect.... 609

CHAPTER XIV.

LATER EVENTS.

1886–1888.

Elements of Greatness—Mining versus Agriculture—Land and Water Monopoly—Material Progress—Railroads—Development of Denver—Election Campaign—Legislation—Excellence of Statutory, Institutional, and Social Regulations—Character of Public Men—Biographical 643

HISTORY OF WYOMING.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.

Boundaries and Surface—The Hills and Plains of Laramie—Geologic History—The River Platte—Black Hills—Deserts Which are not Deserts—Mountainous Formations and Upheavals—Minerals and Metals—Fontana, the Land of Rivers—Rolling Plain of the Northwest—Forests and Lakes—Falls of the Yellowstone—Scenes of Beauty and Grandeur—Atlantic and Pacific Creeks, and Two-Ocean and Other Passes—Specimens of World Forgings and Weldings—Geyser Basins—Mud and Water Volcanoes—Paint Pots—Sulphur Mountain—Subterranean Rumblings—Climate—Animated Nature.. 659

CHAPTER II.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS.

1650–1850.

PAGE

Unfounded Rumors of Spanish Occupation— Pre-historic Aboriginal Inhabitants—Westward Exploration—Verendrye, Lewis and Clarke, Lisa, and Williams—Missouri Fur Company—Henry Fort—Long's Expedition—Ashley on Utah Lake—Other Trappers and Traders—Fort Bridger—Missionaries of Oregon—The Gallant Pathfinder—Battalion of Mounted Volunteers—Forts Leavenworth, Kearny, and Laramie—Scott and his Bluffs—The Pathway of the Nations..... 672

CHAPTER III.

SETTLEMENT AND GOLD-HUNTING.

1847–1863.

Pathway to the Pacific—Coming of the Latter-day Saints—Military Men—Prospecting for Gold—An Angry Englishman—Bridger and his Fort—Mormon War—The Latter-day Saints Abandon Wyoming—Movements of Army Forces—Government Expedition—Roads Ordered Opened—Placer Gold Discovered—The Morrisites—Indian Hostilities—Military Men and Frontiersmen—Legends of the Wind River Mountains—Swift Petrifactions..... 694

CHAPTER IV.

INDIAN WARS.

1841–1868.

Emigrant Parties—Cheyennes and Sioux—Force at Fort Laramie—Fleming's Attack—Grattan's Defeat—A Bloody War—Life at Fort Laramie—Movements of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes—Effect of Colorado Immigration and Civil War—Continued Depredations—Peace Proposals—Gold-hunting on the Bighorn—Carrington's Expedition—Fetterman's Defeat—Affairs at the Forts—Continued Hostilities—Treaty Commission..... 706

CHAPTER V.

POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND MATERIAL AFFAIRS.

1867–1888.

Gold Discovery—South Pass City Organized—Organization of Counties—Founding of Cheyenne—Advance in Town Lots—Bad Element—Vigilance Committees—Newspapers Established—A Magic City—The Name Wyoming—Territorial Organization—Female Suffrage—Judicial Districts—County Seats and County Officers—Elections—Law Making—Military Posts—Administration of Governor Campbell—Thayer, Hoyt, and Hale—Massacre of Chinese—Legislation.. 736

CHAPTER VI.

MILITARY AND INDIAN AFFAIRS.

1849–1886.

PAGE

Stansbury's Observations—Belief in the Presence of Gold—Indian Treaties—Attitude of the Savages—Smith's Exploits—Military Massacre of Indians—Indian Chiefs at Washington City—Divers Military Expeditions—Gold Appearing—Inevitable Destiny of the Red Race—Broken Pledges—The Army of the United States Brought out—Long, Continuous, and Bloody Fighting—Final Triumph of Civilization—Slavery and Savagism Exterminated..... 764

CHAPTER VII.

RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT

1868–1888.

Division of Territory into Counties—Birth of Towns, and Growth of Population—Pioneers and Prominent Men—Commerce and Industries—Grasses and Grazing—Ranchos and Ranges—Stock-raising—Some of the Great Cattle Men—Land Surveys and Sales—Improvement of Breeds—Cattle Driving from Texas and Oregon—General Condition of the Country—Agriculture and Mines—Biographical... 783

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IN THE

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HISTORY OF NEVADA.

CHAPTER I.

THE GREAT BASIN.

PLAIN OF EVAPORATION, OR ELEVATED SINK—ITS SITUATION—PROMINENT CHARACTERISTICS—THE NAME GREAT BASIN INAPPROPRIATE—A GROUP OF BASINS—WONDERS OF THE REGION—A TRAPPER'S STORY—CAVES—CLIMATE—ATMOSPHERE—ARIDITY—SAND—STORMS AND CLOUD-BURSTS—THE MIRAGE—SOIL, CONFIGURATION, AND SCENERY—RAIN-FALL AND TEMPERATURE—CHANGE OF SEASONS—ALTITUDE AND GEOLOGIC FORMATION—MOUNTAIN SYSTEM—LAKES AND SINKS—RIVERS—SPRINGS—DESERTS—PLANTS AND ANIMALS—BIRDS AND FISHES—MINERALS AND METALS—SOIL AND AGRICULTURE—NOMENCLATURE.

ABOUT midway between the Panamá Isthmus and the Arctic Ocean, and midway between the great cordillera and the Pacific, lies a broad Plain of Evaporation, or following the popular idea an elevated sink, the Great Basin it has been called, being almost wholly rimmed by mountains, though not always and altogether concave, and whose waters have no visible outlet to the sea. From three to five thousand feet above the level of the ocean, it extends irregularly over some nine degrees of latitude and nine of longitude, that is to say from the 34th to the 43d parallel, and from the 111th to the 120th meridian, the Wahsatch and Nevada ranges standing as its eastern and western bounds, narrowing off between the ranges north of Salt Lake and the Humboldt River toward the Blue Mountains of Oregon, and narrowing likewise in the south toward the Colorado plateau. Nearly all of Nevada comes within this compass, and a large

part of Utah, together with smaller portions of Oregon and California. The eastern rim extends through Utah, which lies between latitude 37° and 42°, and longitude 109° and 104°, and divides the area almost equally into two natural sections, one being the district of the great basin, and the other the region drained by the Colorado and its tributaries.

One of the most prominent features of the great basin is that it is so little like a basin. To call it a platter, a gridiron, or a well-filled cullender, or a basket of chips would be to apply a more characteristic designation. When Frémont gave to the region this name he had seen the Wahsatch and Nevada ranges, the two great sides, and he knew something of the Blue Mountains; but the interior of this vast circle he had not visited. He was not aware that his basin was full of mountains, some of them as high as the rim, completely filling the dish, so that in truth there is little dish left. It makes no great difference, however, what we call a thing, so long as we understand what is meant by the name.

Far more appropriately we might cut up the interior and enumerate a series of basins, rather than call it all one basin. There are the two great ranges, however, which border so great a portion of the area, the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada, so far exceeding in length the minor divides, as to give and leave the impression of oneness, notwithstanding the distinctiveness of the Great Salt Lake basin, whose lowest point is 4,170 feet above the sea; of Lake Sevier basin, 4,690 feet; of Humboldt River basin, 4,147 feet; of Carson River basin, with an altitude at Carson Lake of 3,840 feet; of Walker River basin, its lowest point above the sea being 4,072 feet; of Mojave River basin, 1,150 feet, and so on.

But call it what we may, and we may as well call it great basin as any other name, the country is full of peculiarities—I would say wonders, were it true that one part of the universe is more wonderful than

another. Its altitude and distance from the ocean, the aridity of the soil where there is so much water, the succession of desert and oasis, of mountain and plain—innumerable basins within basins—and all well sprinkled with metals; of streams fringed with green foliage, willows, alder, and cottonwood, of salt-water lakes and those that are fresh, or nearly so, of hot and cold springs, of sinks and swamps and mud-flats, of lonely buttes and rocky chasms, of sulphurous valleys and delightful sun-bathed summits, not to mention foot-prints of races and species long gone by, men and beasts, land animals and sea animals, of which we talk much and know little. There are elevations of life and depressions of death, one of the latter literally so called, Death Valley, one of the dry sand-lakes common in the region through which passes the old trail from Salt Lake to Los Angeles, a spot seemingly accursed, forty miles long by twenty broad, and surrounded except at two points by steep mountains. Wonderful things are said of it, namely, that it is far below the level of the sea; that it never rains there and is totally devoid of moisture; that nothing grows there, not even sage-brush; that it is inhabited only by horned rattlesnakes and scorpions, and that the shadow of a bird or wild beast never darkens its white glaring sands. The quietude of death must indeed be present, if it be true as stated, that the wagon-tracks of a party which perished there in 1848 are apparently as fresh and distinct now as the day they were made.

Many strange stories the old trapper James Bridger used to tell; for instance, how in the winter of 1830 it began to snow in the valley of the Great Salt Lake, and the snow fell for seventy days, until the whole country was white-coated to the thickness of seventy feet. Vast herds of buffaloes were caught by this snow, caught and pinched to death, and the carcasses preserved; and finally, when spring came, all Bridger had to do was to tumble them into Salt Lake, and have pickled buffalo enough to feed

himself and the whole Ute nation down to the time of their extermination. And this is why there have been no buffaloes in that region since. Another phenomenon, witnessed only by this keen observer and most truthful narrator, is that since his arrival in the country, Bridger Butte has changed considerably its locality.

Caves are more remarkable than crags, I suppose, because there are fewer of them in the world; and for the same reason we notice specially stone trees when we pay but little attention to trees of wood. I cannot enumerate all the crags in the great cullender, nor all the natural trees, but I can mention a cave or two, and tell of a petrified forest. What has been regarded a rival to the great cave of Kentucky, and called the mammoth cave of Nevada, and sometimes Mormon Cave, by reason of historic pretensions given elsewhere, is situated in the White Mountains, some twenty miles from Patterson. Through a low opening, requiring a man to stoop to enter it, the visitor passes twenty feet to a rapidly widening vault, and thence to a succession of immense chambers with limestone pendants, or having a roof so high that the torch-light fails to discover it. He may go a great distance in this way and still not find his progress barred. There is a cave near Fort Ruby which discharges quite a stream; another in the Shell Creek range, one of whose apartments is sixty by eighty feet in area, and which likewise figures somewhat in history; another in the mountains east of Carson River; and yet another near Rush Lake. On the plain, thirty miles or so from the Blackrock Mountains, is a petrified forest, the stumps of solid rock standing alone amidst the stunted sage brush.

The climate is likewise distinctive. The air is light and dry, the sun bold and brazen-faced, yet harmless and kind. There would be moisture enough were it not so quickly absorbed. The atmosphere, which

may be called Asiatic, is so light, elastic, and porous that water seems never to satisfy it; and what the air does not secure the soil stands ready to absorb.

There are sand-clouds and sand-storms at regular seasons, and in the southern and western parts of Nevada frequent cloud-bursts. There is a westerly wind which prevails in the spring and autumn with disastrous effect; it is equivalent to the north wind of California; and so full is the warm air of those saline particles which floating in it make the mirage, that often on the deserts and by the salt lakes this hallucination presents itself.

In the valleys, and especially round the great lakes, every variety of soil presents itself; likewise throughout the whole region there is infinite variety of configuration and scenery. But although anomalous, the climate is very uniform. Though barred by the Sierra from the sea, the country is nevertheless near enough to the ocean to feel the general ameliorating effect of Pacific currents, and yet so isolated and inland as to share some of the qualities possessed by the climates beyond the Rocky Mountains which those west of the Sierra do not enjoy. There is a marked individuality in the atmosphere about Salt Lake, which so rapid evaporation tinges with a blue haze, while almost everywhere else in this region the air is exceedingly pure and transparent. It is in the spring that the atmosphere is most fully charged with moisture, the winters being cold and drier, though the temperature seldom reaches zero.

The average rain-fall of Utah is twenty inches for the year, four tenths of which comes in the spring, one tenth in summer, three tenths in autumn, and two tenths during winter. The summers of Nevada are generally hot, and except in the more sheltered spots the winters are cold. But in the several deep valleys, though the wind is sometimes strong, and there is frost everywhere, the fall of snow is light, and the temperature generally mild. Thus we have here

what may properly be called a wet and a dry season, but the former is not so pronounced as in California, nor is the dry season wholly dry.

Climatic changes are not so abrupt here as in many other localities. Seasons glide one into another almost imperceptibly. Due warning is given of the approach of winter by the masses of dark clouds which come moving slowly over the plains, and which hover in the mountains about the higher peaks. An increasing wind is significant of a gathering storm, and the winds are often busied several days in sweeping up a storm, after which they assume some degree of regularity. Spring comes in March, often with snow or cold rains and wind. April drops some showers, and even May spurts thunder and lightning between her smiles. Then comes summer settled and serene. Over the central, northern, and western portions of Nevada, the temperature is at 90° at midday, rising sometimes to 100° to fall at night to 70°. Toward autumn the heated air becomes giddy, and sends the dust dancing in whirlwinds over the plains. Thunder storms are frequent in eastern Nevada from midsummer till autumn.

The basins proper are for the most part ranged round the edge of the so-called great basin, and are lower than the central area, whose valleys will average an altitude of 5,500 feet, while many interior ranges of mountains assume great height; hence the bottom of the basin should be pictured in the mind as raised in the centre; that is as not being of basin-shape at all, as we have seen; and while around the base of the rim of the still so-called basin there may be a land of lakes and sinks and streams, the middle interior is high-ribbed with compact ranges and narrow valleys.

As to geological formations, the mountains between Utah Lake and the Kobah Valley may be called of carboniferous origin; thence to the Sierra Nevada, and over the desert to the Goshute region, the ground

shows signs of igneous action; while about the Humboldt Mountains the characteristics of the Devonian age appear. The strata of the sand-stone and siliceous limestones around the porphyritic and other igneous rocks composing the Champlin Range seem to have been much disturbed when these mountains were made. From this point toward the north and toward the south-west ashy elevations are seen, dark, scorched, and vitreous, as if the fashioning-fires had not been long extinguished. Here and there throughout the whole region post-pliocene formations appear. Limestone predominates in the mountains of Nevada, then granite, sienite, serpentine, and slate, all marked by overflows of basaltic trap-rock and trachytic lavas.

Over the blue walls of the Wahsatch toward the east, outside of the great basin though still in Utah, we have the great valley of the Colorado and Green rivers, with the usual mountains, plains, and valleys, and the more unusual buttes, lines of cliffs, outlying masses of high angular stratified rocks, and deep narrow gorges, to whose escarpments the strata of shales and limestone give a terraced and buttressed appearance.

The region drained by Bear River is for the most part rugged and sterile; some of the ranges of hills which divide the country into a succession of parallel valleys are bare, or covered only with grass, while over the low mountains are scattered dwarfish pines and cedars. Here are wide areas void of vegetation, dreary wastes of rock, with here and there clay baked by the sun until it resembles stone rather than soil. Volcanic action is everywhere apparent, lava and scoriated basalt prevailing, with bituminous limestone, trap, and calcareous tufa. The lava formations west of Soda Springs, in whose vicinity rise several extinct volcanoes, are worthy of special attention. In south-eastern Nevada is a volcano basin covered with lava and scoriæ, and having withal a crater-rim two hundred feet broad and eighty feet deep. Not

far from the sink of the Humboldt is another crater.

North and east of the Carson Lake country are high mountains and intervening plains; south of the same region, after passing some distance, a gradual depression occurs, which terminates in Death Valley, four hundred and sixty-four feet below the surface of the ocean.

The Uintah Mountains are a branch of the Wahsatch, stretching off toward the east. At the junction of the Wahsatch and Uintah ranges the gulches of the summits are high, and filled with never melting snow; thence the latter range gradually declines toward the eastern end, where it breaks into little ridges and hills. Through the Uintah Mountains, cutting for itself a channel slowly as the mountains uprose, and which now appears as a series of cañons, runs Green River.

North of the Uintah, Green River continues through a deep narrow valley or cañon about a thousand feet below the open plain of country yet farther north. All the watercourses are eroded, and the rocks, composed of hard limestone, laminated shales, and sandstones, appear to be the sediments of a lake. To the west is a stretch of buff *mauvaises terres*, with rocks of shales and sandstone so soft as to be easily rounded into beautiful forms by the wind and water.

South of the Uintah are many isolated ranges, trending for the most part to the north-east and the north-west. There is a district here of low rounded elevations called the Yellow Hills, whose rocks are yellow clays and shales, some of the latter of a slate color, and others pink. "Looking at it from an eminence," says Powell, "and in the light of the midday sun, it appears like a billowy sea of molten gold." South of this is a stretch of bituminous bad-lands, and then a series of cañons and cliffs.

The mountain system comprising this region may

be likened in form to a gridiron. Enclosed within the rim are ranges rising abruptly from the plain, being at the base from one to twelve miles wide, and all trending off toward the north, almost always confining their variations between the true and the magnetic north. And their distance apart is scarcely greater than their breadth of base; so that this region called plains is in truth more a succession of minor mountains and valleys, the tops of the elevations alone being anywhere near upon a level. The length of these ranges is from fifty to one hundred and fifty miles, and their height two or three thousand feet, though there are peaks in the Goshute Range five or six thousand feet above the plain, or ten or eleven thousand above the sea. Floyd, the highest peak of the Oquirrh Range, is 4,214 above the plain and 9,074 above the sea. The pass through the Ungoweah Range is 8,140 feet above the sea.

The Wahsatch Mountains are the meteorological monarch of Utah, dividing the state into two unequal parts, the greater being the eastern. Rising in the Bear River region, they curve gently toward the east, passing the eastern borders of Great Salt and Utah lakes, then sweep round south-west to the Rio Vírgen. Next stretching southward from the southern end of the Great Salt Lake, in the order given, are the parallel ranges, the Oquirrh, the Onaqui, and the Lakeside and Cedar mountains. Then comes the Great American Desert. After that, entering Nevada, we have the Goose Creek, Toano, Antelope, Snake, Cedar, and Mormon line of elevations; next west the Peoquop, Shell Creek, Ely, Highland, and Valley ranges; then the Goshute, East Humboldt, East Ruby, Eagon, Butte, White Pine, and Hiko line, and so on through eight or ten other lines and lateral ridges until the entire state is covered and the great Sierra Nevada reached.

The mountains of Nevada are made mostly of granite, limestone, slate, sienite, and porphyry, dome-

shaped or with otherwise rounded contour, but sometimes shooting up in pyramidal spires.

The first explorers of this country, namely the fur-hunters and emigrants, were warned by the natives to avoid alike the entanglements of the deep cañons leading northward from the river discovered by Ogden, and the heart of the arid desert which no man had yet dared to penetrate. Both the savages and the emigrants were right in bending their trail to the course of the Humboldt, as subsequent surveys proved, though not altogether for the reason named. Besides waterless plains there are many minor ridges running north and south which must be passed over or round by one travelling straight across from Utah Lake to Carson Lake.

Were there fewer mountains there would be more deserts; for besides breaking withering blasts, the mountains act as reservoirs, holding about their summits masses of snow, enough to fill a hundred lakes and rivers, portions of which are slowly melted during summer, and distributed over the parched plains.

There are many places in both Nevada and Utah which show signs of having been once the beds of vast bodies of water. One of these is the region round Truckee Meadows and Steamboat Valley, including Washoe and Carson valleys, where there is to-day much good arable land which may be watered throughout the season from the Truckee and other streams. At Great Salt Lake, Stanbury counted on the slope of the ridge thirteen benches, one above the other, each of which had been successively the border and level of the lake. The highest of these water-marks is two hundred feet above the valley, which is itself now well above the lake. Here then was an inland ocean, whose islands are now mountain tops. Thus as this whole vast mountainous interior was once beneath the surface of one body of water, so we may

safely conclude that later there were many inland seas and lakes now dead.

Great Salt Lake is in several respects one of the most remarkable bodies of water in the world. Its equal, approached perhaps in Asia, is found nowhere in America. It is in form an irregular parallelogram, some seventy miles in length, and from twenty to thirty in width. Stanbury calls it three hundred leagues in circumference and thirty in breadth. It contains twenty-two per cent of solid matter, that is to say 20.196 common salt, and 1.804 sulphate of soda; it is six and a half times denser than the ocean. Where the water has been and retired, wagon loads of dry salt may be shovelled up. The surface is ordinarily quite motionless, though at times it is stirred into briny foam. It is not inhabited by fish. The shores are bare and forbidding; its airs lack the invigorating qualities of ocean breezes. It receives the waters of Bear River and some smaller streams at the northern end, and several from the east and south. The lake has periods of rising and receding, being ruled somewhat by the rain-fall in the regions whose drainage it receives. On the whole its area seems to be increasing rather than diminishing, owing perhaps to increased moisture in the atmosphere caused by civilized occupation, and resulting at once in greater falls of rain and less evaporation.

A promontory, fifteen hundred or two thousand feet in height, juts into the lake from the north. It is some ten miles in length, the northern end being composed of sandstone, shales, and limestone; while at the southern end, instead of limestone, there is a surface rock of conglomerate, with bowlders of serpentine and porphyry. All along the base of the promontory the water springs forth, sometimes pure and fresh, but often highly impregnated with salt and sulphur. The rivulets scarcely reach the lake, however, before they sink into the intervening sand and mud-flat, which is

about two miles in width, and wholly void of vegetation. Several islands break the surface of the dense water. The largest, Antelope Island, is a long rocky eminence, three thousand feet above the water, sixteen miles long, and from three to five wide. It is connected with the mainland by a sand-flat which is usually dry in summer.

On Castle Island, sometimes called Frémont Island, eight or nine hundred feet high, and fourteen miles in circumference, is a place where through the argillaceous schist three holes have been worn, and upon the summit stands like a ruined castle an oblong rock whence the island derives its name. There are no trees or water upon this island, but on its sides grows grass in which the blue heron lays its eggs; and the wild onion and parsnip are found there in profusion; also a highly nutritious bulbous root the natives use, called sego. Sage near the summit attains remarkable size, being sometimes eight feet high, while the stalk is six inches in diameter. Then there are Stanbury, Carrington, Gunnison, and Hat islands which were explored and named by Stanbury, the first after himself, the second in honor of his Mormon friend, and the third after his lieutenant. Hat Island was named by his men by acclamation.

Utah Lake is a magnificent body of water, all the more acceptable in this arid and salt-stricken region from being fresh, having an outlet through the River Jordan into the Great Salt Lake.

After the Great Salt Lake, in size and importance, come Pyramid Lake and Walker Lake, the first lying near the eastern rim, and the other two near the western. Indeed, most of the great lakes are at the base of the two great ranges of mountains. The size, shape, and relative positions of Pyramid and Walker lakes are noticeable, the former being thirty-two by nine and a half miles, and the latter thirty miles in length by about nine in width. The shore of Pyramid Lake is in places rocky, elsewhere pre-

senting a beach like the sea. The large granite bowlders which lie scattered about the border have a calcareous coating from an inch to a foot in thickness. There are precipices on the side next the Sierra, which rises precipitously in places three thousand feet above the surface. During winter the lake is sometimes almost obscured by storms of snow, which raise the waves six feet high and send them in foaming surf along the narrow beach, in good imitation of the ocean.

Not a single lake in the great basin has a visible outlet. Pyramid and Walker lakes are called fresh-water sheets, though the former at least holds in solution a little salt. The waters of Carson Lake are slightly alkaline. Tahoe, a picturesque sheet thirty miles long, and from eight to fifteen wide, though partially in Nevada is not within the basin proper, but rather perched upon the rim, a mile and a quarter above the ocean level; its waters are purely fresh, very deep, and exceedingly clear, and have outlet by way of the Truckee River into Pyramid Lake. The small streams flowing into Tahoe would not be sufficient to sustain the volume of water throughout the year without the aid of the springs hidden beneath the surface. Three varieties of trout here make their home, some of which attain a weight of nearly thirty pounds.

Lake Winnemucca is a shallow basin stretched beside Pyramid Lake; at times it is nearly dry, like the mud-lakes to the north which during the dry season are mere alkali flats.

Walker Lake is an irregular fresh-water sheet, fed by Walker River, and containing fish. To the southwest in California is Lake Mono, and a little beyond a salt pond about twelve miles across, in which fish cannot live. The borders of Columbus, Fish, and Teal lakes, now nearly dry, are bordered by marshes. Indeed we must not too closely follow the map in estimating the areas covered by water in Utah and Nevada, as many of the spots so represented are mere

mud-flats, and covered only occasionally if at all. The term mud lake comes in this wise. Over many of the valleys and plains of Nevada is spread an impervious surface of stiff clay. This surface is in places level, and again plate-shaped, and in the depressions water gathers during the rains to the depth perhaps of a foot or two, to be evaporated when the sun comes out. Evaporation accomplished, a thin argillaceous deposit is left, beneath which the ground is usually miry. Then there are lakes like the Humboldt and Carson whose waters rise during the rains and overspread a wide area, receding during the subsequent evaporation leaving the same result, namely, mud-flats. Round some of the lakes and along some of the rivers, notably the Humboldt, are what were originally tule lands, which being readily drained are converted into rich meadows.

The term sink was applied by the early immigrants, who followed the Humboldt River to its end, where, as they supposed, it sank into the ground; so that Humboldt Lake was first called the sink of the Humboldt, or rather of Ogden River. The part played by evaporation was not at first fully considered. There is still the sink of the Carson, which takes the waters of Carson River after a rest at Carson Lake. Both Humboldt and Carson lakes are shallow; the former is fifteen miles long and eight or ten wide, and the latter is ten miles in diameter. The waters of both contain salt and alkali. The sink of the Carson is surrounded by sloughs, tule swamps, and sandy wastes, wide over which the brackish water spreads in winter, contracting again during summer. The waters of Washoe Lake are alkaline; they spring from beneath, and have an outlet into the Truckee.

The rivers of Nevada are not large, but they are many and serviceable; and though as a rule swift running there are few important water-falls. They all send their waters in the end to some lake or so-

called sink. Among the more notable rivers here and in Utah are the Humboldt, three hundred miles in length; Bear River, two hundred and fifty miles long; Sevier, Spanish, Jordan, Timpanogos, Malade, and Weber, springing from the Wahsatch range, and the Carson, Truckee, Walker, Owen, and Mojave having their source in the Nevada range. These are from thirty-five to one hundred and twenty-five miles in length, from four to forty yards in width, and from one to twenty feet in depth, varying with locality and the season. Precipices and cañons mark the course of many of them, even of the smaller streams—instance Pumbar Creek.

The water flowing through Carson Lake outlet, leading into the sink of the Carson, fifty feet wide and three or four deep, although of a suspicious milky cast, is nevertheless pronounced good. Walker River, one hundred yards wide and five or ten feet deep, is of a yellow color, something like that of the Missouri; to the taste the water is soft and palatable. The banks in places are grassy, besides growing willows and cottonwoods.

The Timpanogos is a bold, dashing stream, from thirty to a hundred feet in width, and two feet deep. The water is beautifully clear and pure, and no wonder the trout delight in it. Of the same character is Weber River, twenty or thirty yards wide, with its thickets of willow, and its groves of cottonwood and maple.

In the progress of westward-marching empire few streams on the North American continent have played a more important part than the Humboldt River of Nevada. Among the watercourses of the world it can lay claim neither to great beauty nor to remarkable utility. Its great work was to open a way, first for the cattle train and then for the steam train, through a wilderness of mountains, through ranges which otherwise would run straight across its course. It is the largest river of this region, and the only one hereabout running from east to west. Most of the

others are with the mountains, north and south. The source of the Humboldt is in the Goose Creek range seven thousand feet above the ocean, and it follows a south-westerly course to Humboldt Lake where it ends.

After leaving the Humboldt, the Truckee River proved the next best assistant to the emigrant, directing him as it did by the best route over the steep Sierra. It was rugged and difficult enough, but it was the best. Carson River, coming in from the south-west, has served a good purpose in floating wood down to treeless districts below. Next in size to the Truckee of Nevada are Walker, Quin, and Amargoso rivers, which pursue their tortuous courses for a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles, the latter disappearing in Death Valley. Las Vegas and Rio Vírgen are tributaries of the Rio Colorado.

The drainage of Utah is divided by the Wahsatch Mountains, the Colorado drainage being on the east side, and the desert drainage on the west. Green River in many places flows over a narrow bed between walls of white and red sandstone. From its mouth the Colorado cuts for its waters a cañon to the ocean. Deep Creek, on the west side, and which sinks at Curlew, is an important stream for purposes of irrigation. The Jordan, called also the Utah, carries the waters of Utah Lake rapidly down the incline to Great Salt Lake, nearly losing itself, however, before reaching its destination. The little streams of melted snow coming down from the mountains are subject to considerable fluctuations, consequent upon the quantity of snow and the progress of its melting.

The hot and cold springs are almost innumerable. The rattlesnake chooses as a resort those in Round Prairie, in the vicinity of Rattlesnake Creek. In one of these springs the thermometer marks a temperature of 109° 50′. Time was when the snakes held full possession of this watering-place. The springs of

Bear River are many of them impregnated with divers minerals. Twenty Wells a valley is called having cold springs from half a foot to several feet in diameter, in which the water rises to the surface of the ground as fast as it is drawn out. From several large crevices in a low mound a mile long, and seven hundred feet in length, emerges the sulphuric vapor which gives the name to Steamboat Springs, the surgings of the boiling water being heard below. Sixty columns of steam may be counted on a clear cool morning, rising to a height of fifty feet. There are also Steamboat Springs in Utah, on Bear River, and hot springs all along the western base of the Wahsatch Mountains. In most of these waters are found sulphate of magnesia, carbonate of lime, chloride of sodium, and sulphate of lime. Near Walker River is a spring having a temperature of 165° at the surface.

From a basin ten feet in diameter within another basin ninety feet in diameter, near Pyramid Lake, comes with sulphuric smell a thick dark hot fluid which looks like tar. The rocks lying within the outer basin are covered to the thickness of nearly a foot with a black resinous substance.

There are deserts and deserts, not to mention dry valleys, alkaline valleys, and the like. There are the Smoke Creek desert, the Granite Creek desert, the Black Rock desert, and the Sage desert of northern Nevada, and the large deserts in the south. West and south of Great Salt Lake stretches the Great American desert for a distance of a hundred miles, a flat surface, declining slightly northward toward the lake, and broken occasionally by isolated mountains. It is a spot shunned alike by man and beast; even the birds seem loath to fly over it. Whatever of soil there may be is of an argillo-calcareo-arenaceous character, in which appears a small growth only of artemisia and greasewood. Near the lake the lower and yet more level and salt-covered ground, which was

once part of the lake bottom, is little more than a mud-flat, on which wagons cannot safely venture. Indeed, there is little doubt that this whole desert area was at one time submerged.

Indigenous plants and animals are few, not however from lack of possibilities. Mark the prophecy: the valleys of this whole region will one day be rich fields and gardens, supporting flourishing populations. At some seasons of the year the flora of Nevada appears to be little else than sage-brush and grease-wood; at other seasons hills and plains are brilliant with flowering herbage. Large tracts are wholly destitute of vegetation. Among things man may eat, besides insects in abundance and some reptiles, are pine-nuts, currants, and gooseberries. Then there is a sugar coming from a kind of cane growing in the tule swamps about Humboldt and Carson lakes, while in the neighboring hills flax and tobacco are sometimes met with. In the south there are the cactus and mezquite.

On most of the mountain ridges of Utah are dwarf cedars; mahogany is likewise frequent, that is to say mountain mahogany as the people call it, and also pine, balsam, and ash. At a distance the mahogany of these mountains looks like an appletree with a live-oak leaf. Along the Timpanogos and its tributaries are found box-elder, cottonwood, and oak; willow, sugar-maple, and birch; in the mountains are pine, fir, and juniper, and in the valleys are red and black currants, service-berries, and a blue berry called the mountain grape. The rolling highlands between Weber River and Salt Lake are heavily timbered, and support in places a dense undergrowth. The Sevier district also abounds in timber. Along the Colorado as it leaves Utah are low and stunted pines on river banks so high that the Spaniards who were first there fancied themselves amidst the clouds; even during summer the cold wind sometimes sweeps in from the north in a manner most uncomfortable. The streams

of Nevada are bordered by cottonwood, willow, birch, and wild cherry, with here and there a mixture of wild vines, and rose and berry bushes.

On the hills of Nevada are two kinds of bunch grass, which may be distinguished as coarse and fine, the former being in smaller and more scattered bunches and seeking the lower levels. Both are very nutritious, the finer variety bearing an oat-shaped seed. Clover is sometimes found on the river banks. Washoe valley is a natural meadow; so is Mountain Meadow, the latter a plateau seven or eight thousand feet high, walled by mountains, watered by melted snow, and carpeted with luxuriant grass. Utah presents a great variety of grasses.

Into the arms of the commonwealth in some way should be twined the artemisia, or wild sage, so abundant is it everywhere throughout this region. Beside it place some greasewood and lynogris, under which last let a rabbit be seen. This aromatic shrub clothes the land in gray, which mingling with the green of the greasewood bronzes all nature.

Among mammals may be mentioned the bighorn, or Rocky Mountain sheep, the great-tailed fox, the mink, ermine, badger, wolverene, and muskrat. There are sage-hens and hares to shoot; a few coyotes may be heard on the hills. In the reptile line, besides rattlesnakes there is not much to boast of but horned toads and spotted lizards.

Curlews, pelicans, and ducks frequent the region round Carson Lake. Myriads of geese and ducks, with swans, cover the surface of the Great Salt Lake at certain seasons, there shrieking their discordant notes, while at other times and places there is the stillness of the grave, a dead sea indeed. There are also on the lake blue herons, white brant, cormorants, and gulls, which lay their eggs in the crevices on the islands. Other birds might be mentioned as frequenting these and other parts of the great basin, such as the hawk, and burrowing owl, the long-winged blue-

bird, the titmouse, lark, snow-bird, finch, woodpecker, kill-deer, sage-cock, crane, bittern, and so on.

Fine large trout abound in the fresh-water lakes; in Carson Lake are fish of a smaller kind, notably chubs and mullets. In Reese River trout are found two and a half pounds in weight. Of four-legged reptiles, and insects, there is present the usual variety.

In that section of Nevada of which Carson Lake is the centre, the mineral deposits are the wonder of the world. Not to mention the silver veins of the Comstock lode, whose history in a sense and during an epoch is the history of Nevada, there are salt marshes, borax beds, and chalk, soda, and sulphur beds almost without end. The waters of North Soda Lake which cover an area of 400 acres to a depth of 270 feet contain thirty-three per cent of soda. Coal is likewise there, and peat beds, and quicksilver. The sulphur and cinnabar deposits of Steamboat Springs have attracted much attention. In Veatch cañon is magnesia; in the Ruby Range are mica mines; south-east from Pine Grove is a valley of salt; east of the Rio Vírgen are salt bluffs; in the Peavine district is copper; a mineral wax in southern Utah is mentioned; Utah has also copper, bismuth, graphite, alum, and gypsum.

Coal has been found in the vicinity of the Timpanogos River where there is a stream called Coal Creek; and on Weber River iron, coal, chalk, and gold exist in quantities. Then there are the scores of districts on either side of the river Jordan, between Great Salt and Utah lakes, containing names world-famous, and significant of precious metals; and in the regions of Green and Bear rivers, in the Juab Valley, and all along down the Wahsatch Range to the Sevier country are vast coal fields, and on to the south-west, which region is thickly studded with cedar and bullion cities, sulphur springs, salt lakes, coal cañons, and granite, iron, and silver mountains.

There is iron and other mineral wealth south of

Filmore; in the Elko district are gold, silver, lead, antimony, coal, and mineral soap; in the Esmeralda region silver, gold, borax, salt; the Eureka district has its Sulphur range and Diamond range of mountains, and its mines, mining companies, and mills without end.

To the north agriculture has somewhat usurped the place of mining. Wheat, barley, oats, rye, and potatoes grow abundantly, as well as berries and fruit. There are good grazing lands, and stock-raising has assumed considerable proportions. Antimony and sulphur have attracted attention, and many gold and silver mines have been worked. Gold, silver, copper, lead, and antimony are found in the Battle Mountain country, and in the Pioche district are many famous mines. Round Pyramid Lake mines have been opened, and Esmeralda, Eureka, Reese River, and White Pine have long been terms synonymous with great wealth. In a word, throughout the entire length and breadth of the great basin mineral and metalliferous deposits abound, the largest veins thus far having been found in high altitudes; and who shall tell whether the half of them have been yet discovered.

This country though sometimes called desert is by no means all desert. There are many valleys, such as Carson, Walker, Rush, Ruby, Pleasant, Steptoe, Antelope, and Crosman, portions of which are good for cultivation. The altitude of Steptoe Valley is 6,146 feet, while the lower part of Carson Valley is 3,840 feet above the sea. The higher valleys grow roots, cereals, and the more hardy plants, while in Carson Valley and in the region of Great Salt Lake, and elsewhere, garden vegetables flourish. And when I see so much of this earth which was at first pronounced worthless for man afterward placed under tribute, and made to bloom and bring forth, I hesitate before I wholly condemn any portion of it. Water transforms the sage-covered alkaline soil into an Eden,

and water abounds on every side if only it may be utilized. Nevertheless, there are here some desert spots which will never be reclaimed—instance the region between Carson Lake and the Sedaye Mountains, and that extending from Simpson Springs in the Champlin Mountains to Sulphur Springs at the eastern base of the Goshute Mountains.

One cause of the barrenness of certain tracts in Utah and Nevada is the rapidity with which water is absorbed after it comes down from the mountains. I have observed that the lakes and rivers are generally at the base of mountains, where likewise, of course, are found the fertile spots, while the deserts are somewhat removed from high elevations. As a rule the mountain streams disappear before finding another stream; the thirsty earth drinks them up; and thus are irrigated patches along the foothills, which are oases, as compared with the unwatered plain, growing coarse grain and shrubs.

Significant names are White Valley and Alkali Valley; but these in reality are scarcely more efflorescent than the margins of Steptoe and Meadow creeks, and of Reese and Walker rivers. At a little distance the appearance there is as if the ground was covered with pure snow, which, bordering the generally bronzed aspect, produces a new scenic effect. It is said that the alkali poisons vegetation and renders worthless the soil; but to this an antidote may yet be found. It does not seem to injure the water of running streams, though wells dug under it are often worthless. There is, nevertheless, much good agricultural land along Walker River, as well as on the banks of the Truckee and Quin.

As in much of the water, so in most of the soil, there is a little salt, this being the result of universal confinement. Often it is found, as at the Malade River, that the lowlands are rich and moist, while the higher plains are dry and gravelly. Then again there are large tracts like that westward from the Malade,

where the land is poor and with no water but a few brackish springs. East of Utah Lake is a strip of good land from three to ten miles wide; and over the mountains broad fertile tracts are found along the borders of Green River and its tributaries. In the valleys about the Carson sink is much good land, while the foothills bordering the deserts afford food for numerous herds. Washoe and Steamboat valleys offer great advantages to the farmer and stock-raiser. Combined with agriculture in this section are the mining and timber interests.

The Jordan Valley is low, yielding but little water, though most of it may be irrigated from the Jordan River. Wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and the vine grow well here. At the northern end, near the great lake, are extensive saleratus flats, and on the border of the valley many springs of brackish water. The land in Tuilla Valley is much of it too strongly impregnated with alkali to permit production.

Apples grow in the valley of the Great Salt Lake, and also peaches, apricots, and melons; but wheat is the great staple, from forty to seventy bushels to the acre being sometimes produced. It is only in the warmer valleys that corn is raised, but barley and oats thrive elsewhere. There would be great pastoral possibilities but for lack of means for the preservation of stock in winter; such at all events is the complaint, but in more rigorous climates than this large herds are frequently raised.

In regard to nomenclature, I will mention here the origin of a few names, leaving that of others to appear during the progress of this history. The origin of the word Utah I have given in a note at the end of the second chapter of the *History of Utah.* The word Nevada, in Spanish signifying 'covered with snow,' 'white as snow,' 'snow-fall,' is borrowed of course for the naming of this state from the mountain range upon its western border. Skull Valley, in

the Great Salt Lake desert, was so called from the skulls of Goshutes whose bodies had been buried in springs, according to their custom. Captain Simpson named a valley after George H. Crosman, deputy quartermaster-general; a peak in the Oquirrh Mountains, Floyd, in honor of the secretary of war; Bean, and Reese, from whom comes Reese River, at first called New River, were long residents, and served as guides for Simpson and others; Shell Valley was so called from being covered with shale. Simpson named a stream after Lieutenant Marmaduke, of the United States army, a stream and cañon after Lieutenant J. L. Kirby Smith, his assistant, a valley after Captain I. C. Woodruff, a creek for Lieutenant Putnam; a pass, creek, and cañon he called Gibraltar. He named Dryflat Valley, Alkali Valley, Black Mountains, Edward, Clay, McCarthy, and Dodge creeks, Fountain, Lee, and Barr springs, Phelps Valley, and many others, mostly after his men, comparatively few of which names have been retained. Steptoe Valley is from Colonel Steptoe, of the United States army; while all that is Carson comes of course from Kit Carson, the famous frontiersman. There was a class of path and pass finders, such as Hastings, Beckwourth, and others, whom the readers of this history will well know. The aboriginal names will be easily recognized.

In the northern part of Rush Valley is a small lake filled with rushes which gave the place the name. Mount Davidson was called Sun peak by the early settlers, who thereby fixed in the imagination a high point touched by the sun's rays. Later the name of an eminent scientist was very properly substituted.

The name and naming of Lake Tahoe have first and last caused no little discussion. In his report of 1845–6 Frémont calls this sheet Mountain Lake, but on his map of 1848 he lays it down as Lake Bonpland. There were those who thought to do John Bigler further honor than making him governor of Califor-

nia, by setting on foot the name Lake Bigler. Nothing could have been in worse taste—particularly when we consider that only a portion of the lake belongs to California—than in applying to a liquid so beautifully clear and cool the name of one who so detested water. A legislature might make the name legal, but no statute-book could render the proceeding reputable. The Indian name, always the most appropriate, in this instance the most beautiful and most applicable that could be devised—Tahoe, 'big water'—the lake has been fortunate enough finally to secure.

CHAPTER II.

EARLIEST EXPLORATIONS.

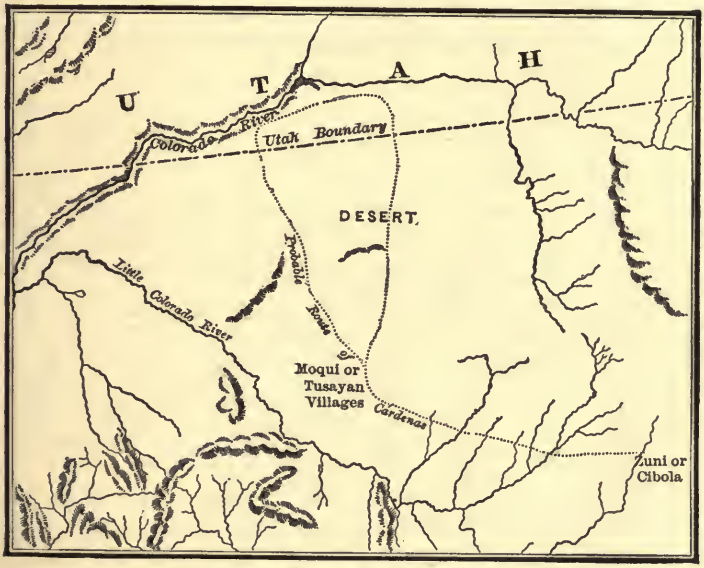
1540-1833.

NEAR APPROACH OF CORONADO'S EXPEDITION, AND ESPECIALLY OF PEDRO DE TOBAR—PARTY OF SPANIARDS UNDER ANZA—WANDERINGS OF FATHER FRANCISCO GARCÉS—PETER FONT'S JOURNAL AND MAP—MYTHICAL STREAMS—OTHER ANCIENT MAPS—APPROACH OF DOMINGUEZ AND ESCALANTE TO NEVADA—PETER SKEEN OGDEN FOR THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—DISCOVERY OF MARY OR OGDEN RIVER—ADVENT OF FREE TRAPPERS—HENRY, ASHLEY, BRIDGER, AND GREEN—EXPEDITION TO CALIFORNIA OF JEDEDIAH S. SMITH—NEVADA TRAVERSED FROM WEST TO EAST—INFLUX OF TRAPPERS FROM THE NORTH—THE WOLFSKILL EXPEDITION—PARTIES UNDER NIDEVER, FRAPP, AND WYATT—ENCOUNTER WITH THE SAVAGES—JOSEPH WALKER'S VISIT TO CALIFORNIA AND RETURN—ILL-TREATMENT OF INDIANS—MEEK'S STATEMENT—SOMETHING OF CARSON AND BECKWOURTH.

IN my *History of Utah* and elsewhere I make mention of the visit of Pedro de Tobar, of Coronado's expedition of 1540, to the Moqui villages, then called Tusayan, where he heard of a large river to the north and west. I have told how, when Tobar returned to Cíbola, or Zuñi, where the army rested, Captain García Lopez de Cárdenas set out with twelve men to explore said river. Some say the direction he took from Moqui was westerly; some intimate it was to the north of west; I am inclined to the latter view. In either event it is not probable that the territory now called Nevada was entered, or that any portion of it was seen by the members of that expedition, though such discovery is possible.

There may have been expeditions into the country of the Yutas from Cíbola, or Zuñi, from Moqui, or from the country of the Mojaves, of which there is no

record. After the occupation of New Mexico by the Spaniards, excursions in every direction were common; so that it is unsafe to say of any one of them that it was the first. It is true that in making and placing upon record an expedition of any considerable importance, any other important excursion then known to have taken place at some former period would be likely to receive mention; and, indeed, was often mentioned.



PROBABLE ROUTE OF CÁRDENAS.

The first European to enter within the present limits of Nevada of whom we now have knowledge, and without doubt in my mind absolutely the first to enter, was Father Francisco Garcés, of the order of St Francis, who set out from Sonora in 1775 with a party under Colonel Anza for California, and who stopped at the junction of the Colorado and Gila to explore for a mission site. Of the expedition to California was Father Pedro Font who wrote a narrative of it, and drew a map which included not only his

own wanderings but those of Garcés.[1] If Garcés is right in his reckoning, and Font's map is correct, the friar was in Nevada at the time.

The month of January 1776 was occupied in establishing a residence on the spot where later stood Fort Yuma, the examination of the ranchería of San Pablo,

PADRE FONT'S MAP, 1777.

below on the river, which was found to be a suitable site for a mission. In February he visited the Yamajabs, that is to say the Mojaves, arriving on the

[1] These wanderings are designated by dotted lines. See *Ansa, Diario*, MS., 198 et seq.; *Font's Journal*, MS., 45 et seq.; *Arricivita, Crón. Seráf.*, 464 et seq.; *Hist. Cal.*, i. 273–8, this series.

[2] 'Across a sierra to Santo Angel Springs 34° 31′ (in Chemehueves country); 61 N. E. and N. W.; 71 N. N. E. across a sierra to Yamajab nation, whose rancherías, La Pasion, were across the river (35 on Font's map).' *Hist. Cal.*, i. 275, note, this series.

west bank of the river nearly opposite their village on the 28th.[3]

Garcés did not cross the river at this time, but two thousand people of a nature superior[4] to that of the Yumas came to him on the west side. "I showed them a picture of the virgin," says the friar, "and they were well pleased, but the picture of the damned they thought it sorrowful to see." The Yamajabs spoke of their neighbors and enemies, on the north-east the Yavipais-cuercconaches, on the east the Yaguallapais, and on the south the Yalchedunes. Before penetrating farther these parts the friar determined to visit his brother priests at San Gabriel. Some of the Yamajabs accompanied him, and the month of March was chiefly occupied in the journey west.

On the 9th of April Garcés set out from San Gabriel and proceeded by way of San Fernando Valley to the Tulare Valley, whence he crossed to the Mojave River, and returned to his former position on the Colorado, after having traversed as discoverer a wide extent of country. Garcés then took up his eastward line of exploration which extended to the Moqui country as elsewhere explained.

The people inhabiting this part of Nevada, and located to the north of the Yamajabs, are named on Font's map the Chemeguabas, and north-east of these the Payachas, and the Baoniora. Two large rivers toward the north-west are likewise given on Font's map, both flowing from Nevada through the Sierra into California. Garcés did not explore these rivers but was told of them by the natives when in the

[3] For detail of the route from the mouth of the Gila to the Mojave country, which was along the west bank of the Colorado, see *Hist. Cal.*, i. 275, note.

[4] See *Native Races*, i. 477 et seq., this series. 'Esta gente es muy sana y robusta, las mujeres las mas agraciadas del rio...ellos dicen que son muy fuertes, especialmente en aguantar la hambre y sed.' *Diario y derrotero que siguió el M. R. P. Fr. Francisco Garcés en su viaje hecho desde Octubre de 1775 hasta 17 de Setiembre de 1776, al Rio Colorado para reconocer las naciones que habitan sus márgenes, y á los pueblos del Moqui del Nuevo-México.* In *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. i. 225–374.

Tulare Valley, and he in turn reported them to Father Font. They are named in the map "Rio de San Phelipe," and "Rio de que se viene noticia por el P. Garcés," and are probably the origin of the San Buenaventura River myth. Garcés states: "I was also told that hence seven days' journey to the north

MAP BY JOHN HARRIS, 1605.

was a great river[5] running north-east and connecting with the San Felipe, the latter dividing, and one of

[5] The friar thought this might be the San Joaquin, emptying into San Francisco Bay, which indeed it was, or perhaps it was a branch of the Columbia. 'Este gran rio que corre á los 36° puede ser el que entra al puerto de San Francisco en la California, ó al brazo del rio Colombia.' *Diario*, in *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii. tom. i. 297.

the branches flowing toward the north. They gave me to understand that the first was three times larger than the other. They wanted me to go and see it, saying that all along the way were good people. This I greatly desired to do. They estimated the distance to be from thirty-five to forty leagues, a trip of seven days, as they march slowly on account of their frequent bathing and unprotected feet. I concluded not to go, having no present to give. Here runs the Sierra San Marcos[6] to the north-west, and between

GRANATA NOVA.

this sierra and that of the San Luis can be seen vast plains which without doubt are the tulares mentioned by Father Font in his diary and map; this Sierra of San Marcos being the one seen by him at the distance of forty leagues, white with snow, and east of the tulares; and although the distance is not so great, the mountains open gradually, so that farthest away can be seen only the Sierra of San Marcos."[7]

[6] On Font's map the mountains north of the 'Rio de quien se viene noticia por el P. Garcés' are called the Sierra Nevada, and south of that stream and down to the 'Rio de San Phelipe' the Sierra de San Marcos.

[7] 'Dijéronme tambien, que siete dias de camino al norte habia una agua ó

There are many curious old maps showing the general conception of the country about that time, or rather showing the ability of map-makers for drawing on their imagination, which I might reproduce; and, indeed, many of them have been given in various volumes of this historical series, notably in the *History of the Northwest Coast*, in connection with an elucidation of the great Northern Mystery. A map drawn by John Harris in 1605 seems to give the name Quivira to a vast region which embraces Ne-

UTAH AND NEVADA, 1795.

rio muy grande, que corria del nordeste y se juntaba con el de San Felipe, porque éste, como diré, cuando se divide en dos brazos lleva el uno el rumbo del norte; y daban á entender que el primero era tres veces mayor que el otro; querian que fuera á verlo, que por todo aquel camino habia buena gente. Yo lo deseaba mucho, porque consideraba de distancia hasta treinta y cinco ó cuarenta leguas, pues aunque ellos reputaban necesarios siete dias, es porque andan poco á causa de que se bañan mucho y no tienen defensa en los piés. Por último no me determiné, asi porque no tenia que regalar como por lo que dije arriba de Sebastian y los jamajabs: por aquí corre la sierra de San Márcos al norueste, y entre ella y la de San Luis se ven unos llanos dilatadísimos, que sin duda son los tulares de que hacen mencion en su diario y mapa el padre Font, siendo esta sierra de San Márcos la que como á distancia de cuarenta leguas veia nevada al oriente de los tulares; y aunque aquí no hay esta distancia, se van abriendo las sierras, de modo que á lo último solo se vé la de San Márcos: 2 leguas.' *Diario, Doc. Hist. Mex.*, série ii., tom. i. 297–8.

vada in common with other undefined countries. From the *Histoire Vniverselle des Indes Orientales, Diuisée en deux liures, faicte en Latin par Antoine Magin*, Dovay, 1611, I copy the Granata Nova et California, which, however, presents little historical significance. The work from which it is taken purports to contain an account of the "descovuerte, nauigation, situation, et conquete, faicte tant par les Portugais que par les Castillans, Ensemble leurs mœurs et Religion." A Latin poem of twenty-four lines introduces the general history, which begins

RECTOR'S MAP, 1818.

with comments on the ancient cosmographers and the discovery of Columbus, the first book giving the history of the Spanish Americas, and closing with a sonnet in French. Book ii. contains numerous maps, with a brief description of the countries, fourteen lines being devoted to California.

In a map of North America drawn to accompany Winterbotham's history, published in New York 1795, Nevada is a blank save the delineation of a stream with its tributaries flowing eastward into a nameless lake, presumbably Great Salt Lake, the three towns of Axaas, Bagopas, and Quivira, and a section of

the Sierra Nevada from opposite San Francisco Bay southward toward Lower California.

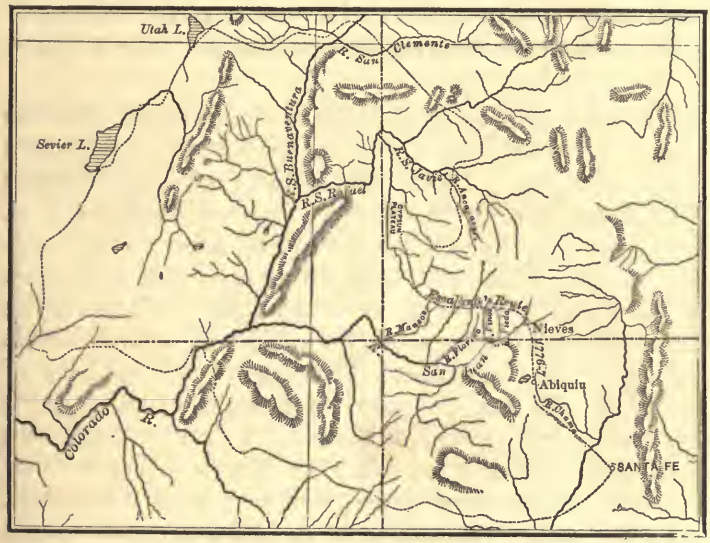
In January 1818 was filed in the general land office a map of western North America by William Rector, United States surveyor for Missouri and Illinois,[8] whose greatest peculiarity so far as the western slope is concerned lies in draining into the Willamette the whole region north of the latitude of San Francisco Bay, and east of the Columbia and Colorado rivers, the Siskiyou Mountains being crowded south to accommodate this arrangement.

FINLEY'S MAP, 1826.

In 1826 A. Finley, of Philadelphia, presented quite an elaborate map, the unknown regions being well filled from ill-founded reports, or from the imagination. Thus the Rio San Felipe is made to flow from southern Nevada due west through the Sierra into Monterey Bay. The Rio Buenaventura mystery is here multiplied, so that from the great lakes three large streams are made to flow in the most direct course, regardless of intervening mountains, to the ocean. The one most southern, the Rio Buenaventura, rises

[8] Lieut. Warren, who presents a reduced copy in *Pac. R. Rept.*, xi. 23, says the map, though the most complete up to that time, was never published.

near the source of the Lewis branch of the Columbia and empties into Lake Salado, which may be Great Salt Lake, or Utah Lake, as one chooses; thence it takes up a direct course for San Francisco Bay. From Lake Timpanogos, the original Lake Ashley, or Utah Lake, but now greatly enlarged and placed north of Salt Lake, if indeed Timpanogos be not itself Great Salt Lake, flow directly to the ocean the rivers Timpanogos and Los Mongos, the former finding the



ESCALANTE'S ROUTE.

sea below Cape Mendocino, and the latter just south of Cape Orford.

Although the San Felipe was purely an imaginary stream, Friar Garcés' branch of it running toward the north was a reality, being none other than the San Joaquin. From the Colorado Garcés proceeded eastward and visited the Moqui towns, returning to the Yamajabs after a month's absence. Then he descended the Colorado.

Next to enter Nevada, or at least to touch its

border, following the record, were the two friars, Francisco Atanasio Dominguez and Silvestre Velez de Escalante, who were near Nevada, on or not far distant from the path later called the old Spanish trail between Great Salt Lake and Los Angeles when they determined to abandon their purpose of going to Monterey, and turned eastward from the eastern line of Nevada, near its junction with the southern boundary of Utah, crossing the Colorado in latitude 37°. An account of this expedition, which is of primary importance to the history of Utah, is given at length in the volume of this series relating to that subject.

We come now to more defined discoveries. In the spring of 1825, while preparations were in progress for the transfer of the metropolitan post of the Pacific from Astoria, or Fort George, to Fort Vancouver on the Columbia, Peter Skeen Ogden,[9] then in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, set out from head-quarters with a party of trappers for the region round the head-waters of Snake River, or the Lewis branch of the Columbia. Passing by the country of the Walla Wallas, they set their traps, working their way southward up the stream until they reached the point where later was built Fort Boisé. Thence they struck to the west of south, followed up the Owyhee, and after some exploration of its tributaries at length dropped down upon the Humboldt, now first beheld by Europeans.

It was now mid-summer, and one of the party becoming enamored of a damsel native to that region, he married, that is to say bought, her, thereby secur-

[9] He was a son of Chief Justice Ogden of Quebec, and prior to this time had served both in the Pacific Fur Company and in the Northwest Company. Later he rose to the position of chief factor and manager. At Fort Vancouver he was second only to Douglas, who succeeded McLoughlin, and indeed at one time was chief factor in charge. He was short, dark, and exceedingly tough, with an inexhaustible fund of humor, and consequently a great favorite. He died at the age of 60 in Oregon City in 1854. See *Hist. Oregon*, i. 32, this series; *Applegate's Views*, MS., 13; *Allan's Rem.*, MS., 9.

ing, with the greater safety of the party, wife, servant, and beast of burden. This was the way the British fur-hunters managed the business, in strong contrast to which we shall presently see how the first band of trappers from the United States behaved toward these same Shoshones. To the native woman thus honored was given the name Marie, or Mary, who in turn gave her newly acquired appellation to the stream, which for a time was called Mary River. But as usual in such cases the wife Mary was soon dropped; and then the river dropped the name Mary, having no claim to it on aboriginal grounds, and took on the more appropriate one of Ogden, from its enterprising and humane discoverer, which name by right it should bear to-day, instead of that of Humboldt, by which it is generally known.[10]

During this same summer of 1825 free trappers from the United States percolated through the hills from the Bear River region, where Henry and Ashley were in camp the previous winter, and came down into north-eastern Nevada. In the *History of Utah* I have told how James Bridger discovered the Great Salt Lake while endeavoring to determine the course of Bear River on which a wager had been laid. After reporting his discovery to his comrades at the rendezvous in Cache Valley, Bridger with a few others set their traps on the western side of the great lake, and gradually working their way westward, before the season was over they came upon Ogden and his party. And thus met in this isolated sterile wilderness, coming from such widely different quarters, these Europeans—French, Scotch, Irish, and English—some by way of Canada and the Columbia River, others by way of the United States and the River Platte, but all animated by the same lofty sentiment, all aiming at the same noble object, the skins of wild beasts.

During the following seasons there were many more

[10] See Warren, in *Pac. R. Rept.*, xi. 36. The name Humboldt was conferred by Frémont without a shadow of right or reason.

American trappers who found their way into Nevada, so much so as to render the Ogden River region less attractive to the people of the Hudson's Bay Company. For while Bridger was trapping and exploring to the west of Great Salt Lake, William H. Ashley was bringing his company of one hundred and twenty men from St Louis, and was building Fort Ashley on Utah Lake. Thence in 1826 many Americans penetrated the wilds of Nevada: so that soon the fur-bearing parts were well known to mountain men, among the most prominent of whom was Mr Green, who gave his name to Green River.

In August of the year last named, Jedediah S. Smith set out from Great Salt Lake with fifteen men, and journeying southward past Utah Lake, turned south-westwardly, and following the old Spanish trail from the great lakes to Los Angeles, crossed the south-eastern corner of Nevada, and reached San Gabriel Mission in December. After divers adventures and misadventures in southern California, he pushed northward up by the western base of the frowning Sierra to the lands of the Mokelumnes and Cosumnes. On the 27th of May, 1827, he found himself with but two men, seven horses, and two mules laden with provisions and hay, attempting the ascent of what he calls Mount Joseph, whose summit was then crowned with snow. The mountains were crossed in eight days, with the loss of two horses and one mule. Twenty days' march to the eastward from the base of Mount Joseph brought him to the south-western corner of Great Salt Lake. The country traversed he pronounced arid and without game. For two days he was wholly without water, working his weary way over a plain which yielded no vegetation. Afterward he came upon some springs, gathered round which were hordes of natives, whom he pronounced the most miserable wretches on earth. When he reached Utah he had but one horse and one mule left, and these were so exhausted that they could scarcely carry the

few things yet remaining.[11] Before the season was over, with fresh supplies and eight men Smith retraced his steps to California where part of his original company had been left. Thence he proceeded to Oregon.

It is worthy of remark that the first crossing by a white man of the Sierra Nevada, and of the entire breadth of what is the state of Nevada, was not in the usual direction of marching empire, but from west to east, a doubling of progress upon its own track, or like a ray of scrutinizing intelligence flung back from the ocean.

In 1828–9 some of the Hudson's Bay Company's trappers who were in Nevada under Ogden passed over the Sierra into California, probably following Smith's last trail. During the next decade the few trappers on the Columbia seeking the Sacramento took McLeod's more western route, while those entering California by way of Santa Fé did not touch Nevada.

A trapping party under Wolfskill came from Taos in 1830, and followed one old Spanish trail toward Salt Lake, and another away from that region toward Los Angeles. As this country had been explored before, and as nothing worthy of note happened on the way, we will look in upon the doings of the trappers who every year rendezvoused in the Green River region, and thence spread out in every direction in search of the much loved beaver-skins.

After lengthy trapping excursions on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains between Texas and Nebraska, George Nidever in November 1831 crossed from the Platte to Green River where he went into winter quarters. Early in August 1832 three parties under Nidever, Frapp, and Wyatt set out from the Pierre Hole rendezvous on trapping expeditions to

[11] There is nothing further known as to Smith's route. For a full account of his adventures with all the evidence see *Hist. California*, and *Hist. Northwest Coast*, this series. It is possible that he made this passage without discovering Humboldt River, though it is not probable.

the westward. Nidever's destination was Ogden River, which he then called Mary River, "a small stream about south-west of Salt Lake." Frapp's company were mostly Canadians and half-breeds. For some distance the route of the three bands was the same, and they continued together. Their first camp was fifteen miles from the rendezvous. Next morning on starting they discovered a band of four hundred war-painted Blackfeet coming down upon them fierce for fight. Hastily throwing up a breastwork of their packs, they despatched a boy on one of their fleetest horses back to the rendezvous to notify the assembled trappers, and then turned to receive the enemy. As soon as the savages were within range shooting set in on both sides. Spreading out in a long line the Blackfeet attempted to surround the trappers. Conspicuous among the savages was a tall and well-built chief, arrayed in a bright scarlet coat and mounted on a magnificent horse. Wishing to be regarded a greater and braver man than his companions, he rode some distance in advance of them, intimating that he would fight single-handed any one of the trappers, or all of them together. Presently one of Wyatt's men, Godin, a Canadian, advanced to meet the chief. Godin was also well mounted, and carried a short rifle concealed from view. The antagonists continued slowly to advance until they were separated by less than fifty yards, when quick as a flash Godin raised his gun and fired. The proud chieftain fell dead to the ground. In an instant Godin was upon him; the scarlet coat was stripped from the fallen hero; and before the savages could arrest him, he flew back under heavy fire to his comrades, whom he reached in safety with his trophy. Reënforcements from the rendezvous arriving the Blackfeet retired. A council of war was held and William Sublette chosen leader. The savages were well posted in some timber near by; nevertheless the trappers determined on immediate attack. In the encounter which followed William Sinclair,

Phelps, Sublette, and others were wounded and fifty Blackfeet killed.

Hastening forward from that hostile region the three companies soon parted, and Nidever set his traps on Ogden River, where he remained with fair success till October, when he returned to the eastern slope for the winter, and came again the following spring to Green River.[12] It may have been this expedition that caused one writer to make the somewhat ludicrous mistake of sending Nathaniel Wyeth with Sublette to trap on Ogden River in 1832. It is scarcely necessary to say that Wyeth was never on Ogden River.

Joseph Walker was of Bonneville's expedition which encamped on Salmon River during the winter of 1832–3, and in the spring divided into trapping parties, taking various directions from the Green River rendezvous. With thirty-five or forty[13] men Walker set out as Irving says to trap beaver on the northern and western sides of Great Salt Lake, intending to pass entirely round that brackish sheet before the season was over; but finding the country along the north-western border desolate and void of water, the party turned about and trapped toward the north and west.

Nidever, however, who accompanied the expedition, and who was fully aware of Bonneville's purpose, and the intentions of the party before leaving the rendezvous, says nothing of any intended survey of the lake, and that idea probably arose in the mind of Bonneville while reciting his adventures to Irving.[14]

[12] *Nidever's Life and Adv.*, MS., 49–55.

[13] Nidever, *Life and Adv.*, MS., 58, says 36; Bonneville 40.

[14] On the other hand Nidever, *Life and Adv.*, MS., 58, distinctly states: 'In the spring there were a large number of trappers gathered at the rendezvous in Green River Valley, and among them Capt. Walker and company bound for California. We joined him, making a party in all of 36. Upon the breaking-up of the rendezvous we started southward, intending to trap a short time on the Mary's River.' A party of 15 free trappers under Sinclair is mentioned by Irving, *Adven. Bonneville*, 72–3, as present at the rendezvous of 1832, and taking part in subsequent events, but not as part of Walker's company. Geo. Nidever was one of the 15, and he relates in his *Life and*

But whether originally impelled by the Salt Lake survey or the California expedition, they had not proceeded far before the barrenness of the country and the absence of water turned their attention toward the snowy mountains seen in the north-west. There they would be sure to find cooling streams, and doubtless multitudes of beavers; so striking out in that direction they soon came upon a little brook, which increased in size as they followed it toward the mountains, until it disappeared in a lake to which there was no outlet.

On the way they found the Shoshones exceedingly troublesome. They stole the traps and compelled the white men to keep a constant guard to prevent attack. Finally they offered to permit the strangers to pass through their country if they would give up their horses and provisions.[15] This the white men refused to do; and after some stray shots on both sides, one of which struck a man named Frazier, further attempts at trapping were abandoned, and both sides prepared for battle. Nevertheless the white men continued their march, doubling their guard, and making a detour from the trail when necessary to avoid ambuscade when passing through narrow defiles and thickly wooded places.

One day in passing a thick and quite extended growth of willows, from which as usual they had turned aside to avoid surprise, four hundred Shoshones emerged and formed into several distinct bands according to the villages to which they belonged.

Adventures, MS., most of the events of the time and place noticed by Irving, with some variations in detail which it does not concern my present purpose to mention. The original company under Robert Bean had left Fort Smith about 40 strong in May 1830. It included many men afterward well known in California, which country they entered at different times and by different routes. Such were Graham, Naile, Nidever, Williams, Price, Leese, and Dye. Their adventures are related at some length by both Nidever and Dye down to the time that the party was divided in New Mexico in the spring of 1831, and the later adventures of the party of 15 that went north to Green River by Nidever, who says that Graham, Naile, and Price were still with him.

[15] 'They spoke the Snake tongue, a language which most of our men were familiar with.' *Nidever's Life and Adv.*, MS., 58.

Presently thirty-four of the enemy advanced, and fifteen white men stepped forth to meet them. The latter permitted the savages to approach quite near before making a move; but when they did fire, if we may believe one who was present, it was with such telling effect that but one of the number escaped alive.[16] During this march there were many dastardly deeds committed which Mr Nidever fails to remember, such as shooting down the unoffending of either sex or any age, and that without provocation.[17]

As to the way by which they left the sink of the Humboldt, and crossed the desert and the Sierra into California, there is much uncertainty. Said Bonneville, "they struck directly westward, across the great chain of Californian mountains. For three and twenty days they were entangled among these mountains, the peaks and ridges of which are in many places covered with perpetual snow. For a part of the time they were nearly starved. At length they made their way

[16] *Nidever's Life and Adv.*, MS., 59–60.

[17] The first published narrative of this expedition was in the *Jonesborough, Tenn. Sentinel* of March 8, 1837, a brief account from the statement of Stephen Meek who had returned to Tennessee, and reprinted in *Niles' Register* of March 25th, vol. lii. 50. Meek says that on Sept. 9th they were surrounded and attacked by a large body of natives with a loss of five men wounded, and one—Wm. Small—killed, the natives being repulsed with a loss of 27 killed. On Sept. 16th the hunters attacked 150 natives, seated and smoking, killed 18, and took 5 captives, who were beaten and released. Bonneville represents that the natives were peaceful and timid, keeping aloof by day but pilfering somewhat at night. A trapper having lost his traps vowed to shoot the first Digger he saw, and did so. Subsequently guilty conscience led the party to imagine themselves in a hostile country, and at a ford farther down the river they attacked a crowd of inoffensive people, shooting 25, and meeting no resistance. Irving paints this outrage in vivid colors. Nidever by way of excuse says that the natives were increasingly bold and hostile from the first, stealing all they could lay their hands on, and attempting to shoot Frazier while setting his traps. It was necessary to give up trapping almost entirely, and only by the greatest precautions did the company escape annihilation. Finally they turned aside from their trail just in time to avoid an ambush, and were attacked by some hundreds of savages, of whom 33 were killed. Nidever admits, however, that a little later he could not resist the temptation to kill two Indians with one shot, thus avenging his brother who had been treacherously murdered sometime before. Finally Joseph Meek, according to *Victor's River of the West*, 146, admits that the attack—in which 75 savages fell, but Meek exaggerates everything, stating that Walker had 118 men—was unprovoked except by the thefts and constantly increasing numbers of the Indians; but he defends the act as a necessity, though it did not seem so to Bonneville, who was not an experienced Indian-fighter.

through them, and came down upon the plains of New California. They now turned toward the south, and arrived at the Spanish village and post of Monterey." Stephen Meek tells us "they travelled now four days across the salt plains, when they struck the Californian Mountains, crossing which took fifteen days, and in fourteen days more they reached the two Laries"—Tulares; "killed a horse, and subsisting on the same eleven days came to the Spanish settlements." Joseph Meek is represented as giving the route somewhat definitely westward to Pyramid Lake, up the Truckee River, and across the mountains—by the present railroad line very nearly—into the Sacramento Valley, and thence southward. This authority also states that they met a company of soldiers out hunting for cattle-thieves in the San José Valley, and were taken as prisoners to Monterey—a dramatic ending to the long journey emanating probably from the trapper's imagination.[18] Finally, a newspaper version, founded on Walker's own statements, and corroborated to some extent by that of Nidever, gives what I suppose to have been the correct route from the sink, south-westward by way of what are now Carson Lake and Walker lake and river, over the Sierra near the head-waters of the Merced, and down into the San Joaquin Valley.[19]

Bonneville had been quite lavish in fitting out this expedition; and when Walker and the men returned, and the captain learned that such of his property as had not been consumed in the desert had been squan-

[18] Yet Sebastian Peralta with a party of *vecinos* from San José did meet early in November a company of so-called French trappers bound to Monterey. *San José, Arch.*, MS., v. 27.

[19] Biographical sketches of Capt. Jos. R. Walker, in *Sonoma Democrat*, Nov. 25, 1876; and in *San José Pioneer*, Sept. 1, 1877. Mr Thompson, of the *Democrat*, was well acquainted with Walker; and the article in the *Pioneer* was founded on an interview. One account says he saw Mono Lake, and the other that he discovered Yosemite. According to the *Pioneer*, 'his first attempt to descend to the west was near the head-waters of the Tuolumne, which he found impossible; but working a little to the southwest he struck the waters of the Merced.' Nidever states that they came down between the Merced and Tuolumne, and soon arrived at Gilroy's rancho.

dered in California, together with the furs which they had gathered, he was very angry.

It has been stated that Christopher Carson and James P. Beckwourth were of this party; or that they were in Carson valley in 1833 and with seven others passed over into California. Carson and Beckwourth were not of the Walker party, nor did they cross the Sierra Nevada to California in 1833. They may have been in Carson or some other valley during that or some other year; indeed, Carson was there in that year; they were trappers, guides or Indian-fighters according to circumstances, and as such were moving hither and thither in and around the great basin. Of the wanderings of the fur-hunters there is no complete record; but of the names of visitors to California during these years there is a record. Carson had been to California before this by the Santa Fé and Los Angeles trail.[20]

[20] Kit Carson was born in Kentucky in 1809. In 1828 he went to New Mexico, and thence proceeded with Ewing Young to California the following year by the old Los Angeles trail. Trapping on the San Joaquin he encountered a party under Peter Skeen Ogden, who went from there to the Columbia river while Carson returned to New Mexico by way of Los Angeles. In 1830 Carson trapped on Green and Salmon rivers, visited Jackson Hole, and in 1831 trapped on Bear river, then to Green river, and back to New Mexico. The following year he was again on Green and Snake rivers, wintering on the latter stream, and in 1833 he went with Thomas McKay of the Hudson's Bay company and five others to the head-waters of Ogden river, and followed it to the sink. Thence McKay proceeded to Walla Walla, and Carson to Fort Hall. During 1834–6 Carson trapped on the Yellowstone and Platte, and the following year went to Bent fort, where for eight years he was official hunter for the post. In 1842 he visited the United States, met Frémont on a steamboat, and engaged to act as his guide. *Peters' Life of Carson*, and *Abbott's Life of Carson*, passim.

CHAPTER III.

PASSAGE OF THE EMIGRANTS.

1834–1846.

TRAPPING BECOMES GENERAL—OPENING OF THE EMIGRATION EPOCH—THE ROAD TO CALIFORNIA—PROGRESS OF THE BARTLESON COMPANY THROUGH NEVADA—BIDWELL, HENSHAW, AND NYE—BELDEN, RICKMAN, CHILES, AND WEBER—WHAT THEY SEVERALLY SAID OF IT—SEARCH FOR OGDEN RIVER—THEY ABANDON THEIR WAGONS—FRIENDLY INTERCOURSE WITH THE SHOSHONES—VARIED ADVENTURES—DISSENSION—SEARCH FOR A PASS—OVER THE SIERRA—HASTINGS AND HIS BOOK—CHILES OVER A NEW ROUTE—WALKER GUIDES A PARTY INTO CALIFORNIA OVER HIS RETURN ROUTE OF 1834—FIRST WAGONS TO TRAVERSE THE ENTIRE COUNTRY—FRÉMONT'S EXPEDITIONS—ELISHA STEVENS OR THE MURPHY COMPANY—SNYDER, SWASEY, BLACKBURN, AND TODD COMPANY—SUBLETTE FROM ST LOUIS—WALKER, CARSON, TALBOT, AND KERN—EXPEDITION OF SCOTT AND THE APPLEGATES FROM OREGON.

AFTER the return of Walker in 1834 trapping parties in Nevada were frequent until game became scarce. As one was very like another, and all uninteresting in detail, it is not necessary to report them further. Presently a fresh impetus was given to westward-marching empire along the line of border settlements. It was no longer furs that most filled men's minds, but broad fertile lands of easy tillage, temperate airs, and a near market. Where there were so many blessings provided by nature without price, as presented themselves to the settler in the then so-called western states, it is no wonder that he became discontented and demanded yet greater favors. Thus it was that from 1839 to 1846 we see parties of emigrants wending their way to Oregon and to California, some of which pass through Nevada, giving us a view of the country as it then appeared.

Among others was John Bidwell who in company with George Henshaw and Michael C. Nye came from Missouri to California in 1841; also families or parties under Josiah Belden, Robert Rickman, John Bartleson, Joseph B. Chiles, and Charles Weber, sometimes uniting in larger companies, some bound for Oregon and some for California. There was present one woman, Mrs Benjamin Kelsey, and her child. Together came the two emigrations by the usual route, up the Platte and through the South Pass to Bear River Valley, and when near Soda Springs they parted company, those for Oregon, and with them some who had originally intended to go to California, proceeding northward to Fort Hall, while the others directed their steps to the south, and passing down into Utah turned toward Nevada about ten miles north of Great Salt Lake. Later emigrants passed round or just touched the north-west corner of Utah.

Nothing was known of this region except what the trappers had reported; none were known to have passed across the country from and to California save the parties under Smith and Walker respectively. As these had followed the Ogden River, the emigrants deemed it necessary first of all to find that stream. I have a manuscript narrative by Mr Chiles entitled *A Visit to California*, in which he states that they travelled seven months with no guide, no compass, nothing but the sun to direct them. They had learned from Dr Marsh the latitude of San Francisco Bay; they knew the latitude of their starting-point; and it was thus they cast themselves adrift upon an ocean of wastes and wilderness.

In answer to inquiries of Mr Grant at Fort Hall, they were told that west of Salt Lake "there was a great and almost impassable desert which we were liable to become involved in if we went too far to the south; that there was a stream running west which had been visited by some of the trappers belonging to

the Hudson's Bay Company, among whom it was known by the name of Mary's, or Ogden's river; that we must try to strike that stream, for to the south of it we would find no feed for animals; that we must be careful not to go too far to the north, for if we did we would become involved in a maze of cañons, and streams with precipitous cliffs which led off into the Columbia River, and where we should be sure to wander and starve to death."[1]

After travelling for seven days westwardly from Bear River, round the northern end of Salt Lake, meanwhile suffering greatly from thirst, they camped the 27th of August on a grassy spot beside a spring of good water, there determined to remain until a way to Ogden River should be found.

Being told by a Shoshone who came into camp that not far away were Indians who had horses, Bidwell with a small party went in search of them but without success. They found, however, five miles from camp a native curing some venison which he had just killed, half of which they bought for twelve cartridges.

Before proceeding further with the train it was deemed advisable to examine the country before them. To this end, on the 29th Bartleson and Hopper started out, and in ten days returned saying they had found Ogden River, distant five days' travel. Meanwhile the weather had become cold, ice forming in the water buckets, and the company had moved slowly forward. Signal fires had been kindled by the natives and the atmosphere was filled with dense smoke.

This is the way Mr Belden tells the same story in his manuscript entitled *Statement of Historical Facts:* "We went on, hunting our way along the best we could, amongst the rocks and gullies, and through the sage-brush, working along slowly for a number of days, aiming to travel westward as fast as we could, having no other guide than an intention to get west.

[1] *Bidwell's California, 1841–8*, MS., 32–3; *Bidwell's Journey to Cal.*, 1841 12.

After travelling several days, passing over a very desert country where there was scarcely any food for our animals, and very rough getting along with our wagons, we finally came to a spot where there was moist ground, some springs, and a little patch of green grass, which we denominated the oasis. We camped there about a week to recruit our animals. While there we did not know which direction to take, nor how to go; but we had heard before leaving Missouri that there was a river somewhere in that section of the country, which was then called Mary's River, which ran to the westward, and this we thought might be a guide for us in some measure, if we could strike the head-waters of it and follow it west. So while the company were camping there, three of the party who had the best animals started out in a westerly direction to explore by themselves, and see if they could find any such river, any water running west. After waiting there several days these men came back and reported that they had found a small stream of water that seemed to be running westward, and they thought that might perhaps be the head-waters or some branch of the Mary's River that we wished to find. After they returned, we raised camp, and under their direction, as near as we could follow it, we travelled two or three days I think, and struck this little stream they had spoken of. We followed it down and found it trended westward, though varying its course, and it proved to be the south fork of Mary's River. We followed it all the way down to the sink of it."

It was the 15th of September when after a hot day they passed through a gap in a ridge of mountains and entered upon a high plain. "It was painfully evident," writes Bidwell, "that we must make greater progress or winter would set in before we could reach the Pacific coast. That night we determined to leave our wagons. So, early the next morning we set to work making pack-saddles for our animals. We had

to pack mules, horses, and the oxen. On the afternoon of the second day we were ready to start. No one of us had seen horses packed...the packs would turn and get down into the dirt. Old mules that were almost skeletons would run and kick at the packs. The work oxen would jump and bellow and try to throw off their loads."

The night before they had cooked supper with fires made from some of the wagons broken up for that purpose; and as they were about to start a Shoshone sage appeared, sent thither from the mountains as he said by the great spirit, who had told him that on the plain below he would find a strange people who would give him many things.[2] There were, indeed, many articles which could not be carried in the absence of the wagons, and the good savage might as well be placed in possession in due form. "The first thing given him," says Bidwell, "was a pair of pantaloons. He immediately turned toward the sun, and commenced a long and eloquent harangue. As he was perfectly naked he was shown how to wear the pants. As article after article was given him during the day, he turned toward the sun and gave thanks in a long speech. As the day wore on and he had many things given him his talks grew shorter, but for each he made somewhat of a speech. The first two addresses must each have been fully half an hour long. We called him the Persian."

It was late in the day before all were ready. Before them was a range of mountains, in crossing which the company were scattered and some of the animals lost. All were suffering for water. Dawson and Bidwell were sent in search of the cattle, but the former soon returned leaving the latter to proceed alone. The cattle fell into an Indian trail which led into a grassy country where was water. Observing Indian tracks mingled with those of the cattle Bid-

[2] *Bidwell's California, 1841–8*, MS., 36–7; *Bidwell's Journey to Cal.*, 1841, 13; *Belden's Statement*, MS., 9

well prepared himself as well as possible against surprise,[3] and continued the search until he found the oxen lying side by side with their packs undisturbed.

Meanwhile the company had moved forward, and Bidwell, unable to follow, and fearing to approach any of the numerous Shoshones to the west, hid himself till morning. Even then his situation was not greatly improved. On his north were mountains, and on the south a plain of hard indurated clay, which yielded no impression to the foot of man or beast. Tying his oxen to a willow bush, in the absence of trees, Bidwell rode hither and thither not knowing what to do. Presently he saw horsemen approaching from the south, and supposing them to be Indians he hastened toward the oxen to use them for a breastwork in case of attack; but suddenly his horse sank into a slough, filling its very eyes and ears with mud. Thereupon the horsemen came up, proving themselves to be his friends Cook and Thorne.

Following a south-westerly course along the base of mountain ranges for several days "we came to a dry desert region, without grass or water, and with few or no hills to the south. Being obliged to camp without water it was the opinion of all that we had come to the borders of that desert spoken of at Fort Hall. The only remedy was to go north and cross a mountain chain which was in sight. The first camp after crossing the divide was on a small spring branch which had trout in it." Indians appeared from time to time in some numbers, but as the strangers were weak they were respectful, and no trouble ensued.

The trout stream which they followed soon sank into the ground, leaving the foot-sore animals on the dry, rocky bed, between banks impossible to scale. The

[3] "I examined my arms, which consisted of a flint-lock rifle and a pair of dragoon pistols also flint-lock. All our company had these guns and pistols. Old hunters in Missouri, whom I asked what kind of guns to bring, said, "Don't have anything to do with those new-fangled things called caps; if you do you will lose by it. If they once get wet you are gone; but if you lose your flint you can easily pick up a stone that will take its place."' *Bidwell's California, 1841–8*, MS., 40.

course was northerly, and the travellers began to fear that they were in one of those frightful cañons spoken of at Fort Hall, and which would lead them to the Columbia. Their hearts were filled with joy, therefore, as they emerged into an open country on the 20th, and came upon a stream which they felt satisfied was Ogden River. Its course was at first northwest, and this troubled them, for "according to the map Mary's River ran w. s. w.," to which course it presently changed. There had been some antelope, but now they had to kill their oxen for food. On the 21st they came to some boiling hot springs, twenty within the circumference of a mile, and exceedingly beautiful and transparent. The white sediment and the rocks which walled the water gave to it a variety of brilliant colors, blue, green, and red. One spring in particular was of striking beauty; "it was about four feet in diameter, round as a circle, and deeper than we could see; the cavity looked like a well cut in a solid rock." The natives were becoming more numerous. "From signs the valley contained thousands."

All the misfortunes of the journey were as nothing in comparison with that which now befell them. It was ascertained one day as they followed down the Ogden that the party were out of tobacco. Some had consumed their supply, and one man, William Belty, had lost his that morning. He swore the Indians had stolen it, and was ready to shoot the first savage he saw in consequence. Some cut out their old pockets and chewed them. Belty offered his mule to ride to any one who would give him tobacco to chew for the day.

It was now the beginning of October; and at the Humboldt Mountains Bartleson determined to press forward and cross the Sierra, leaving those to follow who could. With Bartleson were seven of the company, who killed an ox, and taking a double share of the meat started off. Those in charge of the cattle

were unable to follow, which caused much ill-feeling. Of the advance party was Charles Hopper, thought to be the best mountaineer and guide in the company. "All had confidence in his ability to find the best route through the mountains. As long as we could—about one day—we therefore followed their tracks. The Humboldt River was extremely dry that year, and as we approached the sink it ceased to run, and we were enabled to cross dry shod in several places as we descended it. The seceding party having passed what is now known as the Humboldt range of mountains, and followed down the east side of the Humboldt River, we traversed a sandy plain, where the wind had completely obliterated the tracks of the party who had left us."

Thus thrown upon themselves to find their way over the mountains into California Benjamin Kelsey came to the front. "As soon as we reached what we supposed to be the furthest sink of the Humboldt," continues Bidwell, "but which I am now inclined to think must have been what Frémont afterwards called Carson Lake, we endeavored to make our course more westerly; for we knew that the Pacific ocean lay to the west...The first stream crossed was that now known as Walker's River, so called by Frémont in 1844 I think. This river we ascended to the foot of the high mountains whence it came. Here we deemed it best to give our animals a rest, for men and animals were much in need of it. In the mean time men were sent to scale the mountains to the west, to discover if possible a pass. They were gone a day and a night, and reported that the mountains were barely passable. At this time we had but two oxen left, and we had just killed the best one of these, and were drying meat preparatory to scaling the mountains the next day. The meat was dried to make our loads as light as possible, because neither men nor animals were able to carry heavy burdens over the mountains."

While thus engaged, the party who had deserted

nine days before, came up, weary and halting, from the east. They had gone south too far, probably as far as Walker Lake, and now returned crestfallen and weak with dysentery brought on by pine nuts and fresh fish given them by the natives. "Boys!" exclaimed the now humbled Captain Bartleson as he sat eating the wholesome food prepared for him by his late abandoned comrades, "my hogs in Missouri fared better than have I of late, and if ever I see that spot again I swear to you I will never leave it."

All set forward next morning, the 17th. The ascent was made; the great divider of waters was passed; and on the second day the party were out of Nevada, and upon the tributaries of the Stanislaus, where we will leave them to find their way into the valley of California.[4]

[4] Mr Belden's account is as follows: 'Before we struck this river, we found we were so delayed by our wagons that we concluded to abandon them, and we took what things we could and packed them on our horses and oxen, and what we could not carry we left with our wagons standing in the plains. We were then within sight of the Sierra Nevada mountains, which we knew we had to cross. But we could see no appearance of any opening or depression which we might avail of to get across. Then we struck south, until we finally came to what is known as Walker's River. We then followed the west branch of this river, I think, up into the mountains. When we struck that river, however, after following it for some distance and getting into the neighborhood of the mountains, without finding any depression, or any place where it seemed possible to cross, there was some division of opinion among the members of the company. Our provisions had given out before, while we were travelling down Mary's River, and then we commenced killing the cattle we had with us and eating them. At the sink of the Humboldt River a portion of the company who had the best animals, about nine of them, parted from the others, and said they were going to travel faster, and get in before they became exhausted. The balance went on, and as I said, got to Walker's River. When we reached there, there was a difference of opinion about whether we should attempt crossing the mountains, or give up the expedition then, and turn back, and try to get back to Fort Hall. While we were stopping there, one day two others and myself left the party, and went up to some of the higher peaks of the mountains to explore and see if we could find any place where we could cross. We returned and reported that we could see no opening in the mountains, that so far as we could see, the mountains seemed rather higher beyond than lower, and there was no appearance of any end or termination of them, and very little chance to get through. There was a vote taken in the company to determine whether we should go on and try to get across the mountains, or turn back and try to reach Fort Hall. I think we had only one majority for going ahead. Although it looked discouraging on the mountains, my idea was that we should perish in trying to get back to Ft. Hall, and we had better take our chances of getting across the mountains. So we decided to travel on. The next morning we were packing up to start into the mountains, and in looking

In 1842 L. W. Hastings led a company of one hundred and sixty to Oregon. The following year Hastings passed with a small party into California. In 1845 he published at Cincinnati *The Emigrant's Guide to Oregon and California*, copies of which were found distributed along the road the following year.

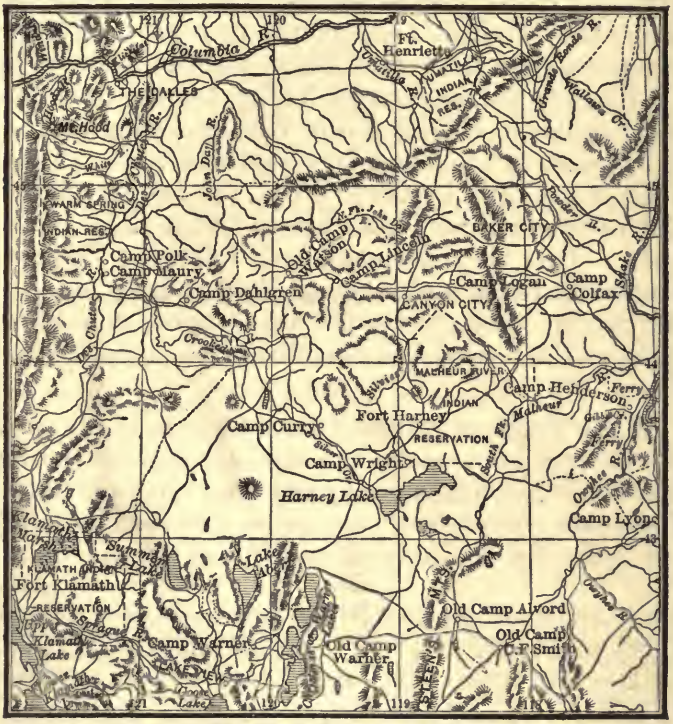
Joseph B. Chiles, of the Bartleson company of 1841, having returned to the States, organized a company which in 1843 followed the usual route to Fort Hall, where they divided, some of the men proceeding by a new route by way of Fort Boisé and the Malheur and Pit rivers to the Sacramento Valley, leaving the wagons and families in charge of Joe Walker, acting as guide, to be taken to California by a southern route, through Walker pass and by Owen Peak, the one by which he had returned from California to Great Salt Lake in 1834. This they accomplished, following down the Humboldt to the sink, then to Walker Lake, and over the Sierra; theirs being the first wagons to cross the state, as Bartleson's had been the first to enter Nevada.

When Frémont returned from Oregon in the winter of 1843, he kept along the eastern base of the Cascade and Nevada ranges, entering Nevada late in December. Snow and sage brush covered the valleys, but grass for the animals was found on the hills of

back we saw the dust rising on the trail we had travelled the day before, and we waited to see what it was; and presently we saw the nine men who had left us several days before with the idea of going ahead, coming up on our trail, very hungry and forlorn-looking. We had a quarter of beef left from the last animal we had killed, and gave them something to eat. They had made a kind of circle, and reached our camp, having struck our trail. We then all went on together. We worked our way into the mountains with a great deal of difficulty and hardship. The way was very rough, and one day in winding round the side of a mountain we lost four of our animals, who missed their footing and rolled down the mountain. We finally reached the summit with great labor and difficulty, and after getting a little beyond the summit on the other side, we struck a little stream of water that seemed to run westward, and we judged that we had got over the divide, and thought that by following the stream as well as we could, it would lead us down the westerly slope of the mountain. Meantime we had eaten the last of our beef from our cattle, and we were reduced to the necessity of killing our horses and mules, and living on them.' *Historical Facts*, MS. For continuation of the narrative after crossing the Sierra see *Hist. Cal.*, this series.

slight elevation, dividing the successive plains, while in the mountain passes were seen large cedars. The Shoshones here encountered stole horses, caught hare, in whose skins they sometimes sought to cover themselves, and huddled almost naked over a sage fire.

Following a grassy hollow, into some meadows, on the 29th the party came to a willow grove, where they



FRÉMONT'S ROUTE, 1843–4.

made camp. Next day they saw a stream enter a cañon which they could not follow, but doubted not it flowed into Mary Lake. "On both sides the mountains showed often stupendous and curious-looking rocks, which at several places so narrowed the valley that scarcely a pass was left for the camp. It was a

singular place to travel through, shut up in the earth, a sort of chasm, the little strip of grass under our feet, the rough walls of bare rock on either hand, and narrow strip of sky above."

New Year's day, 1844, saw them continuing down the valley "between a dry-looking black ridge on the left, and a more snowy and high one on the right." The grass was gone, and a finely powdered sand and saline efflorescence covered the ground. Next day they crossed south-easterly the dry bed of a large muddy lake. In a dense fog which scattered the men and animals, on the 3d of January, the search for Ogden River was continued. "Our situation had now become a serious one," writes the leader. "We had reached and run over the position where, according to the best maps in my possession, we should have found Mary's lake or river. We were evidently on the verge of the desert which had been reported to us; and the appearance of the country was so forbidding that I was afraid to enter it, and determined to bear away to the southward, keeping close along the mountains, in the full expectation of reaching the Buenaventura River." In fact the search for this mythical stream brought upon the expedition much confusion, its absence being scarcely less bewildering than the continuing fog. They had but to ascend a hill, however, to find it all bright sunshine. Then they crossed the bed of another lake, where were traces of sheep and antelope, and came through grass to some hot springs. Since leaving The Dalles the party had lost fifteen animals.

On the 6th, with Godey and Carson, Frémont proceeded in advance to explore. They soon came to grass with springs overshadowed with cottonwood, harbingers of better lands. On the mountains they saw heavy timber, which led them to infer that they were not far from the Pacific. While Carson and Frémont were again reconnoitring they came upon a sheet of green water, which they estimated to be

twenty miles in width. "It broke upon our eyes like the ocean. The neighboring peaks rose high above us...the waves were curling in the breeze, and their dark green color showed it to be a body of deep water." It lay at the foot of the Sierra, communicating at what they call the western end with a series of basins. Wild sheep were seen; also ducks and fish. Rising from the middle of the lake was a remarkable rock, estimated by them to be six hundred feet in height, in form like the pyramid of Cheops, whereupon they called the sheet Pyramid Lake. They were surprised to find at the southern end a large fresh-water inlet instead of an outlet; the latter did not exist, as they were then informed by the natives. There was here an Indian village, whose inhabitants brought fish of excellent quality to trade.

The natives made a drawing on the ground representing this river as issuing from another large lake, three or four days distant over the mountains toward the south-west. Then they drew a mountain, and beyond it placed two more rivers, from all which the explorers concluded they were not on the waters of the Sacramento, or even of the Humboldt, though at every turn they still expected to come upon the great Buenaventura. The 16th they continued their journey along the beautiful Truckee, which they called Salmon Trout River; on their right was the great snow-enshrouded Sierra, while at their feet flowed the limpid stream in places almost hidden by large cottonwoods. Carson searched everywhere for beaver cuttings, which he maintained would be found only on streams flowing into the ocean, and failing to find such signs he became convinced that the waters thereabout had no outlet from the great interior.

They then crossed to Carson River. Smoke-signals rose on every side; yet the natives being unmolested gave no trouble, and even brought pine-nuts to trade. The shoes of horses and men were becoming worn out, and the commander determined at this juncture

to pass over the mountains into California, which, after proceeding southward up the eastern branch of Walker River for some distance and returning, he accomplished under the guidance of natives near where Walker, Bartleson, and others had crossed before him, and still searching for his Buenaventura.[5]

Frémont next entered Nevada from southern California by way of Tehachapi pass in April 1844. The view of the great basin eastward from this point was not pleasing. White and glistening, under a hot mist, lay an apparently illimitable desert, with blistering buttes and isolated black ridges. A spur of the Sierra, stretching easterly some fifty miles, showed peaks of snow pronounced by the natives perpetual. Descending the eastern slope the party followed the Santa Fé trail, over which the caravan had not passed this year, so that at the camping-grounds was found good grass. They were troubled occasionally by the natives, through whom they lost one man, and one by accident. They were joined by Walker at Las Vegas, and on reaching the Rio Vírgen they ascended that stream and arrived at Utah Lake the latter part of May. Thence they proceeded by way of the Uintah River and Three Parks to the Kansas.

A party under Elisha Stevens, sometimes called the Murphy company, passed though Nevada in 1844, by the usual route down the Humboldt to the sink, on their way from the Missouri River to California. The names of the party, who were the first to traverse the entire distance in wagons, are given in my *History of California*. There were one or two women present; and save the fact that the party underwent some suffering at the sink of the Humboldt, where

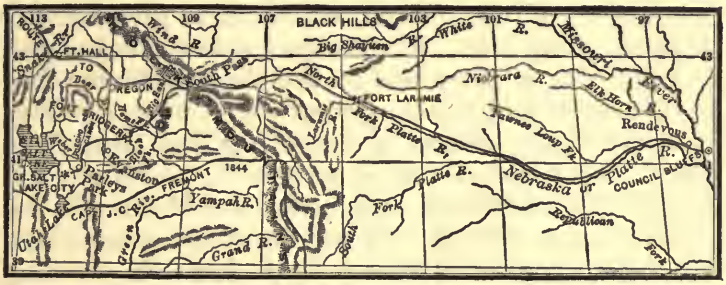
[5] Frémont's report shows that in this expedition he had not seen, or did not care to give heed to, the previously published history and map of the explorations of Bonneville; for had he done so he would probably not have been led into the error to which he attributed a great deal of his hardships, of constantly looking for the hypothetical river of Buenaventura, which, as he supposed, taking its rise in the Rocky Mountains emptied itself into the bay of San Francisco, and upon which he expected to winter.

they arrived about the first of November and remained a month, later narrowly escaping the thrilling adventures afterward involving the Donner party, there is nothing of special interest to mark their progress through Nevada.

It was common for part of the Oregon immigration to branch off at Fort Hall and go to California. Among the first so to do in 1845 was a party of twelve young men, among whom were Jacob R. Snyder, William F. Swasey, Blackburn, and Todd, who with pack-animals preceded the wagons. Following these was a party of fifteen under Sublette from St Louis; and next the Grigsby-Ide company. As the emigrants merely passed through the country by a well beaten road, on their way to California, seeing nothing new, doing nothing in particular, making no stay in Nevada, and leaving no mark, there is little to be said of them in this place. Speaking of their journey along the Humboldt Mrs Healy, who was of the party, says: "None of our company were killed by the Indians; but John Greenwood, son of the pilot, shot down an Indian by the roadside, and afterward boasted of it." And Thomas Knight in his manuscript *Statement* writes: "We left Independence in April 1845. After we had learned about this country from Col. Joe Walker, George McDougall, Snyder, Blackburn, and myself determined to come here if possible, as we did not like the idea of going to Oregon. We came on to Fort Bridger, in the Snake Indian country. There we fell in with hunters from whom we got more information, and we crossed the Bear River, and went north to Fort Hall, not the Salt Lake route, for that was not known till the year afterwards. We got a book written by Hastings, extolling the country highly, and depicting it in glowing colors. We read it with great interest. We met Hastings on the way. At Fort Hall we camped some time, and recruited our animals, which had be-

come very much jaded at that time, feed being scarce. There the party divided, and those of us who were bound for California joined some others, and a new party was made up, with about 15 wagons. We started, and went down and struck the head of Mary's River, at that place only three or four feet wide. The Indians killed some of our cattle, and some of the Indians were killed, the Shoshones; they had no fire-arms at that time. They would come around after dark, and make a noise like a coyote, and call to each other."

Frémont with a party of sixty came again this year by way of Bent Fort, the Arkansas River, and Utah Lake. Thence they passed on to Nevada, entering



FREMONT'S ROUTE, 1845.

near Pilot Peak. On the 5th of November at Whitton Spring, in the vicinity of the head-waters of Ogden River the company divided, Frémont with a few men striking due south-west, and reaching Walker Lake the 23d. The stations named by the explorers were Crane's branch of the south fork of the Humboldt; the head-waters of the south branch of the Humboldt; Connor Spring; Basil Creek; Boiling Springs; Moore Creek; and Secondi Spring, Sheep Mountain, meaningless terms for the most part to-day, although the latitude and longitude are given. The main body followed the Humboldt to the sink, and then turned south, reaching Walker Lake the 27th.

This party was under Joseph Walker, from whom the lake was named.

Here they all remained for two days, when Frémont with fifteen men crossed into California by way of Walker and Truckee rivers, while the others, among whom were Theodore Talbot, Joe Walker, and E. M. Kern, on the 8th of December proceeded southward to Owen Lake and on to Kern River.[6]

We have seen the veteran trapper and pioneer Jedediah Smith crossing Nevada from west to east along what was later the track of the emigrant road and the railway. A more difficult and dangerous journey was that achieved by fifteen men from Oregon in 1846, under Levi Scott, Jesse Applegate, and Lindsey Applegate, a full account of which is given in my *History of Oregon*. Their object was to find a pass through the southern end of the Cascade Mountains, by means of which immigrants could enter the Willamette Valley direct by travelling due west from Great Salt Lake, or rather by bending south and following the California trail along the Humboldt for some distance, then striking northerly toward the Modoc country and Klamath Lake, and thus avoiding

[6] Thomas S. Martin, in his *Narrative of Frémont's Expedition in 1845–6*, MS., 9–10, gives the following version: 'We left Hardscrabble with about 60 men; followed the Ark. to its head. Here we crossed the dividing ridge between the head-waters of the Ark. and Grand rivers. On or near the top of this ridge we found a fine lake about half a mile across. Striking the Grand River we followed down it for several days, and then left it, going about due west, I think, across to Hams Fork, which we followed down to Utah Lake. Thence by Jordan River to Salt Lake. Here we remained 22 days taking soundings. From here we crossed to Mary's River, followed it to its sink, thence due south to a large lake, and thence to Carson sink just above Lake. Here Frémont took 15 men to cross the Sierra Nevada at Bear River, while the rest of us, under Lieut. Talbot, proceeded southward and crossed at the forks of the Kern River. Bill Williams, Capt. Walker, and Kit Carson were with us, the former two as guides. Bill Williams left us I think before we left Salt Lake. Frémont was to meet us at the point of the Sierra Nevada, or rather a little above it, at the forks of the Kern River. Having reached this appointed place we waited 18 days without hearing anything of Frémont and party. By this time provisions had given out, and all the men threatened to leave Talbot if he did not move. We then crossed over to the San Joaquin and followed it down to where the railroad now crosses it, where we arrived Feb. 17, 1846.'

the Rogue River Valley. Thence their course was along the banks of the main stream until they encountered its southeast branch, which they followed to the base of the Siskiyou Range, and from this turned eastward toward the Cascades, passing through a region now for the first time explored, and only a few miles north of the boundary line of California. Ascending the slopes of the latter, a stream named Keene Creek conducted them to a small valley, afterward known as Round Prairie. A day or two later, Long Prairie was reached, and near it a pass from which, following a ridge trending toward the north, they reached the summit of the Cascades on the 4th of July.

Crossing the mountains, they entered the valley of the Klamath, and following the course of the river to a point where it separates from the lower Klamath Lake, crossed by a ford to the western shore of the lake, skirting its banks until they arrived at Hot Creek, where they encamped on the very spot where three of Fremont's party had been murdered a few weeks before by the Modocs. From Hot Creek they made their way to Modoc Lake, thence to Goose Lake and Surprise Valley, and over the ridge dividing the Pacific lake basin from the great interior basin, and after innumerable hardships, they finally struck the Humboldt River about where now stands Humboldt City. They were now upon a well known road, which it would be useless for them to travel for purposes of exploration. So striking northeasterly they examined the country in that direction to ascertain if any better or more direct route might be found than that which they had just now for the first time marked out. They continued their course to Thousand Springs Valley, and satisfied that further search was needless, the company divided, part going to Bear River and part to Fort Hall.

It was the intention of the Oregon company to locate a direct road to Bear River, but one not less

than fifty miles to the southward of Fort Hall, which point would be avoided by Americans in the event of hostilities with England, then threatened by the determined attitude of both nations in regard to the boundary question. But as provisions ran short, the party divided, some proceeding to Bear River, and the remainder turning off toward Fort Hall for supplies, hoping also to induce a portion of the emigrants, then probably in its neighborhood, to journey by the new route, and thus open the road for travel.

CHAPTER IV.

SETTLEMENT.

1847–1860.

CESSION FROM MEXICO—ADVENT OF THE MORMONS—COLONIZATION—MORMON STATION—TRAFFIC WITH EMIGRANTS—INTERCOURSE WITH CALIFORNIA—GOVERNMENT ASSUMED—LAND CLAIMS MADE AND RECORDED—CATTLE TRADE, FARMING, AND BUILDING—FIRST SETTLERS—PETITION FOR ANNEXATION TO CALIFORNIA—MOVEMENTS TOWARD A TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT—CONFLICTS WITH THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS—POLITICAL AND JUDICIAL.

IN the sudden occurrence of remarkable events which followed the war between the United States and Mexico, the settlement of the great American basin was included. Much notoriety was given to Frémont's explorations, and less to a far greater movement—that of the Latter-day Saints, who founded a city two thirds of the way across the continent, and in so doing forestalled the necessity about to arise for such a station in such a place. The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was no sooner signed than the new owners of the California territory, by discovering gold, attracted toward it a stream of immigration. The founders of Salt Lake City, saved from nakedness by the advent of trains of starving but better clad pilgrims to the land of gold, were glad to sell grain and vegetables to the westward bound, which saved the latter much suffering. This mutually beneficial arrangement of demand and supply was not confined to Salt Lake, but Mormon and other traders soon posted themselves along the line of travel to the mines, and particularly in the valley of Carson river, where, in

1849, they founded the first settlements in what is now the state of Nevada.

Ceded to the United States at the same time, and, indeed, as one with California,[1] this region of the Spanish domain had not, like that west of the Sierra Nevada, a distinctive name, but was described by local names, and divided into valleys.

In March following the treaty with Mexico and the discovery of gold, the inhabitants of Salt Lake valley met and organized the state of Deseret, the boundaries of which included the whole of the recently acquired Mexican territory outside of California, and something more.[2]

Soon afterward a company was organized among the same people to visit the mines, consisting of eighty men, led by a captain named De Mont, and having for secretary H. S. Beatie,[3] who, becoming enamored of the valley of the Carson, and the opportunities offered for turning an honest penny, took possession of the site of the present town of Genoa, and thereupon erected a log house. Several of the company remained with Beatie, while the others continued on to the mines.[4]

After putting up the walls of the first house[5] built

[1] *Statutes of Cal.*, 1850, 16; *Hayden's Great West*, a book historical, scientific, and descriptive, by Prof. F. V. Hayden, once U. S. geologist, in a brief sketch of Nevada history, says that it was at first a 'part of California territory, and was subsequently attached to Utah,' a statement which is somewhat misleading.

[2] The Mormon State of Deseret included what has since become Nevada, Utah, Arizona, portions of Colorado, Wyoming, and Oregon, and in California the counties of San Diego and Los Angeles as far north as Santa Monica, whence the line extended north to the Sierra, taking in half of Kern, a part of Tulare, all of Inyo and Mono, a part of Alpine, the whole of Lassen, and a part of Shasta and Siskiyou counties. See *Hist. Utah*, this series.

[3] Beatie, from whose manuscript narrative, *The First in Nevada*, I take the history of this expedition, was born in Va in 1826. He moved with his parents to Mo. at the age of 10 years, and in 1840 to Ky, returning to Va and entering college. In 1848 he immigrated to Utah with his wife, whom he had married in Mo. From that period his history is a part of the history of Utah.

[4] De Mont, Abner Blackburn and brother, Kimball, and Carter were five of the men who remained in Carson valley. *Beatie's First in Nevada*, MS., 2. Three other names are given in Beatie's MS.—Pearson, Smith, and Brown—but I am not certain that they remained.

[5] The structure is what is called a double log house—that is, two compartments connected by a covered passage-way, after the style of the Mis-

in Nevada since the disappearance of the old-time fabulous cities,[6] Beatie and one of the Blackburns crossed the mountains by the Carson pass to the American river, to purchase supplies for the remainder of the summer. There he learned that a large immigation might be expected from the United States to California; so he sold three yokes of cattle for a good price, and purchased provisions. Returning to Carson valley, the cargo was quickly disposed of to the immigration, and another journey made to the mines, this time with pack animals, and by the way of a pass over the mountains three miles south of Beatie's claim, the adventurers crossing the streams on bridges and floats of logs.[7] At the end of the summer the little party in Carson valley found itself better off from the profits of trade than many who had spent the time digging for gold in California. Other traders had come over the mountains from the west, and disposing of their goods disappeared with the immigration. When he returned to Salt Lake in September, Beatie sold his house and claim to one Moore, of whom I know nothing further,[8] except that he probably sold in 1851 to John Reese. It is certain that one of the Mormon party kept possession until Reese came. Two of Beatie's associates went to California. The other five, with ten who came back from the mines, travelled back in company to Salt Lake, and were attacked by the Bannacks in the vicinity of Bear river, losing all their horses and provisions, and

souri frontier in the past generation. It had neither floor nor roof, but as it did not rain that season, was not uncomfortable. A corral was also constructed, in which to keep cattle and horses.

[6] It has been claimed that the Morgan exploring expedition to southern Nevada and Utah found in a desert valley, two days' journey south of Reese river, remnants of an extensive city, with regularly laid out streets and good masonry. The ruins were covered several feet deep under sand. The reader may take the statement at what he deems it worth. Corr. *N. Y. Tribune*, in *Elko Independent*, Oct. 23, 1877.

[7] This was probably the route opened by the returning Mormon battalion in the spring of 1848. See *Hist. Cal.*, this series.

[8] Beatie says his house was directly west of Reese's saw-mill, subsequently erected, and about 50 yards from where Reese built his trading post. *First in Nevada*, MS., 3.

being relieved by a company from Oregon carrying provisions to Fort Hall for the new military post.[9]

In 1850 there were about twenty trading posts, built of saplings and green boughs, at intervals along the length of the Carson valley, most of them established by men from California, who this year did not reap the same profit as before, the principal part of the immigration having taken the route by the Truckee river. As there was no communication between the two routes, the traders could not take their flour, which the immigrants greatly needed, to them; in consequence of which failure to meet in Carson valley, the former suffered loss and the latter hunger.[10]

A disease resembling cholera prevailed in the valley, which took off ten or twelve daily, the immigrants falling easy victims, owing to previous exhaustion. These several circumstances retarded the settlement of the Carson valley, and in 1852 there had been no houses erected, although the returning Mormon gold-hunters made selection of several claims as they passed homeward.[11] Reese's establishment was called the Mormon station, and was known to all immigrants between 1851 and 1857.[12] Reese's capital in trade

[9] I find that some have placed the advent of the Mormons in Nevada as early as 1847–8; but for such assertions there are no grounds. The founding of Salt Lake did not take place till 1847, and the Mormons were in no condition to send out colonies at that time; nor was there any object for so doing before the State of Deseret was organized. *Powell's Nevada*, a book which should have been more correct, makes the same mistake, and the additional one of stating that gold was discovered in Nevada 'during the absence' of the Mormon settlers in 1849. In *Browne's Min. Resources*, 87, the same error in dates is repeated which occurs elsewhere; as in *Kelly's Nev. Dir.*, 1862, 95; *Virginia City Enterprise*, June 6, 1875; *San José Pioneer*, May 26, 1877.

[10] Those who did reach the immigrants on the Humboldt desert could get a horse, an ox, or mule for 12, 10, or even 2 pounds of flour; while the 50,000 pounds of that commodity at the trading posts on the Carson route—so said E. Eyre, a trader—could be purchased for 15 cents a pound. *Sacramento Transcript*, Oct. 14, 1850; *Cal. Courier*, July 23, 1850.

[11] I take this statement from a manuscript by A. H. Hawley, called *Lake Tahoe*, full of pertinent facts and suggestions. Hawley, who was born in Vt in 1813 immigrated to the Pacific coast overland in 1852. He speaks of seeing no other building than the 'Old Mormon Station,' kept by John Reese, except the abanded and never completed one erected by Beatie, and 16 miles farther up the valley a brush-tent called Lucky Bill's trading post. See also *Sac. Transcript*, in *Cal. Courier*, July 23, 1850.

[12] Reese's station was a two-story log structure shaped like an L. It had a frontage of 30 feet, a depth of 50 feet, and at one time formed 2 sides of a

consisted of ten wagon-loads of flour, butter, eggs, and other articles. His company from Salt Lake comprised John and Rufus Thomas, Stephen A. Kinsey, two or three of the name of Lee, Condie, Brown, and Gibson, and a few passengers for California—sixteen in all. He stopped for a short time near the eastern end of the valley, at a place which, from the débris around the camping-ground, acquired the name of Ragtown, by which it was long known; but Kinsey having proceeded to the western end of the valley and reported Beatie's former location a better one, he removed in July to that spot.[13]

On the 9th of September, 1850, congress defined the boundaries of Utah, which did not extend west of the Sierra Nevada.[14] In the autumn of 1851 a little handful of settlers, part Mormon and part gentile, in order to be enabled to take and hold land claims, assumed to form a government for themselves in this remotest western valley of Utah. The population at this time did not number more than one hundred, and of these not more than twenty were actual settlers. The first meeting for this purpose was held on the 12th of November, A. Woodward presiding. The resolutions passed provided for a petition to congress to erect a distinct territorial government in the valley; for the survey of land claims, and the appointment of James H. Haynes as surveyor. The governing and appointing power was vested in a committee of seven, namely, William Byrnes, John Reese, E. L. Barnard, A. Woodward, H. H. Jameson, T. A. Hylton, and N. R. Haskill. The committee on

pentagon-shaped fort. The land which Moore purchased from Beatie, and Reese from Moore, was also purchased again from a chief of the Washoes, named Captain Jim, for 2 sacks of flour. *Wright's Big Bonanza*, 20.

[13] Reese was born in N. Y. state in 1808. He came to Utah in company with Enoch Reese, his brother, in 1849, and was in business in Salt Lake as a member of the firm J. & E. Reese at the time he removed to Carson valley. Reese's *Mormon Station*, MS., 1.

[14] The boundaries of Utah as first organized were, west by California, north by Oregon, east by the summit of the Rocky mountains, and south by lat. 37°.

resolutions, or laws, consisted of John Reese, J. P. Barnard, William Byrnes, Washington Loomis, and H. H. Jameson. The amount of land which could be taken was limited to one quarter-section; a recording officer was appointed, who was also treasurer.

At the second meeting, held on the 19th, John Reese presiding, this pioneer legislature resolved to give claimants a right to sell their claims and take new ones; required improvements to the amount of five dollars before the expiration of six months; gave authority to companies to take claims for each member, and to hold the whole by improving one claim to the amount of five dollars each; and decreed that timbered land should be common to all, except in the case of lumber manufacturers, who should be limited to a certain number of acres.

At the third meeting of the settlers, which occurred on the 20th of November, the same officers presiding, it was agreed that a justice of the peace, a clerk of the court, and a sheriff should be elected, and that E. L. Barnard should be magistrate, William Byrnes sheriff, and T. A. Hylton clerk. To provide against abuses, citizens should have the right of appeal to a court of twelve men summoned in the manner of a jury, from whose decision there should be no appeal. A constable and clerk of these courts were also provided for. At another meeting, in May 1852, J. C. Fain being chairman, it was decided that to any one who should build a saw-mill, the right to take up a section of timber land should be granted.[15] No further action appears to have been taken in the matter of government before the intervention of the territorial authorities of Utah.[16]

[15] The several authorities conflict concerning the date of the first saw-mill. Beatie says that in 1853, on revisiting Carson valley, he found houses built of sawed lumber, but there is reason to believe those he mentions were made of wagon-boxes.

[16] It has been later reported of those living in Carson valley in 1851–2, that John Reese is a comparatively poor man in Salt Lake City; Frank Barnard was killed by an immigrant in the winter of 1852; A. Woodward was killed by Indians at Rocky Point on the Humboldt, about the end of

The first land claim recorded under the government of Utah, on December 1852, was that of Reese, which extended from his trading house south "to a lone tree," and included all between the river and the mountains on the west. Five other claims were recorded south of Reese's, in the order following: E. L. Barnard, S. A. Kinsey, James C. Fain, J. Brown, and William Byrnes. J. H. Scott and brother took a claim north of Reese, these seven being all that were recorded previous to 1853.[17]

The land law was amended by a citizens' meeting in 1853, when it was decreed that notice of a claim must be given, and $100 worth of improvements put upon it within 60 days. A married man might take 640 acres, and a single man half that amount. Joseph P. Barnard, Frank Barnard, George Follensbee, A. J. Rollins, Frank Hall, and W. L. Hall came over the mountains from the California mines in November 1851 to look for gold in Carson valley; but not finding paying diggings, they took up the land where Carson City now stands, and erected a trading-post. Frank Hall one day shot an eagle and stretched its skin on the front of their cabin, from which circumstance travellers first called this Eagle station, then Eagle rancho, and lastly spoke of Eagle valley, which name the region still retains; but these men disregarded the authority of the self-constituted government in the matter of land claims. In the autumn of 1852 a man named Clark erected a cabin under the shelter of a timbered spur of the mountains, near the site of

1851; E. L. Barnard, one of the firm of Reese & Co., absconded in the autumn of 1854 with the proceeds of the sale of a large drove of cattle, and broke up the firm; N. R. Haskill, in the spring of 1852, attempted the assassination of William Byrnes, shooting him full of bullets, and leaving him, as he believed, dead. A miner's court compelled Haskill to leave the country, together with his partner, Washington Loomis, who was afterward hanged at Los Angeles for stealing. Byrnes, who had been a Texan ranger, recovered from the shooting, and became an inmate of the Stockton insane asylum. Thorrington was accused of murder and theft, and hanged.

[17] The records of this government, made by T. G. Barnard and T. A. Hylton, are preserved in a book of 60 leaves, 6 by 7 inches in size, in the possession of Martin M. Gaige of Carson City.

Franktown, and called his place the garden of Eden, to which fabled spot he fancied it bore some resemblance.[18] Like the first Adam, he deserted his paradise after a short residence for a more lucrative existence in the outside world.

The Utah legislature, on the 3d of March, 1852, created out of western Utah the counties of Weber, Deseret, Tooele, Juab, Millard, Iron, and Washington. The territory was divided by parallel lines running east and west, and the first three named divisions occupied the northern part of what is now Nevada down to about the present northern line of Washoe county. The next two divisions on the south, Juab and Millard, included all of the Carson valley settlements. Judges were appointed for a term of four years. For Weber and Deseret, Isaac Clark; for Tooele, Alfred Lee; for Juab, George Bradley; for Millard, Anson Call; for Iron and Washington, Chapman Duncan. It would seem from these appointments that the Mormons were scattered over the whole territory, or that it was their intention to send out colonies.

In roads, bridges, and mail contracts they became prominent. In December 1852 John Reese and Israel Mott[19] secured a franchise for five years to construct a toll-bridge over the Carson river, and improve the

[18] B. L. King settled in 1852 at the mouth of a cañon in Eagle valley, which bears his name. A man named Bowen tarried through the summer and raised a crop, but went away in the autumn. A few others in Carson valley in 1852–3 were Lee, Condie, and Gibbon, Mormons; and Joseph Webb, T. G. Barnard, and James Fennimore, or Old Virginia as he was called, gentiles. Jacob H. or 'old man' Rose, was another atom of humanity which found lodgment about this time at the mouth of King's cañon in Eagle valley. G. W. Dodge and John Campbell, who had been mining in Gold cañon, took up a claim in Washoe valley, and Christopher West located himself near them. On the Truckee meadows lived a Mormon named Jameson. Dagget took a place two miles west of Reese, and John Redding in Jack's valley. Jones, James, and Hayward settled in Carson valley about 1852.

[19] Mott, with his wife, left Salt Lake for Cal. with a train in May 1852. He first settled 4 miles above Reese, and built a house out of the beds of wagons abandoned in the valley. He made a window-sash with a jack-knife, paying 75 cts a light for 7 by 9 inch glass to put in it. He was the founder of Mottsville. His wife, who was the first female settler, married a second time to A. M. Taylor, and later resided in Carson valley

road up the mountains beyond. A mail route was established between Salt Lake City and San Bernardino, and a post established at Las Vegas spring, which was for the protection of this route. At Carson valley this was a prosperous year. The immigration was large and hungry. At Mormon station turnips grown in the virgin soil of the valley sold for a dollar a bunch; watermelons, potatoes, and corn brought extravagant prices; wheat and barley were also marketable for cash, or cattle, which were better than cash. Reese, who was the principal trader, bought out a would-be rival, Ben Holladay, afterward famous as a stage-owner.

In 1853 the settlements had very much increased, and land entries became frequent.[20] A number of families had been added to the population, and some of the forms of social life begun to be observed that year, notably a marriage, a divorce, and a ball.[21] It was a year later before a school was opened.

[20] J. H. Scott and Charles Ferguson filed a claim April 11th; also the same day J. H. Haynes and David Barry, and Thomas and E. H. Knott. On May 12th Charles A. Daggett filed a claim; May 17th R. T. Hawkins in Jack's valley; July 22d, L. M. Young and James Greene; Sept. 30th, L. Olds and John Olds; Oct. 5th, John L. Cary and Thomas Knott sold a farm to W. B. Thorrington for $600. Oct. 6th, four sixth of the Eagle rancho was sold by Frank and W. L. Hall to E. L. Barnard, two sixths having already been sold to them by their former partners, A. J. Rollins and George Follensbee.

[21] Mrs Laura M. Dittenrieder, who arrived June 9, 1853, was at that time the wife of James B. Ellis. Her husband took a land claim 1½ miles below where Dayton now stands, and erected a substantial log house. Oct. 4, 1854, Ellis accidently shot himself. Mrs Ellis, like an intelligent woman, kept a journal, in which she wrote the following facts: Spafford Hall, from Fort Wayne, Indiana, kept a trading post and station at the Gold cañon, on what is now Mine street. Opposite to it was a blacksmith shop made of wagon beds. The only women she found in western Utah, outside of Carson valley, were Mrs McMarlin, Mrs Cosser, her 12-years-old daughter, and the wife of the blacksmith named Henry Van Sickle, who went to Cal. before winter. In her place, however, came a family with several daughters, one of whom married Lucien Olds, and another Al. Squires, both of Carson valley. The Halls, after selling Eagle rancho, returned to Cal. and Frederic Bishop resided at the rancho, later the property of Reese and Barnard. That autumn Walter Cosser began business in the mercantile line, at a point which eventually became known as Johnston. In March 1854 Thomas Knott began building a saw-mill for John Cary, at the head of Carson valley. The first plank was sawed on the 26th of July; the first lumber produced in western Utah bringing $100 per 1,000.

The marriage and divorce occurred under the following circumstances: An immigrant named Powell, whose wife had died on the road, had among his children a daughter 14 years of age, named Mary. While the father was

In February 1853 there was presented in the legislature of California a petition of forty-three citizens of Carson valley, praying to be annexed to California for judicial purposes until congress should otherwise

absent looking for a place to live, Benjamin Cole, a young man from Missouri, induced the child to marry him, the ceremony being performed by a justice of the peace named Parker. Having no home to take her to, he left her with Mrs Cosser while he proceeded to erect a cabin, and that motherly Scotch woman advised Mary to remain with her until her father's return, to which the girl consented. The husband demanded his wife, but Mary declined to leave the protection of Mrs Cosser until her father should sanction it. This late prudence created a feud in society, some approving it, and others advocating the rights of Cole. On the return of Powell he took possession of his child, and started with his family for Cal., followed by the irate bridegroom and his friends, with the purpose of abducting the girl. But the Cosser-Powell party also mounted their horsea and rode after them to prevent any forcible measures. To avoid a bloody conflict, Powell at length offered to abide by the decision of his daughter if the other party would do the same, to which they agreed, and Mary declaring her desire to go with her father, Cole returned to Gold cañon. The divorce was even less informal than the marriage, for no other proceedings were ever instituted.

The first ball was held on the last night of 1853, in a room over Spafford Hall's store, at the mouth of Gold cañon. There were present 9 females, great and small—all of womankind there was in western Utah except three —and about 100 men. While the dancing was going on the Washoes made a descent on the horses of the company, and drove them all off. The animals were recovered, with the exception of two which had been roasted and eaten. Spafford Hall, having been accidently wounded and disabled, sold his station to James McMarlin, his clerk, early in 1854, and returned to Indiana. John McMarlin, on the way to join his brother, was killed by Indians at Slippery Ford a few years later. Asa Kenyon located himself at Ragtown, where the overland road first touched Carson river. Above Ragtown 4 miles, a blacksmith, Thomas Pitt had a station, and called his place The Willows. James and Harvey Hughes, from Mo., established themselves not far from Honey lake on Carson river; and John Smith purchased the trading post of a Californian at the west end of Twenty-six Mile Desert, which place became later known as Coonie's rancho. George Brown settled at a station on the river about 3 miles above old Fort Churchill. J. S. Child and Moses Job were traders who established stations near Cosser's. Job's peak was named in honor of the latter; and the former became an influential citizen of Nevada. On the 1st of May, 1854, the first white child was born in western Utah, a boy, named James Brimmel Ellis, who died in 1869 at Virginia City. In July 1854 Charles H. Albrecht and family, from St Louis, were encamped at Ellis' place. Among his party was Rachel F. Albrecht, his sister, who captivated a miner named James Dover. The enslavement was mutual and the couple wished to marry, but there was neither justice of the peace nor minister on that side of the mountains. In this dilemma, by the advice of Mrs Ellis, a marriage contract was drawn up, signed in triplicate, and witnessed, as follows: 'Carson River, July 4, 1854. By these presents we hereby certify, in the presence of witnesses, that we will, from this time henceforth, to the end of our lives, live together as man and wife, obeying all the laws of the U. S., as married persons. In witness we set our hands and seals, this 4th day of July, 1854. James Dover, Rachel F. Albrecht. Witnesses: James B. Ellis, Charles H. Albrecht, Augustus C. Albrecht.' The contract was published in the Placerville *Mountain Democrat* of July 29, 1854. For 8 years the obligation was kept, but at the end of that time Mrs Dover left her husband, and went to live with her brother at Placerville, and finally was regularly divorced.

provide. The committee to which the petition was referred asked that jurisdiction be extended eastward to 120° of longitude, as far north as the 42d parallel,[22] and south to the intersection of the 35th parallel with the Colorado river. This action on the part of the people caused the Utah government to take action for their relief.

On the 17th of January, 1854, the legislature of Utah passed an act creating the county of Carson, which embraced all of western Utah, from above the present southern line of Humboldt county, south as far as about latitude 38°, and east as far as to about the 118th meridian. It was made the 3d judicial dis-

After Thomas Knott had built the saw-mill for John Cary he erected a saw and grist mill, with a stationary thrasher, for Reese, at Mormon station. The dishonesty of E. L. Barnard, before mentioned, crippled Reese financially, who was unable to pay for his mill, which added debt to his disaster.

The land claims recorded in 1854 were J. C. Fain and E. L. Barnard, Feb. 28th; H. Van Sickle and Post, March 28th; R. De Frost and Frederick Bishop, April 2d; John Stephens, April 6th; Joseph Williams, May 18th; A. C. Stewart and A. Clark, and C. D. Daggett, May 27th; George Lambe, October 30th; Nicholas Johnson, Dec. 4th; R. Sides, R. Abernethy, and J. M. Baldwin, Dec. 20th. There were also several transfers of claims. The claim of Samuel Blackford in Jack's valley had passed into the hands of Julius Peltier, who sold it to George Fogle Nov. 29th. The farm of one Brown was sold by the constable, and bought in by Samuel Blackford for $787.32. G. B. Parker, who had purchased the Clear Creek rancho, first taken by George Mires and C. Phillips, sold it to R. Sides and Rolland Abernethy Dec. 7th. Joseph Brown sold a farm to Rufus Adams Dec. 26th. Jan 3, 1856, W. P. Cosser recorded a claim; A. L. Kenyon, Jan. 12th; I. N. Hix, Jan. 20th; Reese & Co. transferred land and property to Thomas Knox, valued at $4,000, to pay him for erecting the mills already mentioned. The transfer was made Jan. 23d. On the same day J. & E. Reese & Co. sold or conveyed to William B. Thorrington $23,000 worth of property to make good a loan. The Eagle rancho was included in this transfer. On the 10th of Feb. the same firm conveyed the remainder of their property to their creditors. On the 12th of March W. P. Allen and E. A. Parkerson recorded a land claim. Nicholas Ambrosia recorded a claim on the 24th of March. The last entry on this record was of a sale by Julius Peltier, of land, to R. D. Sides, J. M. Baldwin, and L. B. Abernethy. James B. Ellis kept a record of arrivals of Cal.-bound emigrant wagons, in 1854, up to July 1st, finding them to foot up 213 wagons, 360 horses and mules, 7,528 cattle, and 7,150 sheep. In this year John Reese, accompanied by a sergeant and 3 men of the U. S. troops, pioneered a new, shorter, and straighter route between Salt Lake and Carson valley than the one previously travelled down the Humboldt. It was expected that Steptoe, who was to march to Oregon with troops, would come this way. The road was not opened until 1860, when Reese again piloted Capt. Simpson, of Johnston's army, with 10 wagons, across the country by this route, afterward adopted as the mail route and a wagon-road. A school was taught in the winter of 1854–5, at the residence of Israel Mott, by Mrs Allen. Prices were high, but not so high as they had been, which is proof of a full market.

[22] *Cal. Jour. Sen.*, 1853, 90, 130–1, and *App. Doc.*, 46.

trict of the territory, United States Judge George P. Stiles being assigned to preside in it. Stiles, Hyde, and Haywood were also commissioners to establish approximately, together with commissioners from California, the boundary between Utah and that state. The organic act authorized the governor to appoint a probate judge, whose duty it should be to organize the county, the person selected being Orson Hyde. Accordingly, on the 15th of June, District Judge Stiles, Probate Judge Hyde, United States Marshal Joseph L. Haywood, and John and Enoch Reese, with an escort of thirty-five men, arrived at Mormon station from Salt Lake City. An election was called to take place September 20th for the choice of county officers, which resulted in the election of James C. Fain, sheriff; Henry W. Niles, surveyor;[23] Charles D. Daggett, prosecuting attorney;[24] R. D. Sides, treasurer; H. M. Hodges and James A. Williams, constables; Nicholas Ambrosia and Henry Van Sickle, justices of the peace;[25] Henry D. Sears, William P. Allen, and James McMarlin, selectmen,[26] whose duties were to act as associates with the probate judge, and attend to the care of the county's poor, orphaned, and insane. There was but little business in the courts during the ante-mining period of western Utah history.[27] The first criminal prosecution oc-

[23] Niles was appointed clerk of the probate court Oct. 2d, by Orson Hyde, also ex-officio clerk of the county court.

[24] Appointed assessor and collector in Dec. 1855.

[25] James McMarlin was appointed justice of the peace for Gold Cañon Dec. 3d.

[26] Fain resigned in May 1856, Russell Kelly appointed. Niles resigned in May 1856 from the office of surveyor, Orson Hyde appointed. Resigned from the clerk's office Dec. 1855, S. A. Kinsey appointed in March 1856. Hodges resigned in May 1856, Daniel Woodford appointed. Woodford was killed by Indians at Slippery Ford in 1857.

[27] The first lawsuit on record was brought by John Reese against George Chorpenning, the surviving partner of Woodward & Co., in March 1853, to recover $675 for supplies furnished them while carrying the mail from Salt Lake to Cal. It was brought before E. L. Barnard, magistrate, and judgment rendered against Woodward & Co. for the amount and $25 costs. The property sold to satisfy the judgment brought $499; but as Reese bought it all in, it is probable that he obtained full value. Among the effects sold was 'Mormon Station to J. Reese, $130.' The second suit was brought in April 1854

curred November 2, 1855, a negro man named Thacker having been arrested for using threatening language against A. J. Wyckoff and Mrs Jacob Rose. The judge held that "a man may have malice enough in his heart to kill another, and judgment and discretion to prevent him from committing the deed; he may have the ability to cut a lady's heart out and roast it upon the coals, and at the same time he may have the good sense not to do it." The judgment rendered was that Thacker should pay $50 and the costs of the suit; he was advised for his own safety to return to California. At the first meeting of the probate court Charles D. Daggett and Samuel C. Perren were admitted to practise in that court.

Judge Stiles appears to have returned to Salt Lake with Marshal Haywood after settling upon an approximate western boundary for Utah,[28] as no proceedings of the United States court are recorded before 1856. Meanwhile few events of importance had occurred, the most noteworthy act of the people being an attempt to shake off the authority of Salt Lake by draughting a territorial constitution or compact for the government of Carson valley.[29] On the 27th of October, 1855, a special term of court was held at the house of John Reese for the purpose of granting "the sole and exclusive right to take out any portion of the waters of Carson river which they may desire in a ditch or canal, for mining and other purposes, in the vicinity of Gold cañon, to J. C. Fain, John Reese, Stephen A. Kinsey, John McMarlin, James McMarlin, Christopher Merkley, Morris Fitzgibbon, and Orson Hyde." This is the first mention of any enterprise of this

by Henry McCalla vs Thomas Knott, judgment rendered $113.43. No other appears on record before the organization of Carson county. The first session of the probate court was held Oct. 3, when the complaint of James McIntyre vs Asa A. Knouse, to recover $187.75, was filed. The case was tried on the 12th, at the house of one Cowan. McIntyre lost his case, and was ordered to pay $38.50.

[28] *Beatie's First in Nevada*, MS., 7.

[29] This instrument was draughted by William A. Cornwall of Cal. *S. F. Alta*, Oct. 27, 1854.

nature.[30] There was some increase in the population, but the number of women was still small.[31]

In January 1856 the inhabitants of Carson valley again petitioned the California assembly to annex them for judicial and other purposes. A resolution was passed in that body asking congress to make the 118th meridian the east boundary of California.[32] This move a second time aroused the Utah authorities, although congress denied the prayer. No attempt to form a religious colony in Carson was made before 1856.[33] At this time there was a movement on foot in Salt Lake and eastern Utah to reinvigorate the church of Latter-day Saints by founding new colonies or missions, and also by preaching a reformation among the members. A colony of between sixty and seventy families was ordered to Carson valley in the spring, most of which arrived before the election in September, when the Mormons took the conduct of affairs into their own hands, being considerably in the majority over the gentiles.[34] With this colony came

[30] On the 27th of May, 1854, at a citizens' meeting, it was resolved that in the use of water no settler should be deprived of sufficient for household purposes; that it should not be diverted from its original channels, and when two or more levied on the same stream they should share water according to the number of acres cultivated, each using on alternate days when water was scarce. The sole right to take water from Carson river compelled settlers to pay a water rate. Jacob H Rose fell heir to the ditch before its completion, and when the work was finished found the foot to be higher than the head.

[31] The Reese brothers had brought their families from Salt Lake, Alexander Cowan had arrived with his wife, destined to become famous a few years later as the richest woman in Nevada, and the wife of Sandy Bowers. Miss Mary Wheeler was married Oct. 28, 1855, to Squire Mott, son of Hiram Mott, the officiating justice being Orson Hyde. Miss Mary Gibson was married Nov. 6, 1855, to Henry Van Sickle by Judge Hyde, at the house of Niles and Sears. Miss Sarah Jane Thompson was married Oct. 2, 1866, to Stephen A. Kinsey, at the house of Judge Hyde, in Washoe valley, by that dignitary.

[32] *Sen. Misc. Doc.*, 48; 34th cong. 1st sess.; *H. Com. Rept*, 116, 34th cong. 3d sess.

[33] William Jennings, in his *Carson Valley*, MS., 2, says that a mission was got up in 1852 by the two Reeses and others. On page 3 he says: 'The Carson valley people, I think, were mostly apostate Mormons before 1856. The Reeses,' he continues, 'were only partially connected with the church.'

[34] The following Mormon officers were elected: Richard Bently, recorder; Russell Kelly, sheriff (joined the Mormon church); William Nixon and Permens Jackman, selectmen; Chester Loveland, justice of the peace; Nelson

another judge of the 3d district, W. W. Drummond, who held a term of court in Mott's barn, four miles above Mormon station. No business was really executed beyond convicting two men of grand larceny, who escaped after being sentenced, and impannelling a grand jury, which brought in no indictments. Drummond, who was not beloved by the authorities of the church, departed almost immediately for San Francisco, whence he sailed for the east.

The new-comers settled in Carson, Eagle, Washoe, Jack, and Pleasant valleys, founding several towns.[35] Genoa, at Mormon station, was named by Judge Hyde after the birthplace of Christopher Columbus. A saw-mill was erected by Hyde in Washoe valley, and Franktown was settled and named. The little burg of Dayton, at the mouth of Gold cañon, also took its rise in 1856.[36]

An attempt was made to form society on the plan of eastern Utah. The settlements were laid out with broad, regular streets, on either side of which ran small ditches carrying water for irrigating gardens and fields, as well as for supplying families. The architecture was of the simplest and rudest; nothing was done for ornament, but everything for use. In dress the same principle prevailed; personal adornment was unknown. To work and get the most with the least self-indulgence was the law laid down to these patient builders of Zion. Their one amuse-

Merkeley and Seth Dustin, constables; Charles D. Daggett (gentile) was appointed assessor, collector, and treasurer. *Placerville American*, Sept. 13, 1856; *Sac. Union*, Sept. 15, 1856.

[35] Among the members of the mission who came in 1855 were Christopher Merkley, Jesse M. Perkins, Reuben Perkins, Shepherd, and William Hutchins, who were sent on the special business of the church. *Beatie's First in Nevada*, MS., 7. Other colonists of the same year were Chester Loveland and George Hancock. In 1856 came William Jennings, Christopher Layton, William Nixon, R. Walker, Peregrine Sessions, who founded Sessions' settlement, Albert Dewey, William Kay, founder of Kaysward, George Nebeker, Cherry, and others.

[36] *Klein's Founders of Carson City*, MS., 2, 6; *S. F. Golden Era*, May 11, 1856; *Carson State Register*, July 29, 1871; *Kelly's Nev. Directory*, 1862, 54–5; *Wright's Big Bonanza*, 23, 24–5; *S. F. Alta*, Oct. 6, 1856; *Sac. Union*, Dec. 19, 1859; *Id.*, Jan. 2, 1860; *S. F. Bulletin*, June 8, 1860.

ment of dancing was forbidden to be practised in the company of gentiles, and to wash away their sins repeated baptisms were enjoined. Still, the authorities in the west did not neglect the subject of instruction. At the December term of court in 1856 it was ordered that Carson county should be divided into four school districts. A school-house was erected at Franktown in 1857, which was afterward sold to Lucky Bill, who moved to Genoa and used it for a stable. Affairs were already so shaping themselves in Salt Lake that nothing less than the complete abandonment of western Utah would make the city of the Saints secure. In November 1856 Orson Hyde left Carson county to return to it no more. When he departed he leased his saw-mill in Washoe valley to Jacob Rose, that being the best that he could do with it at the time. In the following year the colony of the faithful was ordered home to Salt Lake to defend Zion against Johnston's army. As the order was peremptory, they were forced either to abandon their property or sell it at a small part of its value, and they chose the latter course.[37] Apostate Mormons, some of whom had fled from the reformation at Salt Lake, and gentiles, scarcely less hateful in the eyes of the saints, became the possessors of their improvements; for which result of a futile undertaking the fortunate heirs of Mormon enterprise suffered condemnation, even to a curse uttered by Orson Hyde in 1862.[38]

[37] On the 16th of July, 1857, P. G. Sessions' train from Cal., consisting of 31 men, 16 women, 18 children, 17 wagons, 40 horses and 32 mules, left Eagle valley for Salt Lake. On the 5th of Sept. the Conover express from Salt Lake arrived in Washoe valley late in the afternoon, and on the 26th 450 persons, some of whom were from Cal. and Or., started with 123 wagons for Salt Lake, which they reached Nov. 2d. Reese left with this train, travelling by the route south of the Humboldt to avoid the Indians. *Jennings' Carson Valley*, MS. 4.

[38] In a letter of Orson Hyde, dated Jan. 27, 1862, addressed to the people of Carson and Washoe valleys, in which he relates the history of his mill, he says it was built by himself and a Mr Price; that the property was worth $10,000 when he left it; that for the rent of it he had received in advance '1 span of small indifferent mules, an old worn-out harness, 2 yokes of oxen, and an old wagon,' things which he required for his journey to Salt Lake. A war followed between the Mormons and the U. S. govt, an event which was unfavorable to the perfection of Mormon titles, after the organization

The abandonment of Carson county [39] by the Mormons left it with a scant population, and for a time without a government, although attached by an act of the legislature to Great Salt Lake county for election, revenue, and judicial purposes. From July 5, 1856, to September 12, 1859, the operation of the probate court was suspended, although the county was allowed to retain its organization so far as a recorder, surveyor, and precinct officers were concerned, and these might be elected in accordance with existing laws, "until further directed by Great Salt Lake county court or legislative enactment;" but the "record-books, papers, blanks, and seals, both of probate and county courts, shall be handed over to the order of the probate court of Great Salt Lake county." This act was passed January 14, 1857. On the 13th of April the county court, Chester Loveland presiding, adjourned to the following week, but without meeting again for three years.[40]

of the territory of Nevada, upon the abandoned premises. Hyde gave the people of Carson valley choice between paying him $20,000, or being cursed with earthquakes, floods, pestilence, and famine, and they took the risk of the latter. Hyde was accompanied on his return to Salt Lake by Simon Baker, James Kathall, John Vance, William Price, Durffee, Carter, Harshee, Woodland, and Butcher and family, and travelled the route explored by Reese in 1854. He died Nov. 28, 1878, at Spring City, San Pete county, Utah, a man distinguished among his sect as a faithful and gifted servant of God.

[39] There is a statement in the *S. F. Alta*, Sept. 29, 1857, that Brigham Young had ordered an organization of secret cavalry to western Utah. It was certainly not to Carson. Much comment on the exodus of the Mormons is to be found in the *Alta*. They were ordered in from Cal. also. Mention in *Nevers' Nevada Pioneers*, MS., 1–2; *Cradlebaugh's Nevada Biography*, MS., 3; *Gold Hill News*, May 16, 1873; *San José Pioneer*, May 26, 1877.

[40] Samuel A. Nevers was born in Boston, March 1, 1824, came to Cal. in 1849 by sea, in the ship *Sweden;* settled in Eagle valley in 1859, and married thereabout. In a manuscript account of *Nevada Pioneers*, in my collection, he says: 'There were but 4 persons settled in this part of the valley at that time, to wit, B. L. King, Mart. Stebbins, Jacob H. Rose, and John Mankin, who were settled on land taken up by them under the laws of Utah....None of the above named were Mormons....Nearly all the Mormons, when leaving for Salt Lake, sold their land to John Mankin for a nominal sum, payment to be made in wheat, which was sold for a very low price. This sale carried a strip of land from King's cañon down to the Hot springs, but Mankin subsequently claimed the whole lower portion of the valley....Society was on a low plane, every man doing about as he pleased ....There was no law here until Judge Cradlebaugh came, who to a great extent brought order out of chaos.'

Before the Mormons had made their final exodus, the remaining inhabitants seized the opportunity to prevent their return by again petitioning congress for a territorial organization in Western Utah, with portions of California and New Mexico.[41] At a mass-meeting held at Genoa August 8th, by appointment of a previous informal meeting held on the 3d,[42] it was declared, in a series of resolutions, that it was the sense of the inhabitants of that region that the security of life and property of immigrants passing through it depended upon the organization of a territorial government. No other reason for the proposed division of Utah was given in the resolutions, but in the memorial accompanying it other causes were set forth; namely, that no law existed in western Utah except theocratic rule, which was exercised by the Mormon church without reference to statutory regulations. The Utah legislature had abolished the courts of the county of Carson, leaving no officers to execute the laws except two justices of the peace and one constable, whose authority no one respected. The county was reduced to an election precinct, in which no one voted, or cared to vote. There were bad men in the community, whose crimes could only be punished by resort to lynch-law; the country was cut off from California four months of the year by snow, and equally from the then seat of government by distance. In claiming a white population, however, of between 7,000 and 8,000, and 75,000 to 100,000 natives, the

[41] The petition makes the Goose Creek mountains the eastern, the Colorado river the southern, Oregon the northern, and the Sierra Nevada the western boundary.

[42] The first meeting was held at Gilbert's saloon, and was presided over by John Reese, William Nixon being secretary. The mass-meeting was also presided over by Reese, the vice-presidents being Isaac Roop, F. C. Smith, B. L. King, and Solomon Perrin. The committee on resolutions consisted of William M. Ormsby, R. D. Sides, Elijah Knott, Thomas J. Singleton, B. L. King, Daniel Woodford, S. Stephens, Warren Smith, and John McMarlin. The meeting was addressed by James M. Crane, a California journalist of some repute, in a speech of an hour's length, the substance of which was probably contained in the memorial which he was elected to present to congress.

memorialists greatly exceeded the truth.[43] In October a mass-meeting was held at Honey Lake valley, which was presided over by Peter Lassen, approving the action of the Genoa meeting, and in January 1858 the California legislature and Governor Johnson endorsed it.

As an inducement to congress to grant their petition, it was submitted that all the routes across the continent would be guarded by the people of the proposed territory. A committee[44] was appointed to solicit signatures, and James M. Crane was chosen to proceed to Washington city with the resolutions and memorial of the meeting, and also to represent the territory as delegate, when it should be organized, in congress. Committees were also appointed to "manage and superintend all matters necessary and proper in the premises,"[45] and the newspapers of California, Oregon, Washington, Utah, and New Mexico were requested to publish the proceedings of the convention, as well as the leading papers in all the eastern cities.[46]

The attitude of the Mormons had its influence on congress. Crane wrote to his constituents from Washington in February 1858 that the committee on territories had agreed to report a bill, and that it would be pressed through both houses[47] as a war measure, to "compress the limits of the Mormons, and defeat

[43] *S. F. Alta*, Sept. 5 and Oct. 21, 1857; *Cal. Jour. Assembly*, 1858, 56; *Cal. Stat.*, 1858, 350; *Sen. Mis. Doc.*, 181, 35th cong. 1st sess.

[44] W. W. Nicols, R. D. Sides, Orrin Gray, J. K. Trumbo, and William Rogers.

[45] In Honey Lake valley, Isaac Roop, Peter Lassen, William Hill, McMurtry, and Arnold; Eagle valley, B. L. King and Martin Stebbins; Carson valley, William M. Ormsby, James McMarlin, C. D. Daggett, John Reese, William Rodgers, Thomas J. Singleton, Moses Job, William Thorrington, Isaac Farwell, Daniel Woodford, Orrin Gray, and D. E. Gilbert; Willow, town, Solomon Perrin; Ragtown, James Quick; Twenty-six Mile desert, Jefferson Atchison; Sink of Humboldt, Samuel Blackford; Walker river and valley, T. J. Hall and James McIntyre; Hope valley, S. Stevenson; Lake valley, M. Smith.

[46] A memorial addressed to President Buchanan was presented by him to the house April 19, 1858. It was signed by William M. Ormsby and Martin Smith, and indorsed by Gov Weller. *H. Ex. Doc.*, 102, 35th cong. 1st sess.

[47] The house committee reported favorably May 12, 1858, in a bill to organize the territory of Nevada. *H. Jour.*, 789, 1221, 35th cong. 1st sess.; *H. Com. Rept*, 375, 35th cong. 1st sess.

their efforts to corrupt and confederate with the Indian tribes." So certain was the prospective delegate that an organization would be effected that he advised the sowing and planting of heavy crops, which he prophesied they would be able to sell for good cash prices to the government to supply the army and the Indian reservations. But the army under Johnston having made it possible for federal officers to reside in Salt Lake City, and a governor being appointed for Utah in place of Brigham Young, the necessity no longer existed of creating another territory, and the project slumbered. Under Governor Cummings Carson county was reorganized, so far as the appointment of John S. Childs probate judge, and the ordering of an election, were concerned. Previous to the election, and in the absence of courts, a committee of citizens had hanged William B. Thorrington for complicity in the murder of a cattle-owner, and selling his herd. Thorrington's guilt was not clearly established by the evidence, but from the facts of his being a gambler, acquiring property with extraordinary rapidity, and having sheltered the real murderer, he was convicted in a citizen's court, and suffered the extreme penalty.[48] This exercise of the judicial functions by

[48] It seems that in spite of his known character, Lucky Bill was a popular man on the frontier. He was born in N. Y. state, removing to Michigan in 1848, and to Cal. in 1850, across the plains. He had little education, but possessed a fine person, a handsome face, and a gay and benevolent disposition; benevolent in the sense that Robin Hood was so, he robbed those that had money or property, and good-naturedly gave of his easily gotten gains a small portion to those who had not, when they appealed to his sympathies—a trait which often distinguished the gambler. Being a large and powerful man he had the reputation of great courage; and often defending the weaker party in a quarrel gave him a character for magnanimity. He owned a farm and a toll-road, in addition to his trading-post, and he acquired a large amount of miscellaneous property from travellers at thimble rig. In the spring of 1858 William Edwards, who had shot a man in Cal., took up his quarters with Thorrington, to whom it was said by the friends of the latter he denied his guilt. Later he stopped for a time with W. T. C. Elliott and John N. Gilpin, at Honey lake. Afterward, with one Mullins, he murdered Harry Gordier, for his property, including a herd of cattle, an innocent man named Snow being hanged for the act. Circumstances coming to light which pointed to the guilt of Edwards, he fled to Carson valley, and declaring his innocence, claimed Thorrington's protection from threatened peril. Edwards wished to leave the country, and begged his friends to sell a valuable horse which he rode, and help him to escape. While endeavoring to effect these ends, two

the people created a division of sentiment, and the formation of two political parties, the sympathizers with Thorrington being called Mormon, and the opposite party anti-Mormon.[49] The latter party accused the former of condoning Thorrington's guilt because he was conveniently blind to certain practices of their own; and they also made war upon Judge Childs as a Mormon appointee. At the election, October 30, 1858, the votes of four out of six precincts were thrown out because ot alleged illegal voting, and a majority of the "Mormon" candidates elected. H. B. Clemons was chosen representative; M M. Gaige treasurer; L. Abernethy sheriff; W. G. Vyatt, James McMarlin, and R. D. Sides selectmen; C. N. Noteware surveyor; S. A. Kinsey recorder; Benjamin Sears and James Farwell justices of the peace; T. J. Atchison and J. A. Smith constables. Sides and Abernethy did not belong to the Mormon party.[50] Little heed was given to the officers elected, whose duties were not of an onerous nature.

dctectives from the vigilance committee, Elliott and Gilpin, purchased the horse and wormed themselves into the confidence of Edwards and Thorrington, learning of the proposed elopement of the former, whereupon both men were arrested and tried by a citizen's court, the evidence being recorded by C. N. Noteware, afterward secretary of Nevada. W. T. C. Elliott acted as sheriff, John L. Cary as judge, and 18 others as jurors. Edwards finally confessed, and declared the innocence of Thorrington; but the jury, prejudiced by the loose character of the latter, and the fear of other crimes, committed one themselves by convicting a man without evidence. Edwards was hanged at the scene of the murder, in Honey Lake valley, June 23, 1858, and Thorrington at his farm at Clear creek, on the 19th, two days after the trial. Thorrington had a son, Jerome, who died, while his wife went to the insane asylum at Stockton. There were 2 accomplices of Edwards, who were fined $1,000 each, and ordered to leave the country. *Van Sickle's Utah Desperadoes*, MS.; 3. See also *Pop. Tribunals*, this series.

[49] It should be borne in mind that there were not enough professed Mormons left in Carson valley to make a party; but there were apostates, and perhaps also secret believers. They were too well drilled in obedience to venture upon the vigilant system of justice unless ordered to do so by the officers of the church. Reese names the families of Moore, John Dilworth, John Hawkins, and Perkins, who were Mormons and remained in Carson valley.

[50] The candidates of the anti-Mormon party, in the order given above, were Martin Stebbins; H. Mott, sen.; George Chedic; John L. Carey, J. H. Rose, and W. Cosser; John F. Long; S. Taylor; A. J. Hammack and H. Van Sickle; J. M. Herring and J. M. Howard. The vote between Clemons and Stebbins was a tie, but the result was 'declared in favor of Mr Clemons, according to the Utah statutes, page 234, sec. 12.' Had the votes of 4 precincts not been thrown out, Stebbins would have had a majority of 48.

In this year Carson City was laid out in Eagle valley by Abraham V. Z. Curry,[51] who erected a stone house, which was followed the same year by three or four others;[52] but no rapid influx of population followed that year or the next.[53] Only at one point was there any perceptible increase in population, and that was at what is now Gold Hill, where the discovery of rich placers in 1859 had attracted the usual rush of miners which follows a report of new gold diggings.

By this mixed and migratory population the need of some laws and regulations was felt, and they accord-

[51] A. V. Z. Curry was an energetic pioneer. He settled in Warm springs and built the hotel and swimming baths. He discovered the extensive sandstone deposit at Carson, and erected the stone buildings in the town. He was with Gould in the Gould and Curry mine; was a member of the territorial council, and active in various branches of business. 'He belonged to that sturdy class of men who found empires and build up states.'

[52] Nevers, in *Nevada Pioneers*, MS., 2, states that he himself built the third house, 'in what is now Carson valley,' in 1859. O. H. Pierson, writing in the *Carson Tribune*, Aug. 5, 1870, says that when he entered Eagle valley in 1859 he found there three houses only, one of which was occupied by Abram Curry, one by William M. Ormsby, and another by Martin Stebbins. Pierson also says that he erected the fourth house, which was the St Nicholas hotel.

[53] Granville W. Huffaker, in a manuscript entitled *Early Cattle Trade in Nevada*, mentions some of the settlers in western Utah whom he found in 1859. Huffaker was in Salt Lake in 1857–8, when the gentiles were ordered out. Among those who left were John H. Kinkead, Bell, Gilbert, and Gearish, the latter two settling in Los Angeles, California. Huffaker had permission to remain, couched in the following trenchant phrase, 'Keep your tongue in your head, and you will not be molested.' He remained, on those terms, until 1859, and then sold his stock of goods, and with a drove of cattle removed to the Truckee Meadows in western Utah, where he took a land claim of 160 acres, and by purchase from other claimants acquired a total of 640 acres. Huffaker was born in Ky in 1831; was educated at Jacksonville college, Ill.; removed to St Louis in 1846 and to Salt Lake in 1851, bringing a train of 40 wagon-loads of goods, which he sold in three weeks. He continued in trade in that place till 1859. Huffaker says that he found in Truckee and Steamboat valleys 6 or 7 white men. Henry Miller and Edward Ing were on the north of Truckee; four miles south of them, at the dairy farm of James and M. F. Evans, called the stone-house rancho, and living with them, were Richard Martin and Henry Berryman. Peleg Brown was another settler of this region. In Pleasant valley was 'Mormon' Smith. Theodore, Joseph, and John D. Winters, with their mother, were settled in Washoe valley, where they had been since 1857. Richard D. Sides and William Best were also in Washoe valley. South of the sink of the Humboldt was the trading post of John F. Stone and C. C. Gates, where Glendale now is, then called Stone and Gates' crossing. Buckland mentions Jacob Winters as living in Jack's valley as early as 1857; and Evan Jones in Carson valley next or nearest to McMarlin's rancho, at the same time. *Indian Fighting*, MS., 1.

ingly, on the 11th of June, agreed among themselves to adopt certain simple rules of conduct, and to enforce them on others.[54]

At the same time certain politicians stood ready to avail themselves of the suggestion toward another effort for a separate territorial organization, and to make use of the feeling against the Mormons of eastern Utah to give force to their arguments. These patriots called a mass-meeting for the 6th of June at Carson City, which meeting divided Carson county into precincts for election purposes, and called an election to take place on the 14th of July, to choose a delegate to visit Washington city and complete the work begun by Crane of getting a bill through congress creating the territory of Nevada, and to elect delegates to a convention to be held at Genoa on the 18th of July, when the votes for delegate would be counted, and other business connected with the proposed change of government be attended to.

The convention met pursuant to appointment, remaining in session nine days.[55] It was not altogether a harmonious session, the majority being determined to consider it a convention to frame a constitution for a provisional government, which congress would be asked to recognize, as in the case of Oregon, and a minority insisting that the delegates had been elected merely to provide for a constitutional convention to be held in the future by other delegates elected for the purpose. A constitution was, however, framed, modelled closely after that of California, and adopted by a vote of the people on the 7th of September.[56]

[54] This was the miners' code: for murder, hanging; wounding, robbing, and other crimes were to be punished as the jury should determine. 'No banking game shall, under any consideration' be allowed in this district, under the penalty of final banishment from the district.' Under these laws George Ruspas and David Reise had their ears cut off for stealing cattle. *Wright's Big Bonanza*, 72.

[55] *Marysville Democrat*,, July 26, 1859; *Carson Valley Territorial Enterprise*, July 30, 1859; *Sac. Union*, Sept. 18, 1859; *Kelly's Nev. Dir.*, 1862, 26–7.

[56] In the declaration of cause for separation, two principal evils were complained of: the usurpation and abuse of power by the Mormons, and the danger to life and property upon the routes leading to the Mormon capital.

No record has been preserved of the election returns,[57] but there is evidence that the majority for a constitution was about four hundred, that Crane was reëlected delegate, and that Isaac Roop was elected governor, although the board of canvassers failed to meet to canvass the votes, and the certificate of the president of the board, J. J. Musser, alone testified to the result. The cause of this sudden indifference to politics and patriotism will be given in the next chapter.

Immediately after the election the probate judge, John S. Child,[58] appointed by the Utah legislature, attempted to reëstablish the authority of the probate court in Carson county, by giving notice of a term commencing on the 12th of September, at Genoa, P. H. Lovell clerk; but the only business transacted at the term was the appointment of a coroner, W. P. Morrison, to sit upon the body of John Buckley, killed in a quarrel, and the application of Rebecca A. Bristol for a divorce from Essic C. Bristol, which was granted.

Judge Child made a further effort to reorganize the county by calling an election for the 8th of October, first dividing the county into ten precincts. Out of the ten, only three opened any polls, and the officers elected in these refused to qualify, although their commissions were forwarded by Governor Cummings, successor of Governor Young, with his urgent advice to them to do so, and the county continued to be without a proper corps of officers.

But if the courts of Utah could not sustain their authority against the people, neither could the United

[57] From some partial returns it is probable that the following persons were elected; together with the adoption of the constitution: Isaac Roop governor, A. S. Dorsey secretary of state, John D. Winters auditor, B. L. King treasurer.

[58] Child was born in Vt in 1825. At the age of 21 years he came to the Pacific coast by sea, via Nicaragua. After mining two years in Cal. he went to Carson valley. In 1859 he married A. E. Lufkin of Placerville, Cal., who died in 1873. He married, in 1874, Eveline A. Gilbert of Carson City. Child was appointed commissioner of Douglas county, and elected to the assembly in 1870.

States court properly administer the laws of the country. John Cradlebaugh, one of the district judges appointed to Utah, was assigned to Carson county, and arrived in the summer of 1859 at Genoa, where the grand jury of the second district congratulated him, in their report of October 25th, upon the organization of a court of justice, "under the immediate protection of the United States flag,"[59] but they had not taken into account the difficulty of establishing courts, against which the laws[60] practised in them raised insuperable obstacles, controlling, as they did, the marshalships and the juries, to say nothing of the witnesses. The people, instead of welcoming Judge Cradlebaugh, were opposed to his holding court as a branch of the Utah government, and his position became as disagreeable to him as it was useless to them. In October 1860 R. B. Flaniken superseded Cradlebaugh, and held his court in Carson City until the organization of the territory, in the midst of a rebellious people, the prosecuting attorney being P. H. Clayton.[61]

All efforts to revive the county organization had failed, but the hearts of the patriots had not. A misfortune had befallen them in the loss of their delegate elect, Crane, who died suddenly of heart disease on the 27th of September, at Gold Hill.[62] An election

[59] *Hayes' Mining Scraps*, xi. 24–6. Alfred James was clerk of the court. and George W. Hepperly U. S. marshal.

[60] In Clarke's *Statement*, MS., 10, he mentions that the lawyers practising in the courts quoted the laws of Utah.

[61] The persons chosen at the late election who refused to qualify were C. H. Fountain representative, W. C. Armstrong and L. Drixley selectmen, E. C. Morse sheriff, Henry Van Sickle treasurer, and J. F. Long surveyor. The only legally constituted officers in 1859–60 were the probate judge and county clerk, road commissioners, D. G. Gloyd, A. Kinne, and James White—the last four already named, the recorder, S. A. Kinsey, the surveyor, P. C. Rector; three being appointed in the spring of 1860.

[62] Crane ran against Frederick Dodge, U. S. Indian agent, beating him by 61 votes. The election was irregular on both sides. Crane was a native of Va, about 40 years of age, and a printer. He was a well-informed politician, and founded the first whig paper in Cal.—the *California Courier*. After the discontinuance of this journal he made careful researches into the Spanish records, arranging his knowledge of history in the form of lectures. Before his researches were completed he died. *Kelley's Nev. Directory*, 29–30.

for his successor was held November 12th, resulting in the choice of J. J. Musser;[63] also an election for members of the legislative assembly, which was appointed to meet in December. The vote for governor was canvassed; Roop was declared elected, and duly sworn in by F. M. Preston, United States commissioner for the second judicial district.

On the 21st of November the inhabitants of Carson valley held another meeting, at which a memorial to congress was adopted, asking for the organization of the territory of Nevada. On the 15th of December four members of the legislature elect met at the house of J. B. Blake of Genoa, O. H. Pierson[64] speaker, H. S. Thompson clerk, and J. H. McDougal sergeant-at-arms. Governor Roop delivered his message, some resolutions were passed, a committee appointed to draw up a memorial to congress, and the legislature, being without a quorum, was then adjourned to the first Monday in July. In his message the governor alluded to the peculiar condition of western Utah, and the helplessness of the United States judge, Cradlebaugh, to administer the laws of the country,[65] but expressed his confidence in the justice of congress, and in the disposition of the people to wait upon its action. The administration of Governor Roop was entirely of the negative kind, and corresponded in this respect with the two other governments exercising a nominal authority over the country.[66] But the faith of the people in congressional interposition was des-

[63] Musser left Carson for Washington city Dec. 12, 1859, carrying a large piece of silver ore from the Ophir mine for the Washington monument. *S. F. Alta*, Dec. 12, 1859.

[64] Pierson came to Carson City in 1859, and built the first hotel—the St Nicholas—on the corner of Carson and First streets. It was filled as soon as completed. He erected 12 other houses in Carson. A portion of the town was called Pierson's Addition. *Carson Tribune*, Aug 5, 1870.

[65] The court-house at Genoa is described as a building 30 by 60 feet, 1½ storier high, in the upper part of which Judge Cradlebaugh held his first U. S. D. court, access to it being had by means of a ladder from the street. Later, stairs were built from the sidewalk.

[66] The only instances of Roop's official action were in connection with the Indian difficulties of 1860, of which I shall speak hereafter.

tined to another year of trial. Delegate Musser returned from Washington, having done no more than to reiterate the appeals of his constituents and his predecessor, which reiteration may have served to deepen the impression already produced, and thereby to hasten in some degree the end.

CHAPTER V.

THE COMSTOCK LODE.

1849–1860.

CONFIGURATION—PLACER GOLD—EARLY MINING IN GOLD CANON—SILVER FOUND BY THE GROSCH BROTHERS—DEATH OF THE DISCOVERERS—COMSTOCK, OLD VIRGINIA, AND ASSOCIATES—JOHNTOWN AND GOLD HILL CLAIMS AND LOCATIONS—OPHIR, SILVER CITY, OR VIRGINIA TOWN—DISCOVERIES ELSEWHERE—WALSH AND WOODWORTH—TESTING AND SEPARATING—INTRODUCTION OF MILLS—PROCESSES—DESCRIPTION OF THE CALIFORNIA, A REPRESENTATIVE MILL.

THE state of Nevada came into being through the discovery and development of the Comstock lode. No doubt the corruption of the federal judiciary hastened the formation of a state government. Nowhere else in the annals of the world do we find a society springing up in a desert wilderness, so wholly dependent on a mountain of metal, so ruled by the ever-changing vagaries attending its development, and which finally attained the full measure of a fair and prosperous commonwealth. Hence it is that the history of the Comstock lode is to a great extent the history of Nevada. The yield of this vast deposit aided greatly in enabling the nation to resume specie payment after the close of the civil war.

The range of mountains in which the great mineral vein of western Utah was situated is separated from the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada by a continuous parallel depression, which is divided into the smaller valleys of the Truckee, Washoe, and Carson rivers. Irregular in outline and height, it gradually slopes at the south into the basin of the Carson, becoming more elevated farther south, where it merges

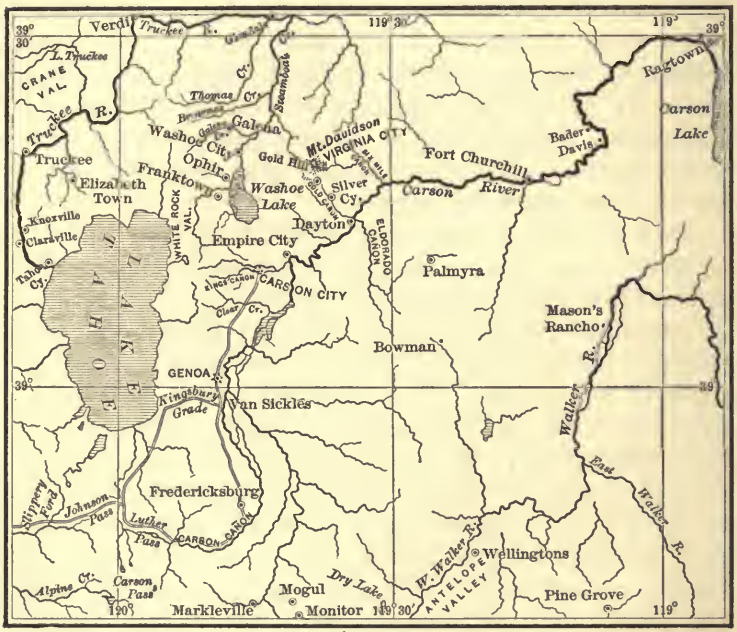
in the Pine Nut range. Toward the west the hills sink rapidly to the detrital beds of the Washoe and Truckee valleys, being connected with the Sierra Nevada by two granite ridges crossing the northern and southern extremities of Washoe valley. To the north the range extends, with several breaks, to the boundary of Oregon, and to the southeast it melts away abruptly into the Carson valley. The culminating point of elevation is a peak something over thirty miles from Genoa, and eighteen from Carson City, known as Sun peak by the earliest settlers, and sometimes as Mount Pleasant by subsequent mining inhabitants. It was named Mount Davidson[1] in later years by the California state geologist, who ascertained its height to be 7,827 feet.

Down from the south side of this peak runs a ravine to the Carson river, a distance of several miles, which is the Gold cañon referred to in the previous chapter. It obtained its name from the fact that some gold mining had been carried on in it ever since the settlement of the valley. It comes quite down to the immigrant road, and consequently was well known to early passers-by. Beatie relates that in 1849, while he and one of the Blackburns were on their first visit to the California gold mines, Abner Blackburn occupied himself in prospecting in the lateral ravines of Carson valley, and discovered gold in this cañon in the month of July,[2] but not in quantities sufficient to cause a fever in the blood of the saints. No mining

[1] After Prof. George Davidson of the coast survey—a fitting tribute to his genius.

[2] *First in Nevada*, MS., 4–5. There are various versions of the first discovery of gold in western Utah, but none more authentic. See *Brown's Min. Resources*, 87; *Virginia City Occidental*, in *Downieville Mountain Messenger*, May 14, 1864; *San José Mercury*, April 14, 1864; *Sac. Transcript*, Aug. 30 1850 (steamer edition); *S. F. Herald*, July 1, 1850; *Mariposa Gazette*, March 23, 1878; *Morgan's Trip* (1849), 19–20; *Wright's Big Bonanza*, 26; *Gold Hill Eve. News*, Feb. 24, and May 18, 1880; *Cal. Courier*, July 23, 1850; *Petaluma Argus*, June 18, 1880; *S. F. Alta*, May 17, 1880; *Elko Independent*, May 20, and 23, 1880. The *Reno Gazette* of Feb. 12 1880, gives the date as 1851. That 1850 has been so generally named as the year is due, probably, to the fact that the newspapers did not publish the Mormon discovery until miners began to go to Cal.

was done by Beatie's company, which returned to Salt Lake the same season. But on his second visit to California, Beatie informed the Mormon company in the mines of the discovery, and subsequently some of them, with immigrants from the states on their way to California, stopped to mine for a while in Gold cañon. The gold it produced was poor, being worth no more than fourteen dollars to the ounce; but as



CARSON VALLEY.

the diggings continued to yield a fair day's wages, there were at work generally in the mining season from one to two hundred men, some of whom had made settlements upon land claims near by. But down to the period where the last chapter ends, there had never been any marked recognition of western Utah as a mining country.

Gold cañon was the only mining ground worked in this district before 1857. It opens from the north-

west near where the Carson river turns rather abruptly to the southwest. At the distance of about four miles from its mouth it forks, the middle branch of three being called American Flat ravine. Near the head of this ravine is a mound, which in 1858 acquired the name of Gold hill, to distinguish it from Gold cañon. This hill is a mile or more from Mount Davidson. Coming from the north side of the mountain is another large ravine, whose head is within a mile of the head of Gold cañon, whose mouth is on the Carson river, a few miles northeast of Gold cañon, and which was known as Six-mile cañon. It had no settlement at this period, but at the mouth of Gold cañon was the little town of Dayton, then known as Chinatown, from the presence there of a camp of Chinese employed in digging the canal before mentioned, for which Reese obtained a franchise, and which was finished by Rose. The white inhabitants called the place Mineral rapids, and it never received its final christening until November 3, 1861, when in a public meeting this important matter was decided.[3]

About four miles up the cañon was another camp, known as Johntown. Neither of these places had a dozen houses of any kind, the migratory habits of the miners and the scarcity of timber, with the entire absence of lumber in that part of the valley, causing them to live in tents, which at the end of the season were easily removed. Nor were there ever more than 150 or 200 miners in Gold cañon at one time before 1859.

That mysterious something which is called fate by pagan, and providence by Christians, and which like

Wright's Big Bonanza, 28–9. William Wright, whose *nom de plume* as a popular writer on Nevada journals was Dan De Quille, was reporter on the Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise* for 16 years, and had the best facilities for acquiring historical facts. His book is made popular by the introduction of facetious anecdotes, and a style of raillery much in vogue in writing of mining affairs, with no better reason than that in early times one or two humorous journalists set the fashion, which few have been able to follow with similar success. Wright's book is, however, a storehouse of information, generally correct, on current events connected with the mining history of Nevada, which gives it a permanent value among my authorities.

love and justice should be painted with bandaged eyes, with one extended hand holding a crown, and the other the emblematic cap-and-bells, that whoever passed under the one or the other should be its possible recipient, held now suspended above the mining camp of Johntown the fateful wreath. How it fell where the cap-and-bells would have been more fitting let me here relate.

As early as 1849 two brothers, E. Allen Grosch and Hosea B. Grosch of Reading, Pennsylvania, sons of a universalist preacher, educated and serious-minded young men, came to the Pacific coast via Tampico and Mazatlan, and engaged in mining in El Dorado county, California. In 1851, hearing of the Gold cañon placers, they paid them a visit, returning the same season to California. In 1853 they made another and longer visit, prospecting in Carson, Lake, and Washoe valleys, Gold cañon, and in some of the adjacent mountains. In Gold cañon they found what they called "carbonate of silver," which they described as a "dark gray mass, tarnished probably by sulphuric acid in the water. It resembles thin sheet-lead broken very fine, and lead the miners supposed it to be. The ore we found at the forks of the cañon; a large qüartz vein—at least, bowlders from a vein close by here—shows itself. . . Other ore of silver we have found in the cañon, and a rock called black rock, very abundant, we think contains silver."[4]

In 1857 the Grosch brothers were living in a stone cabin in American Flat ravine. In their later correspondence with their father they mentioned a mine which had been named the Frank, after a Mexican called Old Frank, an experienced miner, who corroborated their impressions concerning the nature of their discoveries. They spoke also of "our monster vein," and of a "smaller but richer vein," and "suits of veins crossing the cañon at two other points."[5]

[4] Letter to A. B. Grosch, the father, in 1853.

[5] This description should fix the fact of the discovery of the great silver

But the development of silver mines requires capital, in order to obtain which a company was formed in the east of the friends of the young men, called the Utah Enterprise company, and another partly in El Dorado county, California, and partly in Carson valley. There seems not to have been much money in either, for in the autumn of 1857 they were waiting for a partner named Brown, who kept the mail station at Gravelly ford on the Humboldt, to close his season's operations and bring his profits to be applied to opening what they called the Pioneer claim.

While they waited, they heard of the murder of Brown, by which, and the loss of the expected aid, they were much cast down. About the same time Hosea struck a pick into his foot, from which blood-poisoning resulted, and he died on the 2d of September. A friend had, however, in the meantime, offered pecuniary aid;[6] and Allen, having to go to California on business, started about the middle of November, with one other person, to cross the mountains.[7] They were caught in a terrible snow-storm, compelled to kill and eat their pack-mule, and to abandon their baggage and specimens, while they wandered about in the trackless waste of snow for eleven days, at the end of which time they reached the camp of a Mexican miner on the west side, with their legs frozen to and above the knees. Grosch would not submit to amputation, and died December 19, 1857.

It was said that when Allen Grosch left for California, he placed his cabin in charge of Henry T. P.

lode with the Grosch brothers, as it crosses the heads of both cañons. *Wright's Big Bonanza*, 31. Two of their claims were near the forks of the cañon, as described in their letters. See account of Comstock lode, in *Mining Review and Stock Ledger*, 1878, 149–61; *Nev. Sen. Jour.*, 1866, app. no. 7, 19.

[6] This was Mrs Ellis, afterward Mrs Dittenreider, who was so much impressed by the faith of the Grosches in the value of their discoveries that she offered to sell some property in California and furnish them $1,500. Mrs Dittenreider states that she saw the brothers at their cabin, and that Allen took her to some elevated ground, and pointing to Mount Davidson, said that the Pioneer claim was 'down at the base of that point.'

[7] This person was R. M. Bucke, since superintendent of the Dominion insane asylum, at London, Canada.

Comstock,[8] a miner in Gold cañon, who also lived about Johntown, and had been in western Utah since 1856. How much or how little Comstock knew of the plans of the Grosch brothers previous to coming into the possession of their books and papers through the death of Allen Grosch is uncertain ; but probably he had never been admitted to their confidence further than to engage his services, and to explain to him what the consideration would be,[9] with assurances of the prospective value of their mining claims. The total disappearance of their books and papers, with all the evidences of their company and individual rights, is strong presumptive evidence against Comstock as the person in charge. Whatever knowledge he had he kept to himself, and with equal care removed the traces of their claims,[10] which might lead

[8] William Jennings, in his *Carson Valley*, MS., 3, states that Comstock came into the valley in 1856, driving a flock of sheep, but that 'the Indians got most of the sheep.' Comstock says of himself that his name was Henry Thomas Paige Comstock, and that he was the son of Noah Comstock of Cleveland, Ohio, and was born in Canada in 1820. He declared that he had been in the wilderness from childhood hunting and trapping, except when he was serving in the Black Hawk, Patriot, and Mexican wars. His mind was ill balanced, or if not so naturally, he had suffered so many shocks of fortune that the last years of his life were but the record of a feeble struggle against advancing dementia. After leaving Nevada, which he did in 1862 to go to the eastern Oregon and Idaho mines, he wandered about in those countries for several years, and constructed a road from Auburn to Baker City, Oregon, before going to Boisé, and finally going to Montana. He accompanied the Bighorn expedition in 1870, and on his return, September 27th, when near Bozeman, committed suicide by shooting himself in the head with his revolver. *Wright's Big Bonanza*, 82–7; *Silver City Nevada Times*, Aug. 27, 1879; *Eureka Sentinel*, July 14, 1875; *Gold Hill News*, Aug. 30, 1875.

[9] A writer in the *Sac. Union* of Aug. 17, 1863, signing himself "****," but speaking as one who knows, says that Allen Grosch made a written contract with Comstock to go into his cabin and take charge of the 'Hill' claim during his absence for the winter, for which service he was to receive a fourth interest in that claim; said claim being recorded with a diagram and marked by posts, the claim covering 3,750 feet north of the ledge where the first notice was posted, and extending beyond the ravine on the north side of Virginia City. This, if true, would fix the locality and the value of the Grosch mines.

[10] Wright says that he saw the old furnaces of the Grosch brothers unearthed in 1860, they having been covered up with a foot of mud and sand from Gold cañon. They were 2 in number, only 2 or 3 feet in length, a foot in height, and 1½ feet in width. One had been used as a smelter, and the other as a cupel furnace. The remains of melting-pots and fragments of cupels were found in and about the furnaces; also a large piece of argentiferous galena, which had doubtless been procured a short distance west of Silver City. After the discovery of the furnaces there was much search by

to identification by either of the companies, or by the heirs of the Grosch brothers. For more than a year after the death of Allen Grosch, Comstock remained in Gold cañon, keeping a silent watch upon the progress of discovery, and ready to profit by it. At the last it came, as he expected.[11]

Returning to the history of mining for gold by the residents of Johntown: during the summer of 1857 a number of men from Gold cañon, prospecting in Six-mile cañon, discovered a new field about a mile below the ground now occupied by Virginia City. The gold was not found in auriferous sand and gravel, but in blue clay so tough that it had to be dissolved to free the metal. From $5 to $13.50, the value of an ounce, was a day's wages, and in 1858 the same miners returned to these diggings, puzzled to understand their peculiar features, but satisfied with the pay. With them came a few others, who were forced to take claims higher up the cañon.

Among the newer comers was James Fennimore, an intemperate Virginian, without either brains or education, who for some breach of lawful etiquette committed elsewhere, had found it convenient to remove to Carson valley in 1851,[12] where he had remained ever since, digging his season's wages out of the earth to pour it down his throat in bad whiskey during his leisure months. When he first came to Carson valley he called himself James Finney, until outgrowing his apprehensions, he acknowledged his true name to be Fennimore. But although so well supplied with appellations,[13] he was dubbed by the miners Old Virginia,

miners in the neighborhood for the mine they had been prospecting, but it was not found. *Big Bonanza*, 34.

[11] Wright relates that Comstock obtained the sobriquet of Old Pancake among the miners, because he could not take time to make bread. 'Even as, with spoon in hand, he stirred up his pancake batter, it is said that he kept one eye on the top of some distant peak, and was lost in speculations in regard to the wealth in gold and silver that might rest somewhere beneath its rocky crest.' *Big Bonanza*, 41.

[12] It is said that Fennimore came to Carson valley with Reese's company in 1851 as a teamster. *Thompson & West's Hist. Nev.*, 31.

[13] He is often called Mr Berry. See *Territorial Enterprise*, Sept. 24, 1859; *S. F. Alta*, Sept. 28, 1859.

a sobriquet significant of his characteristics rather than of his years, which really were not yet in the decline of life. In company with Fennimore were Peter O'Riley, Patrick McLaughlin, Joseph Kirby, and Nicholas Ambrose, the latter not a miner, but a restaurateur. They worked contentedly in their new claims through the summer of 1858, returning to Johntown to winter. But in January 1859, during some warm weather, which melted the snow, and gave plenty of water, prospecting in Gold cañon was resumed by the residents of Johntown, and among others, by James Fennimore, John Bishop, and H. T. P. Comstock.

On the 29th, after further examination of the mound at the head of the cañon, aud finding the prospects rich, though the gold was very fine, Comstock, Fennimore, Bishop, and others staked off claims, and called the place Gold Hill. In connection with their claims, Fennimore discovered and claimed a spring of water, which could be brought to their ground. Several log houses were soon erected at Gold Hill, which became the centre of the mineral region, the miners in Six-mile cañon, who had worked to within a mile or two on the north side, making it their headquarters.

Although the gravel in which the Gold cañon miners were now working was evidently decomposed quartz, and almost black in color, no one appears to have guessed the secret of it at this period.[14] The miners also in Six-mile cañon continued to work their claims, which, as they advanced toward the head, became darker in color. Early in June, being short of water, they excavated a small reservoir a short distance above their claims, in which to collect it from a

[14] James Thompson, a Norwegian, who carried the mail from Carson valley to California on snow-shoes, used to bring specimens to Frank Stewart, geologist, connected with the *Placerville Observer*. Among others, in the winter of 1857–8 he brought to Stewart a small package of black-looking rock, rich in gold, which he said came from Gold cañon, and the miners desired to be informed of its nature Stewart called it black sulphuret of silver, containing gold. *Virginia Enterprise* in *Stockton Independent*, June 10, 1875. The writer is evidently more than a year too early in his date, unless the package came from Comstock, and was found in Grosch s cabin.

rivulet for the use of their rockers. On the 10th, at a depth of four feet, they came to a stratum of strange-looking earth, the nature of which they did not understand. It is upon record, however, that Comstock, who appears to have been extremely watchful of the movements of prospectors, immediately appeared upon the spot, with the remark, "You have struck it, boys,"[15] the persons addressed being McLaughlin and O'Riley. At the same time he made known that the spring from which they were conducting the water was claimed by himself, Emanuel Penrod, and Fennimore (Old Virginia), the latter owning but one share. As McLaughlin and O'Riley tested their discovery, and found it as rich as it was queer, Comstock further informed them that the ground they were on belonged to some persons then absent; namely, Fennimore, Joseph Kirby, James White, and William Hart, and thereupon proposed an arrangement by which these persons were to be bought off, and himself admitted to a firm consisting of Penrod, Comstock, McLaughlin, and O'Riley.[16] As the claim was evidently a valuable one, and as it could not be worked without water, which Comstock controlled, the proposition was agreed to. Penrod was employed to obtain a bill of sale of the claimants, only three of whom could be found. To these he paid $50 for their rights, and Comstock negotiated the purchase of Fennimore's interest in the spring for an old blind horse. But there yet remained one of the original claim-owners, who was not satisfied, and Joseph D. Winters seeing that it was yielding $300 a day to the rocker, made haste to find the missing share-owner, and secure his right, without informing him of its value To avoid

[15] This exclamation has been taken as proof that Comstock knew of this deposit, or at least that he recognized its value from knowledge obtained from the contents of the Grosch cabin, such knowledge not being possessed by the other miners. If this were true, he acted with consummate tact throughout the whole subsequent proceedings.

[16] *Book of Deeds of the White and Murphy Ground*, by George Wells, MS., 2 In this document it is stated that 'they also busied themselves that day to secure the surface claims previously located.' This manuscript is a history of the Great Bonanza, from evidence found in searching for title.

litigation. Winters was admitted as a partner, after the lode was discovered upon which the fame of the state of Nevada was so soon to be built.

For only about one week did the claim continue to pay in the rich decomposed ore, of which the miners were ignorantly throwing away the greater part of the value,[17] when the miners came, on the 11th of June, to a solid ledge four feet in width, which Penrod declared to be a quartz vein, but which Comstock at first denied, and finally admitted, the other two partners still assenting and objecting to "locating" as such. Penrod and Comstock, however, prevailed, giving notice of their claims, which included 1,500 feet on the ledge—300 for each man in the company, and 300 additional for the discoverer, according to the mining laws in California.[18] Comstock claimed 100 feet to be segregated to himself and Penrod, wherever he should chose in the company's claim, in consideration of their services in securing O'Riley's and McLaughlin's claims to them by including them in the location. This segregated claim became the famous Mexican, from which millions of dollars were taken. By these methods, without ever having discovered anything, and always claiming everything, by much loud talking and a display of stolen knowledge—for the hints obtained from the papers of the Grosch brothers, never before well understood, now enabled him to discourse with a show of learning—Comstock caused people to talk about the Comstock lode. Many located claims upon it. The ore was sent to California to be assayed, and with the astonishing returns came hordes of new adven-

[17] Assays from the top of this mine (the Ophir) yielded $1,595 in gold and $4,791 silver. *S. F. Alta*, Nov. 16, 1859; *N. Pac. Review*, i. 149–51; *Blake's Review*, in *Min. Mag.*, 1860, 221–5.

[18] *Hittell's Hand-Book of Mining*, 184. In *Well's Book of Deeds*, MS., it is said that the public meeting mentioned in the previous chapter was called by Comstock and associates the day after their discovery, and before it was made known, in order to induce the miners to pass laws and regulations which would enable them to hold quartz claims. This is an error, as it was not known to be a quartz claim until about the 17th, and the meeting was held on the 11th.

turers, who quickly converted the quiet haunts of western Utah into roaring mining camps. Such is fame.[19]

Penrod, Comstock, & Co., this being the name of the firm in Book A of the mining records of Virginia City, called their mine the Ophir, and it was the first claim recorded on this lode, but it was not the first recorded in western Utah. On the 22d of February Fennimore located a claim on a large vein lying west of the Comstock, which came to be called the Virginia lead, after the nickname of the claimant.

Among the "notices" recorded at Virginia City appears one of a location made May 12, 1859, by A. Curry, J. E. Clark, H. F. Clark, and C. W. Curry, but on what vein is not stated, though it could not have been the Comstock at that date.[20]

Other mines, both placer and quartz, had been discovered in different parts of what is now Nevada, previous to any locations in Carson valley. As early as 1849 an immigrant named Hardin, while hunting with two other men, discovered silver in the Black Rock range, in the Humboldt country, one and a half miles from Hardinville.[21] In 1857 quartz mines

[19] There are many who speak of Old Virginia as the discoverer of the Comstock, but without shadow of truth. It appears probable that his claim on another large lead, above mentioned, gave rise to the belief. It was at one time thought by some to be the mother lode of the range, as the Comstock appeared to dip toward it. The purchasers of Fennimore's claim began a suit against the Ophir company, asserting that they were on the lead located by Fennimore. The Ophir company finally paid $60,000 to quiet title. *Wright's Big Bonanza*, 53–4. This was probably the 'monster vein' of the Grosch brothers. Accounts, varying according to recollection or prejudice, abound of the discovery of silver in Nevada. Instance *Harper's Mag.*, June, 1877, 72; *Browne's Min. Resources*, 27–36, 87–8; *Knox's Underground*, 94–101. *Mining Rev.*, 1876, 11–12; *Sec. Int. Rept*, i. 261–6, 44th cong. 1st sess.; *Nev. Sen. Jour.*, 1866, app. 7, 19–20; *Reese's Mormon Station*, MS., 3; *Jennings' Carson Valley*, MS., 3–4; *Clark's Statement*, MS., 12; *Min. Mag.*, 1860, i. 35; *Barber's Western States*, 490; *Gazlay's Pac. Monthly*, 34–40; *Western Monthly*, 236–41; *Boisé News*, March 5, 1864.

[20] *Leaves from an old Book of Comstock Locations*, in *Virginia City Evening Chronicle*, Aug. 30, 1878; *Gold Hill Eve. News*, Apr. 10, 1880. This early record shows evidences of altered dates in more than this instance.

[21] Hardin brought specimens to Cal.; but the Indians being troublesome, nothing could be done until 1858, when he revisited that region with Albert E. Jamison and others. They failed to find the spot, and on the following year he repeated the search with like result. In 1860 several hundred prospectors were looking for the lost mine, but their search was interrupted by

were discovered in the Reese river country, eighteen miles from Kingston springs, on the road to Salt Lake. A San Francisco company purchased the Armagosa mine, and sending out an expensive mill, soon sunk themselves in debt. The mill remained for some months with a guard of a few men, when down upon it swooped a band of Piutes, and both guard and mill were destroyed, which ended Reese river mining for the time.

The Potosí silver mines, situated eighteen miles from Las Vegas, in the extreme southern part of western Utah, were discovered by the Mormons about the time the Reese river mines were found. Believing them to be lead, Brigham Young sent a party of miners to work in them, in anticipation of the war with the United States troops, but the product proved too hard for bullets, and the mines were abandoned.[22]

About the same time the silver mines of the district lying at the head of Walker river, in what was later Mono county, California, but which was then claimed as a part of western Utah, were beginning to attract attention, and in 1859 were well known. Rich diggings were also reported in the Truckee valley. But the principal interest centred in the so-called Washoe mines, another misnomer, not so easily accounted for as the first, since there were no mines in the Washoe valley,[23] whose name was applied

Indian hostilities. Late in 1865, however, Jamison discovered rich prospects, and in 1866 Hardinville was settled. *S. F. Alta*, March 1862, and Sept. 6, 1866. Mining in Humboldt county became profitable about 1869.

[22] Afterward $20,000 was expended on these mines by Capt. Allen, who derived no benefit from it, though the wealth of the mine was unquestioned. Assays made by the 'camel' boundary line expedition showed $35 per ton in silver. The want of railroad transportation was the chief drawback. See *Sulliman's Rept on Potosí.*

[23] 'The name of Washoe mines has been derived from Washoe valley, which is some 25 miles distant [actual distance 12 miles], and in no way connected with the mines.' B. O., in *S. F. Bulletin*, Oct. 11, 1859. In the *Nevada* (Cal.) *Democrat* is the following, furnished by Foster, expressman between Nevada City and Carson valley: 'Collins & Co., immigrants, located a ledge about the 1st of October, 4 miles from Washoe lake, which assayed $940 per ton in gold. Subsequently a number of locations were made in the valley, and mining districts organized; but there is nothing in this to account for the

to the system of mines on the great silver lode, and all the region thereabout, until the name became as widely known as Comstock's.

The discovery of diggings yielding several hundred dollars a day caused from the first a fever of excitement, the existence of a valuable lode beneath being to most persons a matter of doubt and of secondary importance. Locations of quartz were made, because it could do no harm, so long as the same results were obtained on the surface. Miners from California hastened over the mountains to secure claims. Soon the whole country was covered with prospectors. By the time the ore had been further assayed by competent mineralogists, and pronounced to be richer in silver than in gold, all the ground on the Comstock had been taken up for the gold known to be present.

The Ophir company proceeded at once to make a practical test, and in order to be able to do so, admitted a sixth partner, J. A. Osburn, who with J. D. Winters agreed to construct two arastras worth $75 each, and furnish the horses or mules to propel them, the proceeds of the mine on working to be equally divided between the six owners, any member of the company to have the preference should one or more desire to sell. In a few months not one of the original owners of this pioneer bonanza[24] firm owned anything on the Comstock, while more than a hundred others had claims there.[25]

Among the first, if not quite the first Californians to arrive at the new mines were James Walsh and

lesser giving its name to the greater. In some of the earlier Mormon records it is written Wassaw.

[24] The Spanish word *bonanza*, signifying prosperity, fair weather at sea, good fortune in mining, was introduced by the Mexicans, and here applied to the large finds.

[25] *Brown's Min. Resonrces*, 88–9. The names of locators up to Sept. 1, 1859, according to the record, are as follows: Thomas Winters, James Webber, John S. Butler, G. F. Rogers, John Bishop, M. L. Powell, F. Leary, W. P. Morrison, P. T. Heally, H. Johnson, H. B. Camp, A. G. Hamack, A. White, Joseph Curly, W. Henderson, James Finney, John Berry, L. C. Savage, A. O. Savage, W. Sturtevant, C. Chase, R. Crall, B. Abernather, L. S. Bowers, John Murphy, James Lee. James Buchanan, Abe Field, A. Cower, Ephraim G. Scott, W. W. Capen, F. McNeil, George C. Rosenbaker, John Carter, A.

Joseph Woodworth of Grass Valley. Walsh had procured an assay of a piece of the ore from the Ophir early in July, and immediately started with Woodworth to inspect it. The result of the examination was that on the 12th of August Walsh offered and Comstock accepted $11,000 for his one-sixth interest in the Ophir mine, which was exclusive of the 100 feet owned by Penrod and Comstock in the midst of the claim.[26] The transfer from Comstock conveyed also "one undivided half of 200 feet of mining ground being worked by the California company at the present time under an agreement made with me," besides certain claims in Six-mile cañon known as the Caldwell claims, one half of the spring before mentioned,[27] and "also my recorded title to a ranch, on which the aforesaid village of Ophir is located."[28] In September McLaughlin sold his interest in the company's

Bell, S. P. Randall, M. Guinness, S. Stogle, G. A. McBride, J. McConnell, T. A. Reid, L. S. Pickering, H. Bacon, E. T. Martin, A. R. Jenkins, S. S. Penry, J. S. Crenshaw, Charles Whitehead, David Ebaugh, Ellen Cowan, Benjamin Cahoon, J. E. Squire, Edwin C. Morse, M. Benham, N. Pearman, W. Ross, D. R. Loyd, Hiram Eckert, P. C. Van Horn, Alexander Gilmore, John Lowe, Joseph H. Gardiner, A. B. Cole, Robert Johnson, S. M. Beard, William Justice, I. W. Hastings, G. W. Heperly, A. D. Allen, William Pratt, John Havens, A. Thornton, John Correr, W. B. Boyden, A. Lovewell, E. Scott, Melville Atwood, A. Delano, W. K. Spencer, A. H. Walsh, Richard Tibbals, Joseph Woodworth, A. E. Head, W. P. Morrison, M. S. Powers, W. W. Caperton, Joseph Webb, A. Richard, R. Wilkins, W. Gill, I. I. Collin, G. Wilson, Nicholas Mellon, D. H. Rule, Fred Miller, G. W. Aurgin, Edward Connor, T. J. Atchison, H. Jacobs, D. F. McNeil, E. Belcher, John Blackburn, Geo. Stead, Thomas Stead, Arthur E. McHugh, John Braclim, S. P. Lord, John Vignot, Stephen Wood, John Black, D. E. Rice, J. W. Rice, I. W. Rice, I. Green, L. Green, Ed R. Bucklin, T. P. Mallone, Nelson Brobrant, Michael Daley, Michael Cloona, G. S. Fisher, G. H. Ingersoll, G. Kenny, E. Payne, F. Eaton. John Becker, M. B. Thompson, D. S. Blanding, Cook, G. A. Whitney, J. Spitzer, James Corey, William Vaughn. The list is not complete, owing to the wear to which the book of record has been subjected, having rendered some names undecipherable.

[26] In October Walsh and Woodworth shipped 12,000 pounds of ore, and the Central Mining Company 3,000 pounds. About 150 persons arrived from Downieville during the last week of the month. *S. F. Alta*, Oct. 31, 1859.

[27] In the contract it is said that the three owners of the mine were only entitled to use the water so long as they continue to own in the mine. *Wright's Big Bonanza*, 73.

[28] Whether this claim of Comstock's to 160 acres of land on which Virginia City was erected, with the water supply, was bona fide is open to doubt. In a communication written for the public press a short time before his death, and when his mind wandered, he asserted that he used to raise all his potatoes and vegetables on it, hiring Indians to do the work. In the same letter to the public he states that Riley and McLaughlin were working for

mine for $3,500; Osburn sold for $7,000; O'Riley, who was the last to sell, received $40,000—all being well satisfied with the prices obtained. California miners knew nothing about silver-mining, expected their claims to be worked out in a few months, and were pleased to part with them for a few thousand dollars. In November Penrod sold his share in the 100 feet segregated to Gabriel Maldonado, a Mexican, for $3,000.[29] He had already sold his interest in the company mine for $5,500 to prevent being, in mining phrase, "frozen out," by the threatened erection of a costly mill, and the consequent assessments.

The claim in which Maldonado had purchased a half-interest was called the Mexican. John H. Atchison also obtained a share equal to one-eighth[30] in

him when Ophir was discovered, and that he gave the other members of the company their claims; also, that he located the Savage and Gould and Curry, and owned the Hale and Norcross and the principal part of Gold Hill, giving claims to Sandy Bowers, William Knight, and Joe Plato. He entertained the idea of bringing suit to recover all these properties, of which he imagined himself deprived. That he did set up a claim to the ground on which Virginia is located at the time of the discovery of O'Riley and McLaughlin, basing his right upon the fact of having paid a Mexican something for the spring claim, seems to be corroborated by other circumstances, and does not seem to have been disputed; but all his right to the land was conveyed to Walsh. There is no record in existence showing Comstock's claim, and at the best he could have had only a squatter's title.

[29] It is interesting to follow the subsequent histories of these sports of fortune. Comstock engaged in merchandising in Carson City. He had married the wife of a Mormon in regular orthodox fashion before a gentile preacher in Washoe valley. But she ran away from him, as she had from her first husband; and after many ineffectual attempts to bind her to him indissolubly, he allowed her to go her way. He soon failed in his mercantile venture, and finally ended his life, as I have said, in Montana by suicide. O'Riley received a considerable fortune for his interest, and erected a stone hotel in Virginia City with a portion of it. He then indulged in stock-gambling, and soon was forced to resort to pick and pan for a living. Like most illiterate persons who have lost money, he became extremely superstitious, and finally insane, dying in a private asylum at Woodbridge, Cal., about 1874. McLaughlin soon spent the little he received, and in 1875 was engaged as cook at the Green mine in San Bernardino co., Cal. Penrod also soon became a poor man, living at Elko, Nev. Osburn went east; and Winters to Cal., where he was no better off than the others.

[30] Penrod says that while the original company still held the Ophir, a threat was made to change the mining regulations, and reduce the width of a claim to 200 feet. Under this apprehension the company each selected a man to whom was deeded fifty feet off the north end of Ophir, thus voluntarily limiting their ground to 1,200 feet. This 300 feet was afterward called the Atchison. Some of the ground was recovered subsequently. The mining law was changed in the Virginia district September 14, 1859, the first article reading, 'All quartz claims hereafter located shall be 200 feet on the lead,

this mine.[31] Buying and selling were of daily occurrence. Before the end of the year there were four thousand people in Carson and the adjacent small villages, where in June there were hardly so many hundreds. A town sprang up about the Ophir mine, which, as I have just shown, was first called after the mine. It was afterward named Silver City by Comstock, but by a drunken whim of Fennimore's became, in October, Virginia Town, after himself.[32] A month later, at which time it had eight stone houses, it was proposed to call the place Winnemucca, after the Piute chieftain of that name; but the idea being unpopular, Virginia City was finally adopted.

The importance of the new town was at once perceived,[33] and it was spoken of with respect as "the most important town in the newly discovered diggings," even at this time. It was described as situated in a "kind of mountain amphitheatre leading down the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada into Carson valley," distant fifteen miles from Carson City, six from Steamboat springs, and 162 from Sacramento. A hundred miners were at work, and quartz was being broken in fifteen arrastras. There was no hotel, and only one restaurant, where half a dozen persons at a time could be supplied with poor meals at seventy-five cents. Travellers found lodgings by spreading their blankets on the east flank of

including all its dips and angles.' But this regulation did not affect titles already acquired to 300 feet. *Hittell's Hand-Book of Mining*, 199.

[31] It was from this part of the original ground that the first ore was taken. *Virginia Union* in *Mer. Gazette and Price Current*, Nov. 17, 1865.

[32] Wright, in his *Big Bonanza*, 28. 59, 84, quotes Comstock's account: 'Old Virginia and the other boys got on a drunk one night there, and Old Virginia fell down and broke his bottle, and when he got up he said he baptized that ground—hence Virginia City.' Fennimore, who is much paraded by all the historians of Nevada, without any discoverable reason, unless a fondness for whiskey may be accounted a distinguished as well as distingnishing trait, was killed at Dayton in July 1861, being thrown from his horse while intoxicated, and suffering a fracture of the skull.

[33] O. H. Pierson laid off the town in lots some time in July. Comstock offering him the land on which at that time John L. Blackburn and one other man had spread their tents; but Ormsby of Carson City, for whom Pierson had been a clerk in 1849 at Sacramento, offered him a corner lot in his town, and thither he went. *Carson Tribune*, Aug. 1870.

Sun peak, or Pleasant hill, as it was not infrequently called. The country being treeless in the immediate vicinity, and the one or two saw-mills at a considerable distance, lumber was worth $50 per 1,000 feet, and was scarce at any price, being more valuable for mining purposes than for houses. These facts did not deter people from hurrying to the new diggings, and during the severe winter which followed many lived in excavations in the earth.

At Gold Hill, which was nature's dump of tailings from the Comstock lode, was less excitement, but equal industry, and eight or ten arrastras were grinding up quartz for the gold it contained, without reference to the silver. In truth, the Californians wished to conceal the actual value of the ores until they could buy at a low price.[34] A few mule-loads were sent to

[34] I find in the *Virginia City Union* of Oct. 14, 1863, the following account of the Gold Hill mines and their first owners: 'Late in the fall of 1858 [it was really in January 1859] four men, named James Finney, alias Virginia, John Bishop, alias Big French John, Aleck Henderson, and Jack Yount, were prospecting in the vicinity of the place where Gold Hill is now situated. . . As they were passing along the ridge immediately east of the cañon in which the town of Gold Hill is now located, Virginia pointed to the large mound, now known as Gold Hill, and remarked to his comrades, 'Boys, I believe there are some good diggings over there. In a few days we will go over and try it.' They returned, . . . and in a few days went to the mound pointed out by Virginia, as agreed upon. . . . Virginia in hunting around over the mound, discovered a hole which had been made by a gopher. From this they took out a considerable quantity of gold and carried it down to Crown Point ravine. . . . All there immediately thought that they had at last found the long looked for El Dorado, . . . and the bleak mountains which surrounded them echoed and reëchoed their wild shouts of delight. They immediately staked out 4 claims of 50 feet each and divided them among each other, giving Virginia, as the discover, the first choice. A few days afterward 5 other men, named James Rogers, Joseph Plato, Sandy Bowers, Henry Comstock, and William Knight, who had been prospecting in and about Spanish ravine, came down to the newly discovered diggings and staked out another claim of 50 feet, being 10 feet to each.

'Of these 4 discoverers, not one owns a foot of ground on Gold Hill, and of the second locators, only one and the heirs of another now own an interest. Virginia first gave John Vignot, alias Little French John, 9 feet in consideration of his having attended him during a spell of sickness. This 9 feet is now incorporated in the Logan and Holmes claim. He then sold 21 feet to Dugan & Co. for $50 per foot. Of this, 10½ feet now compose the Coover and Stevenson claim, and 10½ feet the Lindauer and Hirschman claim. The remaining 20 feet he sold to L. E. and J. W. Rice. Of this, 6⅔ feet is now incorporated in the Logan and Holmes claim. The remaining 13⅓ feet is still known as the Rice claim. John Bishop sold his claim to Logan and Holmes for $50 per foot. Jack Yount sold 30 feet to J. D. Winters, and 20 feet to Henderson and Butler. Aleck Henderson retained an interest until last year, in partnership with his brother W. Henderson, when he sold out and returned to the states.

California to be tested, in the autumn of 1859, and the owners suspecting something unfair in the returns, the following spring put up a quantity of ore in sacks, reserving every alternate sack for assay by experienced Mexican miners, and found that the ore tested in California yielded but about half as much as that assayed by the Mexicans.[35] A San Francisco firm[36]

'Of the 5 later locators, Rogers sold his 10 feet to Mrs Cowan (now Mrs Sandy Bowers) for $100 per foot. This, with the 10 feet which Sandy Bowers owned, and still retains, form what is now known as the Bowers claim. Comstock sold to one Frink. This 10 feet is now known as the Harold & Co. claim. Knight's interest was sold, and also passed to Harold & Co. These 2 interest are now incorporated in the claim of the Empire Mill and Mining company. Plato died, but his wife inherited and still owns the 10 feet which he located. Finney, alias Virginia, Plato, and Rogers are now dead, the latter having committed suicide a few months since. Bishop still lives about Virginia . . . Comstock, immortalized by the famous lead in this district which bears his name, is now in the northern mines. Sandy Bowers and wife reside in Washoe county.'

[35] The process of testing consisted in beating the rock to a powder in a mortar, or grinding it fine on a large flat stone with a lesser stone. The pulverized ore was placed in a small canoe-shaped vessel, made of a split ox-horn, and carefully washed out, much in the same manner in which auriferous gravel was worked in a pan. The gold would be found lying in a yellow streak at the bottom of the horn. This was a very simple process, and any miner could prospect his discovery of gold rock to decide whether it would pay to work it in a mill. In testing for silver, acids were used. The quartz was pulverized as in the first instance, and the lighter matter washed out in the horn. The residuum was then washed from the horn into a mattrass (a flash of annealed glass with a narrow neck and broad bottom). Nitric acid was then poured in until the matter to be tested was covered, when the flask was suspended over a lamp and evaporated by boiling until the fumes escaping changed from red to white. After cooling, the liquid contents of the flask were poured off into a vial of clear, thin glass, called a test-tube. A few drops of a strong solution of common salt were then poured into the vial. If the ore contained silver, the liquid in the tube would take on a milky hue where the salt first came in contact with it, changing gradually toward the bottom. If much silver was present, the milky matter formed little ropes, which sank to the bottom of the vial. Muriatic acid was sometimes used in place of salt, to produce the formation of chloride of silver. To dispel all doubts, the prospector held the test-tube in the strong light of the sun for a short time, when the chloride would assume a rich purple hue. To reduce the chloride to a metallic state, it was dried and placed in a small excavation scooped out in a piece of charcoal, and the flame of a candle blown upon it until it was melted, when a button of pure silver would be formed.

Chloride ores of silver could not be tested by this process, being already a chloride, but had to be smelted in a crucible. Lead ore treated with nitric acid, as in testing silver, produced a chloride somewhat resembling silver, but more granular in appearance. It did not turn purple in the sunlight, and it dissolved in 20 times its bulk in water, whereas the chloride of silver did not dissolve in any amount of water. If copper was present, a piece of bright iron wire or the blade of a penknife dipped in the solution would show a coating of it.

[36] Donald Davison & Co. *Territorial Enterprise* (Genoa), Oct. 1, 1859.

purchased 200 tons of ore, at $200 a ton, to be sent to England for practical testing. The first arrastra put in operation was at the Ophir mine. Others quickly followed at the Mexican and other claims, which were operated by horse-power. Woodworth and Hastings erected two arrastras at Dayton, to be run by water-power from the Carson river. The next advance in milling in 1859 was a horse-power, four-stamp battery, erected at Dayton by Logan and Holmes. This was followed in August 1860 by two steam quartz mills, erected by E. B. Harris and Almarin B. Paul, both of which started running on the 11th in close competition, Harris' mill blowing the first whistle.[37] The introduction of mills, by saving the cost of freight to California, where the ores were being sent to be crushed, was an important step in advance. At first the process called dry crushing was practised, which was found unprofitable, one Howland battery of nine stamps crushing only a ton in twenty-four hours. In October the Pioneer mill adopted the wet process, and was soon followed by the others. By this method ten times the work was done, and a larger amount of gold saved. The cost of crushing and working the ore was about $6 a ton, while the mills charged $100, falling to $75, and afterward to $50 per ton. The retorted bullion was worth from $10 to

[37] *S. F. Alta*, Aug. 7, 1863. There was but a few minutes difference in the time of starting up. C. W. Coover was associated with Harris. Their mill was built on the east side of the road, nearly opposite the present Leviathan hoisting works, the site being one formerly located by Overman for arrastras. The mill consisted of one of Howland's 9-stamp portable rotary batteries, the engine and boilers being from Goss & Lambert's, Sacramento, and hauled over the mountains by ox-teams, at 4 and 5 cents a pound, taking 18 days to the passage. On the 13th of August this mill began on custom-work, running continually on ore from the Bowers and Gould and Curry claims until October, when it was stopped to make the change from the dry to the wet process. Paul's first mill was erected at Devil's Gate, 5 miles from Virginia City, and if we are to believe the *S. F. Bulletin* of Aug. 15th, was in operation before Harris'. He built another, the 3d in the territory, consisting of 8 Howland batteries (72 stamps), below lower Gold Hill. The 4th mill was by the Ophir company; and the 5th by Staples at Gold Hill; the 6th by W. S. Hobart at Gold Hill; the 7th by the Nevada company, in Six-mile cañon. Wood being required to run steam-mills, what there was in the vicinity brought a continually increasing price from $4.50 to $15 per cord.

$14 an ounce, and even at this low rate the Comstock mines yielded $1,800 and $2,000 per ton in gold.

As soon as it was settled in the public mind that the mines in Virginia and Gold Hill districts were upon the same lead, it became of importance to know the extent and dip of the great vein. There was, as might have been expected, a conflict of opinion. Some placed their faith upon the Flowery district, east of Virginia City about five miles. In this district were the Rodgers, Morning Star, Mammoth, Desert, Nary Red, Lady Bryan, Marco Polo, and Cedar companies. It was asserted with much confidence that this district excelled the Virginia district. The mines of the Devil's Gate district, south of Gold Hill, were said to be the next best in the territory.

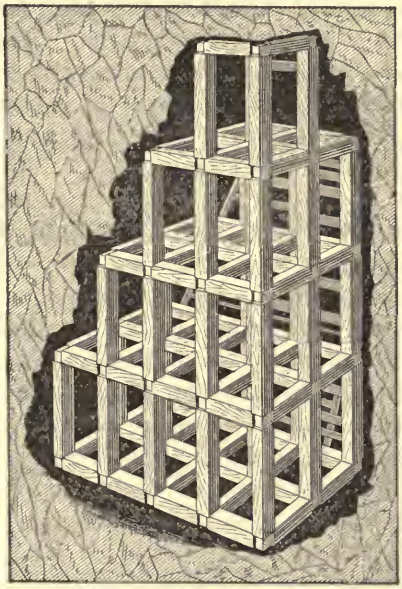
All the work done which could serve as an indication of the actual value of the mines was being done in two or three mines of the Virginia district, namely, the Ophir, Mexican, and Californian. The Mexican was being worked after the method pursued in the mines of Mexico. A shaft was sunk, about fourteen by eight feet in size, which came to the vein ten or fifteen feet from the surface. From this point the inclination of the vein was sufficient to allow of rude steps being cut on the lower side of the shaft, up which clambered the Mexican miners, carrying on their backs, suspended by straps round their foreheads, ox-hide baskets filled with ore. In this primitive way, with little expense, they brought up from the bottom of the shaft a richly paying quantity of ore. Forty or fifty feet below the surface drifts were run, and from the drifts other shafts were lowered. This system left standing pillars of ore, which supported the mine, and obviated the necessity for expensive timbering. A tunnel was, however, run in at a depth of eighty feet, and when the miners had reached that depth, and a greater depth, the tunnel was utilized for a roadway to bring out the ore in loaded cars, an approach to American methods of mining.

The Ophir company employed steam hoisting and pumping machinery in 1860, driven by a fifteen horse-power donkey-engine. It was worked by an inclined shaft following the dip of the vein, up which the ore-car was hoisted. In December 1860 the Ophir company had reached a depth of 180 feet, using the post and cap supports common in California mines, and found the ore body to be of the unexampled breadth of forty-five feet. They had not followed the Mexican plan of leaving pillars of the rock to support the weight of the superincumbent earth. Timbers of sufficient length and strength to prevent the sinking in of the roof of the mine over so wide a space could not be obtained, even if they would have had the required imperishability to make them safe.[38] This difficulty, encountered in the heart of the bonanza, became of the most serious import, and the company sought the aid of the engineering genius of Philip Deidesheimer, a German miner of scientific attainments

Deidesheimer was equal to the occasion, inventing in three weeks of study and observation a system of timbering without which the Comstock mines would have remained sealed below a certain depth. The plan was simply that of timbers framed together in square sets, forming cribs of from four by six feet in size, which could be piled one upon the other to any required height, and which could be made to conform to any circumstances of lateral as well as downward pressure. These cribs, filled with waste rock, could be made enduring pillars reaching to the roof of the deepest mine. Here at once, in the beginning of its

[38] On the morning of the 15th of July, 1863, half of the Mexican mine, from the surface to a depth of 225 feet, caved in. It carried the ponderous mass of rock, earth, and timbers over into the Ophir, demolishing 50 feet of the 4th gallery, and portions of the 2d and 3d galleries. The main shaft of the Mexican was closed up, and a part of the mill undermined. Not a life was lost, all the men in the mine barely escaping. *Lord's Comstock Mining and Miners* in *King's Survey*, 217. On the 5th of March, 1865, a great cave rent open Gold Hill, filling the upper levels of the Empire, Imperial, and Eclipse mines. Many accidents of this nature happened, and made recourse to cribbing imperative. *Gold Hill News*, May 31, 1869, Jan. 3, 4, June 29, 31, 1870.

mining history, the Comstock lode received exactly the service needed for its complete development. Nor was it the fertile American brain which achieved the triumph over an obstacle that threatened to be insurmountable, but the sturdier German intellect.[39] Other suggestions of Deidesheimer's were afterward adopted, with great profit, regarding the kind of machinery to be used.



PLAN OF CRIBBING.

[39] Deidesheimer's device was particularly adapted to the extraction of the ore bodies of the Comstock, and would have obviated the difficulty encountered in the early development had it been applied. Wright describes the former method as follows: 'The only supports used in the mines were round logs cut on the surrounding hills. These logs were from 16 to 35 feet in length; when of the latter length, they were manufactured, that is, were made of two logs spliced and held together by means of iron bolts and bands. Owing to the stunted character of the pines and cedars found in the neighborhood, it was almost impossible to procure a log more than 20 feet in length. After setting up two of these logs, a log 18 feet long was placed upon them as a cap. These posts and caps were placed as close together as they could be made to stand, but they would not hold up the ground when it began to slack and swell from exposure to the air. Besides this difficulty, there was no safe way of working either above or below these sets in the vein. To take out ore, either under or over the timbers, loosened them and caused a disas-

The discovery of the new method was made none too soon, for at the level next below the one hundred and eighty-foot, or third gallery, the ore body had widened out to sixty-six feet. Locators not in the bonanza mines were watching with much anxiety the dip of the Comstock, hoping to secure claims on the lode where it should make its appearance beyond the limits of known locations. For a time it seemed to dip toward the west, and to run beneath Mount Davidson, on the eastern slope of which the croppings plainly appeared. Locations on the east side of the Virginia range were then eagerly sought after; but when the depth of 300 feet had been reached in the Ophir mine, the lead was found to have been bent and deflected from its true course by the pressure from above, and that its true dip was toward the east, and away from Mount Davidson. This discovery gave a new interest to the Flowery district.

Mills for crushing ore rapidly having been introduced, the question of entering upon silver-mining

trous cave. Many accidents happened, and many men lost their lives while this method of timbering was practised, but no lives have ever been lost in timbering by the square-set, or Deidesheimer plan. In the mines at Gold Hill was where the timbers 35 feet in length were used, and there was where the greatest number of accidents happened; but in the Ophir mine timbers 16 feet long had been used....In 1861 the new style of timbering was adopted along the whole line of the Comstock, and has been in use ever since. The Ophir was probably the first mine in any part of the world where such a system of timbering became a necessity, as no ore body of such great width had ever before been found.' *Big Bonanza*, 135. See also *Lord's Comstock Mining and Miners*, one of an interesting group of monographs belonging to the report of the U. S. geog. sur., of which Clarence King was director, the expenses being paid and the books published by government.

Philip Deidesheimer was born in Germany in 1832, and came to California via Cape Horn in 1851, where he remained until 1860. In Nov. of that year Mr W. F. Babcock, agent of the P. M. S. S. Co. and leading director of the Ophir mining company of Nevada, sent for Mr Deidesheimer, who was then mining in El Dorado county, to ask him to propose a plan for working the Comstock mines, for unless some way of supporting the ground was discovered they could not be worked, on account of the width of the vein, 60 feet, and the softness of the earth. In his earnestness to assist Mr Babcock, Mr Deidesheimer took no thought of himself, or he would have patented his invention. This he did not do, and all the mines seized upon it as quickly as it became known. It would seem that some reward should voluntarily have followed, though none did. He was made superintendent of the Ophir, and earned his salary as mining engineer the same as another, and the mine owners became rich through his invention.

proper was the next consideration. Ophir, Mexican, and other Virginia ores of sufficient value, after assorting, to be sent to England for reduction had been sent, and the remainder, as second and third class ores, were allowed to accumulate. At Gold Hill they had not yet worked through the gold to the silver ore, when experimenting with the latter began at Virginia. It was a difficult problem for the unlearned and inexperienced American miner and mill superintendent. The man of science might have found many baffling peculiarities about the silver ores of western Utah; therefore it is not surprising that the merely practical man, without experience, encountered many discouragements. The surprise is that they so readily conquered them.[40] During the experimental period millions of dollars went to waste in the "tailings," or pulverized ore, which ran away from the mills after passing through the pans and other apparatus used in amalgamating silver by the wet process. They were swept into the Carson river through the cañons in which the mills were situated, and deposited finally in the sink of the Carson, where they lie embedded. Only the Mexicans knew the value of these tailings,

[40] Says Wright, in his *Bonanza*, 139, 'The amalgamating pans in the mills surpassed the caldron of Macbeth's witches in the variety and villainousness of their contents.... They poured into their pans all manner of acids; dumped in potash, borax, saltpetre, alum, and all else that could be found in the drug stores, then went to the hills and started in on the vegetable kingdom. They peeled bark off the cedar-trees, boiled it down until they had obtained a strong tea, and then poured it into the pans where it would have an opportunity of attacking the silver stubbornly remaining in the rocky parts of the ore.... A genius in charge of a mill conceived the idea of making a tea of this, (sage-brush or artemesia) and putting it into his pans. Soon the wonders of the sage-brush process, as it was called, were being heralded through the land. The superintendent of every mill had his secret process of working the silver ore... Process peddlers, with little vials of chemicals in their vest pockets, went from mill to mill to show what they could do, provided they received from $5,000 to $20,000 for their secret.' *Hittell's Hand-Book of Mining*, published in 1861, mentions without describing the Bagley and Veatch processes, and says that the Ophir company used the former, and the Central company the latter. The Ophir company finally paid $10,000 and a royalty for the Veatch process. The 'sulphuret puzzle' is discussed in the *S. F. Herald*, March 22, 1869; *S. F. Times*, June 23, 1867. Reduction methods continued to be discussed and changed for several years. The chlorinizing process received much attention about 1871. *Gold Hill News*, Sept. 3 and Oct. 28, 1871; *Carson Appeal*, June 18, 1869.

or attempted to save them, a few of them securing several thousand dollars each by the patio process,[41] at a small expense. But afterward pieces of amalgam were frequently found in crevices of the rocks over which the tailings had flowed, large enough when melted to make rings or buttons. It was only after a long time that any systematic methods were adopted by mill-owners to save the gold and silver in tailings.[42]

The California company, which was located next south of the Ophir, was the first to run a tunnel in upon the ore deposit, which it did in 1859–60, having to timber it, on account of the slacking of the earth.

All the other mines at first opened downward from the top simply by a well or shaft, which collected the water in the earth, and required pumping machinery long before its depth should have rendered pumping necessary. This machinery as well as the earlier mills soon had to give way to that which, if more expensive, was also much more effective. Engines of fifteen horse-power were replaced by those of eighty

[41] The patio process, as practised in this small way, consisted in placing the tailings on an inclined table, and carefully pouring water over them with a small dipper, beginning at the top and working down. At the bottom would be found, washed down, some pounds of sulphuret of silver, and particles of amalgam and quicksilver. This they placed in a *patio*, or amalgamating yard closely paved with granite, or sometimes having a well packed, hard clay bed, and when several hundred pounds had been saved, sulphate of copper, salt, and quicksilver, in the proper proportions, were added to the mass, and the whole mixed together into a kind of mortar, and left in a heap to sweat and digest. This operation, several times repeated, the mass being mixed by the trampling of horses or mules, completed the amalgamation, when the silver could be washed out with a rocker. See *Farayre Explor. Mineral*, 15–18. There is an account of the discovery of a natural amalgam of gold, silver, and quicksilver, in *S. F. Call* of May 4, 1865, quoted from *Virginia Union*, said to be worth $10,000 per ton; also in *Sac. Union*, May 4, 1865.

[42] The wonderful divisibility of the precious metals and of quicksilver has been shown by placing a copper bowl, coated with quicksilver, where the water from the flume of a quartz mill should fall into it, and also some copper riffles, coated in the same way, in the flume itself. Although the water had a perfectly clear appearance, at the end of 3 months, from the bowl and the riffles, $100 in amalgam was obtained. The water came from the Carson river, and was conducted for a considerable distance through a wooden flume, in which, on repairing it, was found amalgam adhering to the nail-heads, which must in the first place have received a coating of quicksilver, and all came from the tailings swept into the river. An interesting question has been raised of where goes the 734,400 pounds of quicksilver once annually used in the Comstock mills. It disappears, and the millmen say that 'wherever quicksilver is lost, silver is lost.' See *Gold Hill News*, Aug. 9, 1871.

horse-power, and finally by those of five hundred. The question of water, both in the mines and out, was one that has led to some mighty engineering feats. Silver-mining, as at present carried on, is an achievement of scientific and engineering skill which was not dreamed of in the period antedating the admission of Nevada as a state. What it has to do with the history of the state will appear hereafter.[43]

[43] As a contrast to the small beginnings described in a previous note, an account of the Consolidated Virginia mill is inserted in this place. This mill was planned by James G. Fair the bonanza manager. It stood 200 feet north-east of the company's main shaft and hoisting-works. The ground inclined toward the east, allowing of a convenient descent, and was terraced to accommodate the several departments. First came the battery room with ore bin, being 100 by 58 feet in size. Adjoining it on the east, and on a terrace a few feet lower, was the amalgamating-room, 120 by 92 feet. A little lower, on another terrace, was the room containing the settlers, 92 by 20 feet. North of the amalgamating room was the engine room, 92 by 58 feet. The whole of the machinery was driven by a compound condensing-engine of 600 horse-power. The main shaft from this engine was 14 inches in diameter, and weighed 15,000 pounds. A fly-wheel on this shaft, which was also a band-wheel and carried a large belt by which the batteries were driven, was 18 feet in diameter, and weighed 16½ tons. On the extreme end of the main driving-shaft was coupled a shaft 11 inches in diameter, which extended into the amalgamating-room and drove the pans and settlers, and all the machinery not connected with the batteries. The whole weight of the engine was fifty tons, and it stood on 450 cubic yards of masonry laid in cement, weighing 600 tons. There were 4 pairs of boilers, each of which was 54 inches in diameter, and which could be used separately or in connection with the others. A portion of the walls were of stone, and 22 feet high. To the ridge-pole of the roof was 50 feet; to the top of the 4 smoke-stacks 90 feet. In the engine room were two largo steam pumps to be used in feeding boilers or in extinguishing fire. The mill consumed 42 cords of wood per day, which was brought to the mill from a side track of the Virginia and Truckee railroad, on trucks holding two cords each. The truck was emptied into a chute which carried the wood into the boiler-room. On the the west, or highest side of the mill, higher than the roof, was a covered track, 278 feet in length, leading directly to the main shaft of the hoisting-works. When the loaded cars were brought up on the cages they were drawn in trains of 10 cars along the track to the chutes which led down from the roof of the mill to the ore bin below. The track, with the building which inclosed it, rested on strong trestle-work, 44 feet above the ground at the highest point. A car load of ore was fed to the batteries every 5 minutes. It fell first upon an iron screen through which the fine ore passed; that which had to be broken was dumped near the crusher, which resembled a huge lemon-squeezer, and was invented by Blake, and after being broken was distributed by chutes to the batteries or near them. There were 8 of these, with 10 stamps each—80 stamps weighing 800 pounds each—and either could be worked, started, and stopped independently of the rest. From the ore-bin, machines called self-feeders, invented by James Tulloch of Cal., and operated by the motion of the stamps, dropped the ore into the batteries without the intervention of human muscle.

Here began the process of extracting the silver. The pulp which ran from the batteries was conducted to the settling-tanks in the amalgamating-room by sluices. When it was settled to the consistency of thick mortar, it

was shovelled out upon a platform extending along the rows of amalgamating-pans. 2 rows, 16 pans in each, each pan 5½ feet in diameter, and holding 3,000 pounds of pulp. In the bottom of the pans were cast-iron plates, called dies, and revolving upon these other iron plates, called shoes. These pans were the invention of Henry Brevoort of Sonora, Cal., who improved upon the original amalgamating pan designed by Israel W. Knox of S. F. The pulp, to which some water was added, was again pulverized between these plates by revolving the upper upon the lower, steam being admitted to the mass, which was tightly covered, during the grinding. The steam was substituted for the sweating process, which requires days, where the steam effected the same work in hours. The idea was originated by Seiim E. Woodworth of S. F. After 2½ hours of heating and grinding, 300 pounds of quicksilver were added to the contents of each pan, there being added besides a certain amount of salt and sulphate of copper, and sometimes soda and other chemicals, when the grinding was continued for 2½ hours longer. It will be perceived that this process did not differ from the patio process, except in the superiority of the mechanical arrangements, which were equal to the best in the world. At the end of this time the amalgamated pulp was drawn off into the settling-tanks, from which it passed through strainers of heavy canvas bags, when the earthly matter separated from the metallic, and only the silver and quicksilver were collected in the bags, where the mass remained until the superfluous quicksilver drained off. When no more passed through the canvas strainers, the amalgam was removed to another, called the hydraulic strainer, a heavy cast-iron vessel, shaped like a mortar-gun. Over the mouth of this vessel was fastened a strong iron cover, through which passed a pipe, also of iron. A water pipe was then connected, and water under pressure amounting to 150 pounds to the square inch was turned on. By this method much more quicksilver was removed than by any other, but there was still much left. An iron car, which ran on a track in front of the strainers, now received the amalgam and carried it to the retort house, removed from the mill a short distance. This was a brick building 24 by 60 feet, containing 6 cast-iron cylinder retorts, with a capacity of 5 tons of amalgam per day, though retorting usually only half that amount. The amalgam when placed in the retorts, had a dull, gray, muddy appearance, showing neither silver nor quicksilver. By the gradual application of intense heat the latter, which really constituted ⅔ of the whole, was finally separated from the silver. The next proeess was that of assaying. The assay office of the Consolidated Virginia, a large, fine building near the main hoisting-works, had in the melting-room 6 furnaces, with melting-pots made of graphite, having a capacity of 300 pounds of silver each, but seldom containg much over 200 pounds. Here the silver was melted, the dross being skimmed off after stirring. When sufficiently cleared of impurities, it was poured into iron moulds, which formed bars weighing something over 100 pounds. A small ladleful of the molten metal, taken from the top and bottom of the melting-pot, was thrown into water, where it assumed various shapes, some beautiful in form, as flowers and leaves. An assay was made of these first and last granulations, which had to agree, or the melting be done over. The assay was performed by wrapping a gramme of the silver in a thin sheet of pure lead, placing the package in a cupel made of bone ashes, and subjecting it to the heat of a furnace. When liquefied, the lead and all other base metals were absorbed by the cupel, leaving a button of fine metal. This bit of bullion was then hammered into a thin sheet, placed in a flask of annealed glass, and strong nitric acid poured upon it. The flask was placed in hot sand bath—an inch or more of sand on the bottom of a very hot oven—and the sheet of bullion was boiled until the silver was all dissolved, and the gold in the form of a powder settled to the bottom of the flask. This precipitation was placed in a crucible of unglazed porcelain, dried, and melted in a furnace, when the particles united, after which it was carefully weighed. The loss of weight sustained by the original button represented the silver which it had contained. The bars of bullion being weighed, and their relative proportion of gold and silver ascer-

tained from the assay of one gramme, their value was marked on them in degrees of fineness. The calculations were assisted by tables of values. When silver, for instance, is 900 fine, it is worth $\$1.16\frac{3.6}{1.0.0}$ per ounce; when gold is 900 fine, it is worth $\$18.60\frac{1}{2}$. Assay of ore was similar; 200 grains, finely powdered, were melted in a crucible with proper flux, and the metal deposited was subjected to the process just described, from which the value per ton was calculated. Many ingenious contrivances for saving quicksilver were in operation at this mine, which, although interesting, were not a part of silver production, which is here briefly described, as practised after fifteen years of progress. The cost of the reduction works at the Consolidated Virginia mine was $350,000. Other mines may have had less expensive works, but the methods pursued were the same in all. An interesting chapter might be written on the improvements in hoisting, pumping, and other machinery, full descriptions of which, with diagrams, are contained in Clarence King's report on *Mining Industry*, an elegant quarto, filled with instructive and entertaining matter concerning the Comstock mines, from their discovery down to 1870.

CHAPTER VI.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS ON THE COMSTOCK.

1860–1888.

SPECULATION AND LITIGATION—FIGHT BETWEEN THE OPHIR AND BURNING MOSCOW—VIOLENT FLUCTUATIONS OF SUPPOSED VALUES—MINING LAWS—STATE OF SOCIETY—WILD EXTRAVAGANCE—SAN FRANCISCO STOCK-BOARD—FORTUNES MADE AND LOST—MINER'S LIFE—ASSOCIATION AND OBLIGATIONS—YIELDS AND DIVIDENDS—THE BONANZA FIRM, MACKAY, FAIR, FLOOD, AND O'BRIEN—MANIPULATIONS—THE SUTRO TUNNEL—GEOLOGY OF THE COMSTOCK LODE.

THE first result of the opening of the Comstock mines was wild speculation, and the second almost endless litigation. Men from San Francisco, Sacramento, and other California towns hastened to get possession of all the ground possible, which they held at extraordinary prices. Out of their operations grew a mining vocabulary new and peculiar. Bonanza, signifying good fortune, became not inaptly the sobriquet of the discovery mines on the Comstock lode. It is a noteworthy fact that almost all the great discoveries were made at the heart of the region discovered, and not on the outskirts;[1] thus Ophir and Mexican, and the mines into which they were subdivided, being more productive than the groups farther south which participated in their fame, were bonanza to everything on the lode. Unproductive mines were in borrasca, or a squall, signifying bad fortune. As-

[1] I find after making this observation that Wright, in his *Big Bonanza*, 490, remarks that the Consolidated Virginia, to which he applies the title of Big Bonanza, was found 'near where the first silver ore was turned up to the light of day.'

sessing the small shareholders of a mine until they were forced to part with their interests was a "freezing-out" process. "Kiting" a mine was giving it a fictitious value in the market. These latter two practices were very frequent, even as early as April 1860, and getting rich by swapping jackets was carried on with zeal on the Virginia bourse. The "bulls" of the mining towns, or of San Francisco, who performed the kiting, sometimes saw their favorite mine pulled down by the "bears," as became the custom after the formation of a stock board. During the winter of 1859 Ophir was selling for $1,000 and $1,200 a foot. In April following it was offered on the street for $600 or $700. The cause of the decline was prospective litigation. A company calling themselves the Lucky company of the Burning Moscow ledge, but afterward the Burning Moscow company, located on ground first claimed by the Ophir.[2]

It was asserted by them that the ledge they were on was entirely distinct from the Ophir, was twenty-three feet wide, and as rich as the Comstock. The shares were eagerly bought up at from $40 to $275, according to the market. The Madison company first sued them for infringing on their rights; and the Ophir also brought suit to recover possession of the ground in dispute. To establish their case, cross cuts were made by the Ophir company opening into the works of the Burning Moscow, and on application to Judge Gordon N. Mott, an order was obtained restraining that company from further work until the arguments in the application for a permanent injunction had been decided upon.

The question involved in these suits, and which divided the mining community, was whether there was one great lode or many smaller ones. Mott was a believer in the one-lode theory, and while he held the office of judge the Ophir was triumphant, and Burning Moscow shares were at a minimum. There

[2] *Virginia Mining District Records*, Book E, 101.

came a reversal when Mott was succeeded in office by James A. North, who believed in divers lodes, and the Burning Moscow shares went up again, while the Ophir's dropped.

To check the rise of their enemy, the Ophir made an assault on the Moscow's works October 23, 1863, and skirmishing underground was carried on for several days; until Philip Deidesheimer, superintendent of the latter mine, procured the arrest of the superintendent of the Ophir, with eighteen of his men, for riotous conduct. The prisoners were released on bail, but their wrath was not in the least cooled by the experience, nor by a temporary injunction restraining them from working within the limits fixed by the rival company, followed by the dismissal of their suit against it, which brought their stock down from $1,750 to $1,150.

A new suit was begun in another district, and soon after a discovery of exceedingly rich ore in the northern end of the Ophir carried the stock up $500 a foot. In an effort to possess themselves of a controlling interest on the Comstock, the rivals had further complicated their affairs. The Ophir, in September, 1860, purchased of James Fennimore and John H. Berry 205 feet of their location on the Virginia ledge discovered by Fennimore in 1858, this being named in the deed as their "entire remaining interest in the ledge."[3] It was, however, over a hundred feet more than they possessed, for they had already sold all but 95 feet 9 inches of their original 600 feet.

By the Moscow company and many persons it was contended that the Virginia ledge was the main or mother lode, of which the Comstock was a spur. The Ophir, instead of following up their plan of buying out possible rivals in toto, found themselves forestalled by William H. Garrison, who secretly bought up all the other interests in the Virginia ledge, and notified them, in October 1862, that he was prepared

[3] *Storey County Records*, Book D, 626.

to contest their title to the Comstock. This threat occasioned another rapid fall in the Ophir stock from $3,000 to $1,800 per foot, and forced the company to compromise by paying $60,000 or $100,000 for Garrison's title, which was obtained, together with another claim, described as located by Jacob Whitbeck on the "Virginia lead of the Virginia company," in February 1862.[4] Another, or middle lead, had already been purchased from McCall and others by the Ophir company, which now had possession of no less than four so-called ledges within a distance of 1,400 feet.

Four others were alleged to exist within less than half that distance,[5] and one of these was the Moscow, which was being harried by the Madison and adjacent companies in much the same manner as that by which the owners of the Middle and Virginia ledges had been worried into compromise purchases. On the 19th of November, 1863, the Burning Moscow rid itself of its minor enemies by consolidating with them, and uniting the strength of the whole against the Ophir. Its capital stock was increased from less than half a million to three millions.

As I have said, the Ophir company began a new suit in October, soon after which they struck a body of rich ore in their mine. The consolidation of the Moscow companies immediately followed, and a suit for the ejectment of the Ophir was begun. The legal conflict was continued, the best talent of California and Nevada being employed on this and other mining suits of equal importance for several years, during which questions of law, of geology, and of veracity were about equally contested. The question of geol-

[4] Some name one amount and some another; but it does not signify in this plane whether it was $60,000 or $100,000. The Garrison claim was merely speculative from the outset. Claims were purchased that never existed, simply to avoid litigation, which, after all, could not be avoided. The wealth of the Ophir was wasted in suits at law as well as in other ways.

[5] Ledge of La Crosse company, located December 9, 1859; Geller ledge (Harrison company), located June 17, 1860, ledge of Madison Gold and Silver Mining company, located July 3, 1862; and ledge of the Burning Moscow company.

ogy was of all the most perplexing, because it could be settled by nothing but actual exploration of the ledges in dispute, which proceeded slowly as the different companies developed in a partial degree their several claims; and even the testimony of scientific experts was not permitted to have much influence on one side or the other.

By February 1864 it began to appear that the Burning Moscow was intrinsically valueless as compared with its rival, and while it still held on to its pretensions, the stock went down to $12 a foot, to rise again, by the kiting process, to $82 before the end of October. When the "new vein" which had brought it up was assayed it receded to $20; but in November skilful management gave it another toss, when every share in the company changed hands three times during the month. This was the last "deal" of the Moscow company, and was made preparatory to the trial of their suit for ejectment, which was set for the 21st of June, 1865. When the trial came on, which lasted for two weeks, the jury disagreed, and a new trial was ordered in July, which resulted in an equal division of the jury and no verdict.

The people and the press were about this time weary of litigation, which retarded the prosperity of the mining industry,[6] while the companies themselves were compelled to stare ruin in the face. The stock of the Moscow had fallen to five dollars per foot, with few buyers. At this juncture the Ophir cautiously bought up the stock of its enemy until it secured nearly 3,000 shares, which gave it a controlling interest. But they found themselves confronted with an assessment of $15 a foot, which they hesitated to pay, when the board of directors advertised the stock for sale upon the 18th of October. On the afternoon preceding the day of sale the stockholders made an application to have the shares on the books of the Moscow company, which had its office in San Fran-

[6] *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise*, July 14, 1865.

cisco, transferred to a single person, but the secretary refused to permit the transfer before the assessment was paid. The holders then wished to restrain the company from selling their stock, and applied to Judge Sawyer for an injunction; but no injunction could be granted, because, by the California law, this was a day for the election of the judiciary, and no sheriff could serve the writ. The sale consequently went on, and the Moscow company bought in the stock at a low price, there being few bidders. On the succeeding day an injunction was obtained restraining the transfer of the stock to other purchasers until the courts should determine the legality of the assessment sale under the circumstances.

The long and disheartening contest ended a few days later by the Ophir surrendering the stock of the Moscow, and giving besides $7,500 in money for the possession of that part of the Moscow claim which had been in dispute, and which was of no value except to establish a boundary. There had been expended in this contest $1,070,000, and it was only one of many similar ones selected as an example because it was the first important mining suit, and involved the first discovered silver mine.[7]

[7] The following table shows the drift of litigation in regard to the leading mines:

Name of Mine.	Suits in which Company was Plaintiff.	Suits in which Company was Defendant.	Total.
Ophir	28	9	37
Yellow Jacket	24	8	32
Savage	22	7	29
Gould & Curry	20	7	27
Overman	18	5	23
Chollar	7	10	17
Potosi	7	8	15
Crown Point	12	3	15
Bullion	11	4	15
Belcher	9	4	13
Sierra Nevada	8	5	13
Hale & Norcross	2	7	9
	168	77	245

One of the most protracted and expensive contests was that between the

The troubles which beset quartz mining companies on the Comstock came from the looseness and inefficiency of the mining laws prevailing when quartz was discovered. The first locations were taken as placer claims under the regulations of mining districts as they had been in California in early mining times, and very inadequately described. When it was known that the richest claims were on top of a ledge they were again located and recorded as quartz, the locators claiming all the "dips, spurs, angles, and variations" of their discovery. It was this going after dips and spurs which made the war between the contestants. The first Nevada legislature passed an act providing that action for the recovery of mining claims should not be maintained unless it was shown that the plaintiff or his assigns had been in possession of the ground for two years before the suit was brought,[8] or since 1859, when the Comstock claims were taken, the intention of the act being to confirm those titles. But it was easy to evade this law by bringing suit in California, where most of the corporations had been or-

Chollar and Potosí companies, in which the former brought suit to recover possession of a surface claim of 400 by 1,400 feet, including the Comstock ledge, with all its dips, angles, spurs, etc. Proceedings were begun in 1861 and continued til 1865. After $1,300,000 had been expended the suits were setttled by a compromise uniting the 2 companies in the Chollar-Potosí. Another famous suit was that brought by the Grosch Consolidated against the Gould and Curry and Ophir, in the 12th dist. court of Cal. This suit was brought by persons in El Dorado county, in 1863, who had been members of the companies formed by the Grosch brothers, whose unhappy fate changed so materially the prospective fortunes of these companies. These men had furnished means to the Grosches during their explorations. In the spring of 1860 they formed the Washoe Gold and Silver Mining company and employed an agent to go to the states to contract with the father of the young men for his claim as heir, and the claims of the Western Utah Enterprise company, which they secured, after which they began suit as above. *Sac. Union*, Ang. 17, 1863. The actions were dismissed at the cost of the plaintiff, March 9, 1865. *S. F. Bulletin*, March 9, 1865. This suit cost the Gould and Curry company $12,993.30. Mining property valued at $50,000,000 was in litigation in 1863. It was estimated by S. H. Marlette, sur.-gen. of Nevada, that there was expended in lawsuits during 1860–5, $9,00,000,000, which was one fifth of the product of the Comstock lode. *Browne's Min Res*, ed. 1867, 32. William M. Stewart, who received annually as much as $200,000 in fees as the principal attorney of several Comstock companies, estimated the entire cost of litigation up to January 1866, at $10,000,000. Litigation did not cease with the settlement of these great suits.

[8] *Nev. Laws*, 1861, 27. This law was amended in 1869 by changing 2 to 5 years.

ganized, and where most of the mining cases were decided or compromised.

Another act in 1862 required transfers of mining property to be conducted with all the formalities of a transfer of city lots,[9] and made it impossible to trump up a story of a sale which had been made for an old blind horse, and yet involving millions in gold and silver. Had these laws existed before the discovery of the Comstock lode the history of silver mining in Nevada would have been different, but as it was, the legislature had no power to interfere with the title to mineral lands,[10] and no mining laws affecting these titles was passed by congress before 1866. In July of that year congress confirmed the titles already acquired under district laws, and permitted the owners to take out patents;[11] but it still left the disposition of the mineral lands as they were before, subject to the rules and regulations of mining districts, it being assumed that the miners knew best what was for their own good, and that if they were agreed in regard to following dips and spurs, and sustaining lawsuits, there was no occasion to interfere. A subsequent act made some amendments to the first, and enabled the legislature to regulate the recording of claims, together with other minor matters, but left the great cause of legal warfare where it had been from the first.[12]

The first period of quartz mining was distinguished by every species of extravagance. It began while yet California retained in a great measure the reckless habits of its first decade. Most of the operators were Californians. Everything cost a great deal in that state, and to its first cost there was added the expense of transporting it over the Sierra Nevada at a heavy expense. The richness of the mines encour-

[9] *Nev. Laws*, 1862, 12–13.
[10] *Stewart's Speech on Courts in Nevada*, 1865, 10.
[11] *U. S. Stat.*, iv. 221, *S. F. Alta*, April 14, 1865.
[12] *U. S. Stat.*, xvii. 91.

aged prodigality. While money was being so freely spent wages were high, and the working miner shared in the general prosperity. But in 1864 the tide began to turn. The rich deposits near the top of the Comstock mines were evidently exhausted, while the cost of mining increased with the depth below the surface. Millions had been expended in costly works and costlier litigation, and the older companies were being brought face to face with the disagreeable fact that they had seen the end of their bonanza. While endeavoring to dispose of their shares, the public became alarmed, and stocks dropped until "feet" fell from thousands to hundreds, from dollars to cents.

On the 1st of September, 1862, was organized the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board,[13] the first of the boards of this kind on the Pacific coast. It was formed by thirty-seven brokers, who sold mining shares on commission, and issued printed certificates of the same, which were transferable without the trouble and expense of a deed. Through this board mining shares were bought and sold over and over, the shares of a mine equivalent to its whole stock sometimes changing hands twice a week. When stock went up there was a lively time in the board. Morning and afternoon sessions were held, and the reports of sales telegraphed to Virginia City, Gold Hill, and other mining centres, as fast as they were made, the prices ruling being marked on a bulletin-board, and placed in the windows of the Nevada brokers for all to see. In times of excitement dense crowds were always to be seen around these bulletin-boards; and in San Francisco it was difficult to get within a block of the exchange. But whether the broker bought or sold for his customers he made a fee by the transaction; and could he have refrained

[13] *Cal. Annual Mining Rev.*, 6–18. The California Stock Board was organized in January 1872. The Pacific Stock-exchange was organized in April 1875.

from speculating for himself, or carrying the stock of others "on a margin," might have reaped a harvest from the misfortunes of his clients. The stock exchange in 1864 was a scene of melancholy interest to the simple observer, and of painful anxiety to the owner of mining shares.

The working miners were not infrequently owners of some stock; therefore, when it fell rapidly in the market they had lost as much of their wages as the shares represented. And when in addition to this the mine-owners or superintendents set about retrenchment by cutting down their pay, they became stubbornly rebellious. Deep mining is severe and dangerous work; and four dollars a day had not been considered too much for the labor. Even before they were asked to take less they had decided not to do it, by organizing, in May 1863, a Miners' Protective Association, consisting of between three and four hundred members.

A sturdy and peculiar class, delving in the dark and sweltering[14] bowels of the earth, as naked nearly

[14] The temperatures of the Comstock mines, as tested from September 1878 to August 1881, at the Forman Combination shaft of the Overman, Caledonia, Belcher, Crown Point, and Segregated Belcher companies, were as follows:

Depth.	Temperature.	Depth.	Temperature.
Feet.	*Degrees*	*Feet.*	*Degrees.*
100	50½	1,200	89¼
200	55	1,300	91½
300	62	1,400	96½
400	60	1,500	101
500	68	1,600	103
600	71½	1,700	104½
700	74¾	1,800	105½
800	76½	1,900	106
900	78	2,000	111
1,000	81½	2,100	119½
1,100	84		

In some mines, and some parts of mines, owing to defective ventilation, and sometimes to unascertained causes, the heat was actually insupportable, taken in conjunction with the bad air in the mines even the best ventilated, and men not infrequently fell dead in consequence. In the 900-feet level of the Belcher in 1866 the men could work but a few minutes at a time, and sweat filled their loose shoes 'until it ran over the tops,' while in the

as when they came from their mother's womb, realizing that a terrible fate might at any unlooked-for moment overtake them, yet with wives and children above ground depending upon them for support, their circumstances seemed to warrant their establishing a minimum price for their labor. In March 1864 a reduction to $3.50 a day was made by the superintendent of the Uncle Sam. But the miners made an example of him.[15] Other owners began to cast about for cheaper labor, seeing which, on the last day of July the Miners' Protective Association began to act. They paraded the streets of Virginia City and Gold Hill shouting, "Four dollars a day!" in intervals of music by the band at their head. Halting in front of the International hotel, they called upon Frank Tilford to address them, which he did in a flowery and sympathetic speech. All was done in an orderly manner, and the crowd dispersed to meet again the next day and demand of the several mining superintendents uniform wages at $4 a day. The mill-men not being prepared to resist the demand made the concession without an exception, and a week later was

Julia mine the water was scalding hot. Although the revolving fans which were put in use in 1868 modified this suffering to some extent, it continued to be great. Some of it was due to the presence of the hot water springs, which were in time pumped dry, when the temperature was lowered. The thermometer registered 130° and 140° in a drift in the Imperial shaft at a depth of 1,700 feet, but fell to 100° when air-currents were established. In spite of the best devices for cooling the mines—and it was computed by John A. Church that there was yearly abstracted from the rocks as much heat as would be produced by 55,472 tons of anthracite coal—the miners could only work by consuming tons of ice daily. In 1877 a hot spring was uncovered in the Savage mine, and the vapor from water at a temperature of 157° was let into the incline. Picks could only be handled with gloves, and cloths wet in ice-water were wrapped around drills. Men were attacked with cramps and lost their consciousness. Thomas Brown, a miner in the Gould and Curry in 1878, after breathing an atmosphere heated to 128° for some time, fainted and was carried to the surface, but did not recover his recollection when aroused, and behaved like an infant. He was gradually restored. Water and heat troubled the miners as early as 1871. *S. F. Examiner*, Jan. 26, 1871. Peculiar diseases caused by the inhalation of poisonous gases also troubled the miners at an early period, a remedy for which was coal tar used as a disinfectant. *S. F. Herald*, Jan. 19, 1869.

[15] His name was John Trembath, a Cornishman. He was taken, bound, and lashed to the main hoisting cable, with a label fastened to him, 'Dump this pile of waste-dirt from Cornwall.' He was hoisted and lowered and hoisted again, and finally 'dumped,' glad to be freed from the coils in which he was wound up. *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise*, May 31, 1863.

organized the Miners' League of Storey county, by the laws of which each member was required to pledge himself not to work in Storey county for less than $4 a day in coin. Upon information that any member had broken his pledge, the president of the leage was required to call a special meeting to remonstrate with the offending member; should the remonstrance be disregarded, then the president must "call out the entire force of the league."

This threat did not deter miners who were not members of the league from covertly accepting lower wages, and gradually crowding out the four-dollar men, who finally withdrew from some of their least tenable positions, and the league was finally dissolved. But the mine-owners had never been able to establish a uniform price lower than $4, while the miners formed "unions" to maintain that rate, in which effort they were never defeated.[16]

During the first four years of working, the Ophir bonanza yielded fifteen millions in gold and silver, less than a million and half being paid out in dividends. During the same time other mines on the lode to the south had been taking out their millions,[17] and ex-

[16] There were 3 miners' unions, one at Virginia City, one at Gold Hill and one at Silver City, the object of which was the keeping up of wages to the standard of four dollars per day of 8 hours.

[17] Gould and Curry, organized in 1860, owned 921 feet, about half of which was productive. The rich ore in this mine lay within 400 feet in length. 500 feet in height, and a width of about 100 feet. Total amount of assessments to Nov. 1875, $1,640,000; total amount of dividends, $3,826,800, divided among 108,000 shares. Savage, the next mine south of Gould and Curry, with 112,000 shares in 800 feet, assessed $2,186,000, and paid out in dividends $4,460,000, in the same time. Hale and Norcross, with a claim covering 400 feet, divided into 16,000 shares, began operations in 1861 or 1862. It was down about 2,200 feet in 1875. The assessments levied amounted to $1,770,009, and the dividends to $1,598,000. Chollar-Potosí, covering 1,400 feet on the Comstock, was divided into 28,000 shares. Its assessments previous to 1876 were $1,022,000, and its dividends $3,080,000. Yellow Jacket, with 957 feet divided into 24,000 shares, assessed the holders $2,358,000, and paid in dividends, $2,184,000, in the same period. Crown Point, having 540 feet on the Comstock, was divided into 100,000 shares. It assessed $673,370, and paid $11,588,000 in dividends. This mine had an unusual bonanza. In 1870 it was apparently exhausted, when the largest ore-body ever found, up to that time on the Comstock lode was discovered. In 2 years it yielded $9,944,783.57, and continued to yield largely for several years. Belcher, in-

pending them in much the same manner. The aggregate production of the mines on the Comstock during the first twelve years has been estimated at $145,100-000, which would be at the average rate of about $12,100,000 annually, though the production varied after 1861 from two to seventeen millions. In 1873 the production suddenly rose to more than double the amount ever obtained in one year, or to $35,254,507, which productiveness was increased for several successive years. The immediate cause of this advance was the discovery of the "great bonanza," whose brief and brilliant history was the wonder of the world.

There was a group of mines lying south of the Ophir, known as the Central, California, Central No. 2, Kinney, White and Murphy, and the Sides, which covered together over thirteen hundred feet.[18] In the

cluding Segregated Belcher, covered 1,040 feet of the lode, divided into 104,000 shares. It was one of the deep mines, being dowu 1,900 feet. Total assessment in 1875, $660,400; dividends $15,085,200. Overman, adjoining the Segregated Belcher, was located in the autumn of 1859 by John Overman, an immigrant from Iudiana. He ran a tunnel in the side of the hill for a prospect, and sold his claim for $5,000. The mine, like so many others, was in litigation. and cost its owner a much larger sum. It was 1,200 feet in extent, and had paid no dividends in 1876, though it had assessed to the amount of $1,876,680. Imperial-Empire had a depth of 2,000 feet, assessed its shareholders $1,670,000, and paid in dividends $1,067,500. Sierra Nevada, owning 3,300 feet at the north end of the Comstock, was down 2 000 feet in 1875, and had made 42 assessments previous to 1876. It has since reached 650 feet lower without reaching a bonanza. Bullion, over 1,400 feet down, Caledonia 1,076 feet down. Andes, Arizona, and Utah, Alpha, American Flat, Baltimore Consolidated, Bacon, Best and Belcher, Confidence, Gold Hill Quartz, Challenge, Crown Point Ravine, Dardanelles, Eclipse, Empire Mill, Exchequer, Globe, Julia, Justice, Kentuck, Knickerbocker, Kossuth, Lady Washington, Leo, Mexican, New York Consolidated, Rock Island, Silver Hill, Succor, French, Union Consolidated, Utah, Whitman, and Woodville had all their place on the lists of the stock exchanges in 1875, and had expended more or less large sums in development. *Powell's Land of Silver*, 101–20.

[18] The history of these claims is given in *Wells' Book of Deeds*, MS., 3–4, thus: 'All the ground, from the south line of the Ophir down to the south line of the White claim, was taken up and located by various claimants, with the exception of 110 feet of ground lying between the south line of Bishop & Camp's ground and the north line of White & Co.'s 100-feet location. This piece of vacant ground was taken up by John Murphy and Lee James, who filed a notice of location calling for 600-feet; . . . but when they came to take possession they found that Bishop & Camp were in possession of 150 feet adjoining James Cory's line on the south. . . . The White location was an older location . . . 110 feet south of Bishop & Camp.' In July 1859 a settlement of

days of the Ophir excitement, the owners held the ground at prices higher than would-be purchasers offered, and the companies undertook the development, which proceeded slowly, and without any encouraging discoveries. A shaft had been sunk on the Central to a depth of over 600 feet, and several tunnels driven in, intersecting the shaft at depths of from 300 to 600 feet, two of which were costly and extensive, but which failed of their purpose, nothing being found exeept some small bunches of rich ore in the California. So persistent was this barrenness of the lode over so great a space that the fact at length attracted the attention of those who were versed in the geological features of the district.

In June 1867 four of the six companies—Central No. 2, Kinney, White and Murphy, and Sides— combined under the incorporated title of the Virginia Consolidated Mining company, but without attempting any signal exploitation for two years longer. In 1869 they expended $161,349.41 without discovering an ore deposit of any value, their power to assess was exhausted, and the whole mine worth, at the price their stock was bringing in the board, but $18,850. The most discouraging feature of their enterprise, in the minds of the owners of the Virginia Consolidated, was that the Ophir bonanza had failed at about the depth of their latest explorations, and that the Gould and Curry had also given out 1,000 feet below the surface—coincidences which seemed to fix the depth to which they might go for rich ore bodies. At this juncture the mining firm of James G. Fair, John W. Mackay, James C. Flood, and William S. O'Brien made an offer of $80,000 for the property of the Consolidated Virginia, which was transferred to them,

boundaries was agreed upon. Joseph Webb was allowed 50 feet on the north part of Bishop & Camp's ground; White, Hammack, & Kirby 100 feet lying to the south, James & Murphy 110 feet between the White and Webb ground, and John D. Winters and Sides & Co., got something over 300 feet on the south. This settlement was never disturbed, and was the basis of the title purchased by the bonanza firm.

and soon after also a controlling interest in the California mine.[19]

The mining experience of Fair and Mackay, with their knowledge of the leading features of the Comstock, justified the venture which they had undertaken as much as any unknown undertaking is ever

[19] The history of John W. Mackay is that of a favorite of fortune. He was born in Dublin, Ireland, Nov. 29, 1831, and there received his education. In 1850 he migrated to the United States with aspirations after a wider field of action than was afforded him in his ancestral island. For a year or two he was employed by a commercial house, but hearing much of the land of promise on the shore of the Pacific, bade farewell to steady-going Boston, and joined the army of gold-seekers, landing at San Francisco, and going to work in the mines near Downieville, in Sierra county, Cal. As a placer-miner he made small advance towards the coveted fortune, but being young, and having some claims to manly beauty, he employed a part of his time paying court to a daughter of Daniel E. Hungerford, to whom he was afterward married, and who has become known to all the world as a woman of rare social qualities, and benevolence of character. When the Comstock lode was discovered Mackay, along with the rest of the mining world, hastened to Washoe, where he worked at first as a common miner, but saving his money and watching his chance for an investment. He purchased an interest in the Kentuck mine at Gold Hill, and patiently worked a few years more, during which he acquired a valuable knowledge of the great lode. In 1869 he joined James G. Fair in a contract to develop the Hale & Norcross mine, which from paying dividends had fallen off to requiring heavy assessments. Mackay and Fair believed the mine could be made to pay largely again, and formed with Flood and O'Brien of San Francisco the company which finally secured control of a bonanza. From this period Mackay has enjoyed unparalleled financial prosperity. His family has resided in Paris, where Americans of distinction have been royally entertained by them, and his daughter has been married to a prince of the Italian house of Colonna. Many are the deserving persons and charitable enterprises which have received aid from the intelligent application of the wealth acquired by this member of the bonanza firm.

James G. Fair was a native of Clougher, County Tyrone, Ireland, born Dec. 3, 1831. He came to the United States with his parents at the age of 12 years, residing for 6 years in Ill., and joining the Argonauts in California in 1849. His first mining was done on Feather river, but having a tendency toward quartz, he was led to study this branch of mining, his intelligence in his regard coupled with this extensive knowledge of mechanics, placed him in the position of superintendent and manager of extensive mines in California, and finally of the Ophir and Hale & Norcross. While at the latter mine he proposed to Mackay, Flood & O'Brien to form a partnership for the control of mining property. The Hale & Norcross gave the firm its first start on the road to wealth. Fair was a man of a striking personal appearance, and a bright, active mind, and probably originated some of the most successful moves of the bonanza firm. His further history belongs to politics.

James C. Flood and William S. O'Brien were engaged in retailing liquors in a saloon patronized by mine operators, and having gained some useful information, made capital in stock operations. To these men Mackay and Fair, with a full knowledge of their capabilities, applied for aid in taking the contract for the development of Hale & Norcross. O'Brien was another Irishman, and Flood was a native of New York. Neither of these men possessed any other talent than money. J. M. Walker was a member of the firm at the beginning, but soon sold out to Mackay.

justifiable. A drift from the 1,200-foot level of the Gould and Curry was continued through Best and Belcher into Consolidated Virginia in 1872. At the same time the shaft already begun was deepened, and a drift run from a depth of 500 feet, east and west, improvements made in the hoisting-works, and the shaft deepened. During all these operations the search for an ore deposit different from the low-grade ore found in drifting, and more continuous than the bunches sometimes encountered, was being prosecuted by the untiring manager Fair, who was following up in the lower drift a thin seam of ore, from day to day, of which he never lost sight, although it sometimes narrowed to a mere film. There had been expended thus far $200,000, and the miners began to think it was borrasca in the Consolidated Virginia for the new proprietors as well as the old.

In March 1873 a fifteen-foot stratum of ore, milling $34 to the ton, was reached in the drift, about eighty feet north of the south line of the Best and Belcher. The size and richness of the ore increased throughout the year, the deposit spreading out like a wedge with its apex at the top, until it showed a width of between 300 and 400 feet. The shaft was carried down to establish its extent in a vertical direction. A number of mills were employed on the ore, and the monthly shipments of bullion from the Consolidated Virginia reached in a short time a quarter of a million of dollars. The shares of the company went up from $40 to $400 before the close of the year; the capital stock having been increased from $7,080,000 divided into 23,600 shares, to $10,800,000 represented by 108,000 shares.

In December the California company was organized by consent of the management of the Consolidated Virginia, which conveyed to them the ground, and took a controlling interest in their stock. The new arrangement gave the latter company 710 linear feet, covering the Sides and White and Murphy

ground, while the California company received the Central, California, Central No. 2, and Kinney claims, comprising 600 feet between the Consolidated Virginia and the Ophir—between two bonanzas—the amount of capital stock and value of the shares being made to correspond to those of the Consolidated Virginia.

Notwithstanding that a rich ore-body, constantly growing richer, had been found extending downward from a depth of 1,167 feet, where it was first encountered, to 1,300 feet, yet with working expenses, costly buildings, and stock manipulating, the shares were bringing in the market in January 1874 but $85. They increased to $110 in October, and in midwinter, when still richer ore had been found on the 1,500-foot level, to $580, the Consolidated Virginia carrying the California along with it in the market.

This enormous advance, though largely speculative, had a known wealth to justify it greater than the history of mining since the beginning of time could equal, and a suppostitious wealth dazzling to the imagination, which led stock-buyers to believe their shares might yet be worth $1,000. In January 1875 they did indeed reach $700. California shares, which were considered as essentially the same, went to $780, making the market value of these two mines together $159,840,000. A careful inspection of the ore in sight by the director of the mint caused him to declare that it should produce $300,000,000. Practical miners saw in the two mines $1,500,000,000.[20] The actual product of the Consolidated Virginia and California mines for five years was $104,460,713.69. From 1878 to 1882 they produced together only $7,971,202.05, and were assessing instead of paying dividends in 1881. The Consolidated Virginia continued to pay dividends down to 1880, paying $540,-

[20] *U. S. Mint Director, Rept,* 1875, 81–3. This estimate was based on the theory that the ore-body was oval or lenticular in shape and that its greatest zone of expansion had not been reached. *Powell's Land of Silver,* 94.

000 in that year. California paid the last dividend in the year 1879.[21]

It is plain that rich as was the great bonanza it had reached a ruinous point of inflation in 1875, for even if the actual value of the shares had been equal to the price put upon them in the stock-market they did not represent available capital to that amount. The bonanza mines had carried up the other mines on the Comstock, and few in the whirl of excitement cared to inquire whether or not their stock was of any intrinsic worth. To-day they bought for a rise to sell to-morrow, and everybody turned stock speculator. But this could not last long. Rumor began to whisper that the bonanza mines were not what some said they were; the fever of hope was succeeded by the rigors of fear, and panic ensued. People were as anxious to sell as they had been impatient to buy. The decline was rapid. Consolidated Virginia fell $200 a share within a week. California fell off more than two-thirds of its late market price. Other stocks

[21] The following tables show the amount of ore and bullion taken from the Consolidated Virginia and California mines during their bonanza period:

CONSOLIDATED VIRGINIA.

Year.	Am'nt Extracted Tons.	Bullion Product.
1873	.....	$ 645,582 17
1874	91,168	4,981,484 05
1875	169,307	16,717,394 76
1876	142,679	16,657,649 47
1877	144,400	13,734,019 07
1878	122,831	7,996,753 11
Total	.....	60,732,882 63

CALIFORNIA.

Year.	Am'nt Extracted Tons.	Bullion Product.
1875	5,124	$ 453,060 46
1876	128,801	13,400,841 40
1877	217,432	18,924,850 27
1878	134,888	10,949,078 93
Total	.....	$43,727,831 06

fell from 50 to 250 per cent; and while a few persons had profited by the excitement, many had been ruined, even some of those whose judgment in mining matters should have been trustworthy.[22]

"Who is to blame?" the victims cried. The bonanza-owners were accused of speculating in their own shares, of causing declines in order to buy in, and creating a "boom" in which to sell. Vox populi is not always vox Dei. The voice of the people is sometimes the voice of the devil. The bonanza firm became immensely wealthy, and were regarded with more or less envy and suspicion by their less fortunate fellows. But the fact remains that they paid out $73,170,000 in dividends to shareholders, and that their works at the mines were of the most expensive kind, while the force employed was large and well paid.

The haste with which the great bonanza was extracted was not due altogether to the desire for sudden riches. The Comstock lode was not one regular vein of hard quartz, with walls nearly equi-distant throughout its whole extent, but was swollen with ore-bodies of great richness at irregular intervals, and strung with smaller branches more uniformly, yet having some barren rock in places. Wherever the ore occurred there were masses of a percolating clay and crumbling feldspar, which, by swelling, flowing, shifting, and breaking down, constantly endangered the mine. It was to support the roof and walls of drifts, and prevent accidents and losses, that the Deidesheimer method of timbering was resorted to; but timbers of any form decay rapidly in the heat and moisture of the mines. The larger the body of ore, the greater the difficulty and expense of keeping it in place. The sooner, therefore, that the ore was removed, the greater the security from danger by caving, or from fire, which might attack so large a

[22] Philip Deideshesmer, and a thousand others as intelligent, were brought to bankruptcy.

body of timber with disastrous effect.[23] For these reasons, had there been no other, it was deemed the most economical mode of working a bonanza to exhaust it quickly.

The aggregate yield of all the mines on the Comstock down to the 1st of January, 1881, was $306,000,000 worth of bullion extracted from 7,000,000 tons of ore. There had gone into the mines, besides the unproductive labor, and small means of prospectors and pioneers in mining, and the timber[24] of the country, $62,000,000 in assessments. There had been paid back to shareholders $116,000,000, and the small, incorporated companies had derived profits amounting to about $2,000,000 more=$118,000,000. The difference between the outcome and the costs to the share-

[23] Comparatively few accidents happened on the Comstock, but these were serious. On the 7th of April 1869 a fire broke out in the Yellow Jacket, in which 45 men lost their lives. *S. F. Bulletin*, April 8, 9, 10, 13, 1869; *S. F. Call*, April 8, 9, and May 1, 5, 1869; *Carson Appeal*, April 8, 13, 1869. The fire communicated to Crown Point and Kentuck, the rocks in the 800-foot levels being found to be greatly heated 3 years afterward. In Sept. 1873 a second fire and series of explosions took place, by which 6 men lost their lives, and others were injured. On the 24th of May 1874 the hoisting-works of the Succor were destroyed by fire, and 2 men killed. On the 30th of Oct. the Belcher air shaft caught fire, and was burned for a distance of 1,000 feet. It was not completed, but had cost between $30,000 and $40,000. It being necessary for men to descend into the mine to close the drifts leading from the burning shaft, 18 volunteered to go. While engaged in blocking up the mouth of a drift a cave occurred, and a strong draft of air sucked back into the drift, bearing flames upon the naked men, scorching nine of them to death, and burning others. Volunteers took their places until the work of completing the bulkheads was accomplished. In May 1875, when a new shaft was being constructed, the workmen encountered great masses of rocks still almost at a white heat, or hot enough to set on fire the new timbers. Fires broke out in the abandoned levels of the Consolidated Virginia and California, which could only be extinguished by bulkheading all communicating drifts, and allowing the timbers to smoulder, until from lack of oxygen the fire was smothered. *Wright's Big Bonanza*, 176–196; *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise*, May 4, 5, 6, 1881; *Helena Montana Post*, April 30, 1869; *Gold Hill News*, Nov. 1, 1871; *Id.*, May 12 and Aug. 17, 1874; *Id.*, March 11, 1876; *Balch's Mines and Miners*, 799–801; *Gold Hill News*, Oct. 26, 1875.

[24] It is estimated that the annual consumption of firewood on the Comstock was, at the least, 120,000 cords. Browne, *Mining Res*, ed. 1867, makes the amount 207,320 cords, which is probably too high. The lumber used in building and mining timbers was estimated at 25,000,000 feet (board measure) yearly, including that used for domestic purposes. The cost of this wood in its several shapes was figured by Browne at $800,000 annually. See also, *Land Off. Rept*, 1867, 315; *Sac. Union*, July 24, 1865. See also *Simonin*, in *Revue Deux Mondes*, Nov. 1875, 305–312.

holders was $56,000,000, spread over twenty years, certainly not a great profit on the investment. But the other $88,000,000, besides enriching a few, had been expended in the payment of labor, and in various enterprises. Too much, it is true, had gone into litigation, costly machinery, in many instances almost without value—into miles of mills and hoisting-works whose usefulness in a few years had ceased—the sight of which suggests the query whether the government, which owns the mines, could not have devised some means of economical working which would have preserved to the people for a greater length of time their benefits.[25]

Coequal in interest with the bonanza features of the Comstock lode was the conception and completion of an extensive piece of engineering, known as the Sutro tunnel. The mode of working the mines by shafts, which soon collected bodies of water requiring expensive pumping machinery at an early date, has been referred to. Floods, from tapping water-pockets in Ophir, Belcher, Crown Point, Overman, Yellow Jacket, and other mines, had frequently caused the suspension of mining, and threatened the lives of the men employed underground. To furnish drainage for the mines, a less expensive means of taking out ores from the lower levels of the deep mines than by hoisting, and better ventilation also, the Sutro tunnel was planned.[26]

[25] It is the argument of Alexander Del Mar, in his *History of the Precious Metals*, 265–266, that a dollar's worth of bullion from the Comstock cost five dollars. Del Mar had been director of the Bureau of Statistics of the United States, and was member of the Monetary Commission of 1876, his book being the result of his researches in this direction. If he reckoned in all the money that had been wasted—if money ever is wasted—in stock speculations, he might have made out a case against mining. There is, indeed, a saying, even among Californians, that 'it takes a mine to work a mine.' Undoubtedly there are greater risks encountered in this business than in almost any other, but perhaps the failures are no more frequent, where much capital is invested, than in other lines of heavy investment. See *Review of Com. and Finance*, 1876, 11–12, containing tables showing bullion yield from 1859 to 1876 inclusive; also *Balch's Mines and Miners*, 959–61, 985–990.

[26] It should be said that several tunnels had been cut on a level with the heads of the cañons, which became useless when the shaft had pierced to a

The author of the scheme was Adolph Sutro, who had a quartz-mill on the Carson river, but was not known as a mining engineer. The Nevada legislature, by an act passed February 4, 1865, incorporated the Sutro Tunnel company, with the exclusive privilege, for fifty years, to excavate and construct an adit intersecting the Comstock lode at a depth of 1,600 feet, 8 inches below the mouth of the Savage shaft, sufficiently wide for a double line of railway, and extending from a point between Webber and Corral cañons, a distance of over three miles. Besides effecting the drainage of all the mines to that level, it would cross-cut several veins in its course, and afford means of transporting the ores to Carson river, where water-power and wood were more cheaply procured than at the mines. The four intervening cañons would afford facilities for sinking shafts to the level of the tunnel, and from these the work could be extended in both directions as well as from Carson valley. This was the plan. The incorporators of the tunnel company were Adolph Sutro, William M. Stewart, D. E. Avery, Louis Janin, and H. K. Mitchell, Stewart being president.

In the spring of 1866 Sutro secured contracts from twenty-three of the principal mining companies representing most of the capital on the Comstock,[27] binding them to pay to the tunnel company two dollars a ton for ore extracted above the tunnel level after the extension of the tunnel and its lateral drifts to points within their boundaries. The privilege was granted to the mining companies of transporting ore, tools, timbers, waste rock, and workmen

depth below them. In 1863 the Gold Hill and Virginia Tunnel and Mining company began to pierce the Comstock lode at a depth of 800 feet, with a tunnel 6½ by 7 feet, and it had been extended 840 feet in May 1864, when the panic consequent on the exhaustion of the Ophir bonanza paralyed, for a time, the mining industry. Before the return of confidence Sutro's enterprise had been set on foot, and tended to revive the mining interest. *Mining Review and Stock Ledger*, 1878, 107, 118; *S. F. Stock Exchange*, March 22, 1877; *S. F. Alta*, March 12, 1865; *Balch's Mines and Miners*, 948–53.

[27] *Bank of California against Sutro Tunnel, Argument and Statement of Facts*, 17.

through the tunnel on the payment of stipulated tolls. To insure the completion of their work within a reasonable time, the tunnel company engaged to secure subscriptions to the amount of $3,000,000 before the 1st of August 1867.

The question was then mooted whether the legislature of Nevada had the power to cede to the tunnel company privileges so valuable as those contained in their charter, and affecting the title to ground belonging, as mineral land, to the United States; and the company next undertook to obtain confirmation of their franchise by act of congress, in which they were successful.[28] A geological and an engineering survey had been made.[29] Nothing remained but to secure the requisite $3,000,000, and Sutro made his first effort in this direction in the city of New York. There certain capitalists agreed to make up the $3,000,000 after he should have obtained subscriptions to the amount of a few hundred thousands on the Pacific coast. Before the end of May 1867, $600,000 had been subscribed by mine-owners, and an extension of a year's time obtained in which to secure the remainder. The Nevada legislature of 1867 also consented to memorialize congress to grant financial aid to the construction of the tunnel, whose completion, it was assured, would increase the nation's revenue.[30] The legislature of the state never did anything else but encourage the enterprise. Sutro himself worked untiringly, securing a favorable report from the lower house of congress in recommendation of giving material aid to the tunnel.[31]

At the moment when perfect achievement seemed ready to be grasped, the mine-owners on the Comstock

[28] *H. Ex. Doc.*, 47, pt 2, 1087–8, 46th cong. 3d sess.; *S. F. Alta*, July 16, 1866; *S. F. Bulletin*, July 13, 1866.

[29] *Richthofen's Comstock Lode:* Report to the Sutro Tunnel Company on the geology and structure of the lode. *Powell's Land of Silver*, 122. R. G. Carlyle made an accurate survey of the work to be done.

[30] *Nev. Jour. Sen.*, 1867, app. no. 7.

[31] *H. Com. Rept*, 50, 40th cong. 2d sess.; *S. F. Call*, July 4, 1868; *Elko Independent*, Nov. 17, 1869.

withdrew their subscriptions, an act which rendered it impossible for Sutro to call upon eastern capitalists for the promised aid, and the failure of the enterprise seemed imminent, and would have been brought about had the projector possessed less pluck and energy. He appealed to the people to take shares; he wrote letters and books, addressed meetings, legislatures, and congressional committees. On the 19th of October 1869 ground was broken for the Sutro tunnel,[32] at a point on the Carson river north of Dayton, and Sutro continued his indefatigable labors at Washington and elsewhere. As a result of his persistency, congress passed an act on the 4th of April, 1871, authorizing the president of the United States to appoint a commission, consisting of one civil and two military engineers,[33] to report upon the "importance, feasibility, cost, and time required to construct" the Sutro tunnel. A favorable report was rendered concerning the first two points,[34] so far as its value as an exploring work was considered, but its cost, estimated at $4,418,329.50, was pronounced disproportionably great for the benefit to be derived from drainage and ventilation in the mines.

No committee could make a report upon these matters without consulting the mine-owners on the

[32] *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise*, Oct. 20, 1869; *S. F. Call*, Oct. 23, 1869. Levi Lamb, master carpenter of the Sutro tunnel, says the work of constructing the tunnel 'was actually commenced in September 1869.' Lamb was born in N. Y. state in June 1829. He came to Cal. via the Isthmus in 1850; mined on the American river, and afterward on the Feather river and Downieville. He went to several other mining camps, and was in the lumber business at Marysville. He built the first 12 houses at Howland Flat in Nevada co., Cal., in 1855–6, and assisted in sinking the first shaft on a mine at that place. In 1859 he went to farming in Tulare co., and there remained till 1862, when he removed to Dayton, Nevada, where he worked in a quartz-mill. *Lamb's Early Mining*, MS., 1–5, a brief account of his own experience in Cal. and Nevada.

[33] The commissioners appointed were H. G. Wright and J. G. Foster, in conjunction with Prof. Newcomb.

[34] *H. Ex. Doc.*, 47, pt 2, 1088, 46th cong. 3d sess.; *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 15, 42d cong. 2d sess.; *Sec. War Rept*, 102, 1126–72, 42d cong. 3d sess.; *House Com. Rept*, 94, 42d cong. 2d sess.; *Sen. Com. Rept*, 405, 42d cong. 3d sess.; *Courier de S. F.*, 7th July, 1871, 11th Jan. 1872, and 20th April 1872; *S. F. Stock Report*, Oct. 11, 1872; *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise*, Feb. 25, 1872; *S. F. Alta*, Feb. 28, 1872.

Comstock, and as they had set their faces against the tunnel, on the ground that the mines would have been drained by pumping before the tunnel reached them, and that the royalty agreed to in the contract with Sutro was too large, it could not be expected that their representations would be in favor of the tunnel from this point of view. In this manner the opponents of the tunnel, or as Sutro understood it, of himself personally,[35] were enabled to paralyze to some extent his efforts in Washington. But so earnest was his advocacy that the house congressional committee, receiving the report of the examining committee, recommended a loan from the government of $2,000,000, Sargent of California presenting a minority report against it. But the bill failed to pass. In the meantime Sutro obtained subscriptions in the United States and Europe to the amount of $2,100,000,[36] and the work was urged forward. Progress was slow and difficult during the first three or four years, all drilling being done by hand. In October 1873 connection was made between the drift advancing from the east and that from the west starting from the first shaft. In the spring of 1874 experiments with a Burleigh drill having demonstrated the advantages to be derived from its use, a carriage supporting six of those drills while at work was constructed, and four of them put in operation on the 22d of June. The progress now became as rapid as it hitherto had been slow, and two more drills were added in August. The average progress per month down to April 1877, when the Comstock mineral belt was entered, was 300 feet per month. Here the heat becoming intense,

[35] Sutro believed and asserted that it was the influence of the Bank of California, which controlled several millions worth of property on the Comstock, which was opposed to him—not because his scheme was not a good one, or feasible, but because when that corporation saw its merits they determined to drive him out of it and seize upon it for themselves. The most formidable opposition certainly appeared to come from them, whatever their motives, and against them he directed his continuous assaults.

[36] *Sutro Tunnel Com. Rept*, 956–965; *S. F. News Letter*, Feb. 21, 1874; *Sac. Record*, in *S. F. Alta*,, May 15, 1874; *Pioche Record*, March 12, 1873; *Gold Hill News*, Oct. 28, 1873.

only 250 feet a month could be made.[37] Connection was effected with the nearest mine shaft at the Savage works on the evening of the 8th of July. The last obstruction was rent away by a blast in the Savage mine. Sutro himself was on the spot, and was the first to crawl through the opening, "overcome by excitement,"[38] as well as heat. He had achieved a triumph of engineering, and put the Comstock lode under contribution of two dollars per ton of ore extracted thereafter.

But there remained yet to be overcome the reluctance of the late hostile companies to pay this tax. The Savage company offered no remonstrance, but an attempt was made to drain the adjoining mines through the Savage levels. To prevent this use of his tunnel without compensation, Sutro started a drainway, which would conduct the incoming water back into a lower level of the Savage mine, from which it was pumped, only to return again, on discovering which in February 1879, the workmen were arrested, and the progress of the shaft stopped when nearly completed. They were released immediately, but the cutting of the drain was prohibited by order of the court. Soon after a rise of water in the Hale and Norcross mine caused an overflow in the combination shaft of the Hale and Norcross, Savage, and Chollar–Potosí, to hold which in check the water was pumped into the Sutro tunnel, driving the workmen from their posts. Sutro then threatened to erect a water-tight bulkhead. Although still unwilling to carry out their contract, the incident of the overflow was not without effect, and joined with the threat to hermetically seal the tunnel, brought about a compromise.

[37] The temperature in the tunnel from 1873 to and through 1875 was 83°, although 2 powerful Root blowers were constantly forcing air into it. At the end of 1876 it was 90°, and on the first of Jan. 1878 reached 96°. The atmosphere was foul as well as hot. During the last months, in 1878, the miners were two miles from the nearest ventilating shaft. The force was changed four times a day, and the men could then only work a small portion of the nominal hours of labor. The temperature rose to 109° in April, and then to 110° and 114°.

[38] *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise*, July 9, 1878.

By the new contract the mining companies agreed to furnish money to extend the lateral branches still uncompleted, those benefited to pay one dollar per ton upon all ore raised from the mines which assayed forty dollars or less, and two dollars upon all ore assaying more than forty dollars per ton, payment to commence as soon as one of the lateral branches should be completed for half its distance. This contract terminated the long struggle of one tenacious spirit against that enemy hardest to be beaten—a "soulless corporation."

The main tunnel measured 20,480 feet in length. The height was nine feet five inches, and the width thirteen feet outside of timbers. The north branch in October 1880 had extended 4,403 feet, and the south branch in March 1881 was 4,114 feet in length, making together more than a mile and six-tenths of tunnelling eight by seven feet in the clear. From these were discharged daily, in 1880, 3,500,000 gallons of water, increased on some days to 3,942,720 gallons, or 1,277,500,000 gallons annually, the weight of which was 4,752,605 tons. After being made to propel a small amount of machinery in the shops of the company at Dayton, the only use of the water has been for irrigating purposes. The total cost of the tunnel, not including the expenses incurred by the management in the prosecution of the design, was $2,096,556.41, or less than half of the amount estimated by the committee appointed by congress to determine its feasibility. Its benefit to the Comstock mines was great.[39]

Unlike the South American and Mexican silver veins, the indications are that it will not be found

[39] *Nev. Jour. Sen.*, 1879, app. no. 16, 81–5; *Argument on Sutro Tunnel*, 70–71; *Sutro Tunnel Com. Rept*, 1872, 931; *Sutro Tunnel Company Supt Rept*, 1872; *Sutro Tunnel and Railway to the Comstock Lode*, 1873, with maps; Bank of California *vs* Sutro Tunnel, *Argument and Statement of Facts*. All these books and pamphlets are devoted to showing the character of the work and the opposition encountered, and afford an instructive record of political as well as financial conditions in Nevada, with illustrations of the power of money to defeat the right.

profitable to work the mines of the Comstock at a very great depth.[40] Unlike silver in other parts of the world, its only gangue is quartz, which is rarely solid, but is much fractured, and often partially softened by chemical action. The principal ores are stephanite, vitreous silver, native silver, ruby silver, horn silver, and polybasite, with occasional small quantities of argentiferous galena. Native gold, iron and copper pyrites, blende, and carbonate and phosphate of lead in minute quantities are found in connection with the silver ores.

The phenomena observed as connected with the occurrence of silver ore in the Comstock have been thus summarized: In the northern part it is in chimneys dipping to the south, in the southern part it forms continuous sheets of great length, but comparatively narrow. The ore deposits are enclosed in the eastern, and sometimes in the middle portion of the vein, while the western branches are poor or barren. The largest and richest deposits have been found where the outcrops were most prominent. At the north end the vein is invariably poor where it passes a ravine, but not so in the south end. The richest portions are south of each ravine crossed by it. All the chimneys in the northern part occur where the walls after close

[40] With regard to the depth of the different mines, *Knox's Underground World*, a collection of matter loosely thrown together concerning mines, caves, tunnels and other subterranean places and affairs, contains the following interesting facts: Ophir and Mexican discovered at the surface, failed in ore at the depth of 500 feet; Gould and Curry also extended 500 feet from the surface; Savage, which was a continuation of the Gould and Curry bonanza, extended 2,300 feet below the croppings; Hale and Norcross bonanza was first found 450 feet below the surface, and extended down to 1,200; Chollar-Potosí was found at a depth of 500 feet, and extended to the 1,700-foot level; Gold Hill, discovered on the surface, extended 500 feet downward and 300 feet on the vein; Yellow Jacket, discovered on the surface, went to a depth of 700 feet; Kentuck to a depth of 400 feet, 300 feet on the lode; Crown Point and Belcher bonanza, discovered on the 1,400-foot level, extended 600 feet below; Consolidated Virginia and California bonanza was discovered at the 1,500-foot level, and extended above it, and below for a distance of 400 feet, being 600 feet in height and 700 on the vein. Since the publication of Knox's book, 1878, several of these mines have been sunk a considerable distance. California was down 2,700 feet in 1882, Consolidated Virginia 2,533 feet, Hale and Norcross 3,000 feet, Sierra Nevada 2,700 feet, and a number of the older mines were down nearly 3,000 feet in 1888.

contact suddenly diverge.[41] When I have added that the mountain in which the Comstock lode[42] is found is a mass of volcanic rocks, through which older rocks are found obtruding, syenite, propylite, granite, with trachyte, andesite, and metamorphic rocks, and that geologists recognize the vein as a fissure caused by rending, which subsequently became filled with quartz and ore, I have said all that is of interest concerning Nevada's great silver lode.[43]

[41] These observations occur in Baron Ferdinand Richthofen's work, entitled *The Comstock Lode, its Character, and the Probable Mode of its Continuance in Depth.* The subsequent history of the lode has borne out this statement of its characteristics. They are quoted with other remarks on the geology of the lode, in *Mining and Metallurgy of Gold and Silver*, by J. Arthur Phillips.

[42] Accompanying the *Monograph on the Geology of the Comstock Lode*, by George F. Becker, Washington, 1882, is a beautifully illustrated *Atlas*, giving the location of all the mines on the Comstock, and in the Washoe district, and also the position of the several rocks composing the Virginia range, in situ, and in distinctive coloring. It shows the earlier hornblende andesite, later hornblende, andesite, and angite andesite, and quartz porphyry, to be the prevailing rock. Next in prevalence are diorite, mica diorite, metamorphic diorite, metamorphic mezozoic, and quatenary. In smaller quantities occur felsitic quartz porphyry, granite, basalt, and diabase. The quartz-vein lies principally between the earlier hornblende andesite on the east, and diorite on the west. A vertical section of the Sutro tunnel in the same atlas shows the andesites to prevail along the tunnel.

Mines and Miners, by William Ralston Balch, a quarto of 1,200 pages, Philadelphia, 1882, contains good descriptive matter concerning the Comstock lode, with illustrations. Balch, who is simply a compiler, adopts for the country rock of the Virginia or Washoe district, the term of probylite for the east side, and syenite for the west side, which distinction is in common use among resident miners.

King's Geological Explor., iii. 11–96, contains a full description of the Comstock lode, with drawings and minute information of a valuable character.

[43] John Percival Jones, who for years was prominently connected with the Comstock, was a Welchman by birth, and came with his parents to the United States in 1830, while yet an infant. After receiving his education in the public schools of New York city, his first occupation was in a marble-yard, and as a worker in stone. In 1850 he came to California, and was afterwards employed in various capacities, serving in the state senate between 1863 and 1867, and in 1868 being appointed superintendent of the Crown Point mine. In this company there was afterward disclosed a large body of rich ore, and its stock arose from $2 or $3 to $1,800 a share, whereby he became very wealthy. In 1873 he was elected U. S. senator for Nevada, and reëlected in 1878, and again in 1883, and while a member of that body was recognized as a clear and cogent speaker, a man of liberal views, of great erudition, and unsparing in research. The senator was twice married, his first wife being the daughter of Judge Conger, and the second the daughter of Eugene A. Sullivan, a most accomplished and benevolent woman.

CHAPTER VII.

TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION.

1859–1864.

THE NAME NEVADA—AREA AND LIMITS—THE QUESTION OF BOUNDARY—COMMISSIONS AND SURVEYS—DIFFICULTIES WITH CALIFORNIA—TERRITORIAL OFFICERS—GOVERNOR NYE—FIRST LEGISLATURE—CODE OF LAWS AND COURSE OF LEGISLATION—COUNTY ORGANIZATIONS AND OFFICERS—CAPITAL—JUDICIAL DISTRICTS AND JUDICIARY—STATE OF SOCIETY—EDUCATIONAL—NEWSPAPER PRESS—CORRUPTION OF LAWYERS AND JUDGES.

How the territory, which in answer to so many prayers was organized out of western Utah on the 2d of March, 1861, came to be called simply Nevada, snowy, is not altogether clear. When Delegate Crane wrote to his constituents from Washington in February 1858, he assured them that a territorial government was about to be established under the name of Sierra Nevada. On the 12th of May, 1859, a bill was introduced in the house to organize the territory of Nevada.[1] The assembly which met at Genoa in December 1859 was reported as the first legislature of the "territory of Nevada."[2] At a later period, when Nevada was applying for admission as a state, motions were made in convention to change the name to Washoe, Humboldt, and Esmeralda.[3] Sierra Plata, silver mountains, was mentioned in debate in allusion to its mineralogical features, but it

[1] *H. Jour.*, 789, 35th cong. 1st sess.; *Nev. Laws*, 1861, ix.–xiv., 1864–5, 23–31; *U. S. Const. and Charters*, ii. 1240–5; *House Ex. Doc.*, 47, pt 3, 1081–2, 46 cong. 3d sess.

[2] *Sac. Union*, Dec. 17, 1859; *Hayes' Nev. Scraps*, xi. 40.

[3] *Nev. Constit. Debates*, 1864, 33–35; *S. F. Call*, July 7, 1864; *Howard Quarterly*, i. pt iii. 90.

came in competition with Oro Plata, gold and silver, and even with Bullion. Having escaped all these perils of nomenclature, it remains simply snowy-white Nevada.[4]

The area of Nevada, as defined by its constitution, was 81,539 square miles,[5] but after being allowed some additional territory its area is stated at 112,090 square miles, of which surface 1,690 square miles is water.[6]

The boundaries established by the constitution adopted in 1859 commenced at a point on the Sierra Nevada where the 42d parallel touches its summit, following the crest of the mountains south to the 35th parallel, thence east on that line to the Colorado, thence up that stream to the mouth of the Rio Vírgen, thence ascending to its junction with the Muddy river, and thence due north to the Oregon line.[7]

In the organic act, however, it was bounded on the north by the 42d degree as above, east by the 39th meridian, south by the northern boundary of New Mexico, and west by the summits of the Sierra Nevada to the 41st parallel, whence it ran due north to the Oregon line. This gave the territory a considerable portion of the counties of Mono, Alpine, Lassen, and Siskiyou, subject to the consent of the state of California.[8]

The boundary between California and Utah had always been in dispute. The first United States dis-

[4] Various persons, at various times, have claimed the honor of having proposed the present name, but the facts, as I have presented, make clear the merit of such pretensions. The act of Dec. 20, 1862, calling an election for delegates to the constitutional convention, states that it was to frame a constitution for the state of Washoe. *Nev. Laws*, 1862, 128–9; *Portland West Shore*, April 1879, 121.

[5] In Kelly's *Nev. Directory*, 1862, the area is given at 65,000 square miles.

[6] *Land Off. Rept.*, 1867, 61; *Mess. and Doc.*, 1868–9, ab. 825–9: *Nev. Jour. Sen.*, 1877, ap. 8, 1; *H. Ex. Doc.*, 47, pt 4, 419, 46th cong. 3d sess. The area of Nevada is stated by a writer in *S. F. Alta*, June 24, 1866, at 104,000 square miles. Henry Gannett, geographer of the 10th census, reported the area, approximately, at 104,700 square miles, of which 960 were water, *Cherry Creek White Pine News*, Jan. 21, 1882; *Eureka Sentinel*, Jan. 15, 1882. I have adopted the sur.-gen. report.

[7] *Carson Valley Territorial Enterprise*, July 30, 1859.

[8] *Nev. Stat.*, 1864–5, 25; *Sac. Union*, April 6, 1861.

trict judge in Carson county, W. W. Drummond, in 1856 addressed a communication to United States senator Weller, and congressmen Denver and Herbert of California, informing them that the Mormon residents claimed Carson valley as a part of Utah, and that "a large and respectable portion" of the citizens of the valley contended in good faith that they were residents of California; that he himself had held court there, believing he was in Utah, and now he was convinced of his error; that an important case had been taken to the supreme court of Utah to be argued the following January, in which it was extremely doubtful whether the parties to the suit and the property in controversy were not in El Dorado county, California; and that a very bitter feeling pervaded the minds of the anti-Mormons against paying a revenue to support Utah, which was in open rebellion against the United States. Drummond accordingly recommended that a boundary commission be set on foot.[9]

The California legislature, in April 1858, passed a concurrent resolution asking congress to appoint a commission to act in conjunction with one from that state for the survey of a line conforming to the constitution of California.[10] In February 1859 the California legislature again instructed its delegation in congress to urge upon the president the appointment of the boundary commission. Nothing was done, however, until the spring of 1860, when congress passed an act authorizing the president to appoint the required commissioners.[11] The legislature, without awaiting congressional action, had already directed

[9] *S. F. Herald* in *Hayes' Min. Scraps*, xi. 5. The grand jury of the 2d district of Utah, Cradlebaugh judge, in Oct. 1859, declared that the unsettled condition of the boundary was 'a fruitful source of annoyance and disputation . . . For this reason criminals charged with grave offences have escaped conviction; crime has been boldly committed without fear of accusation, and valuable property remained without assessment and taxation,' etc., and urged that congress should create a boundary commission. *Territorial Enterprise*, in *Id.*, 25–6.

[10] *Cal. Stat.*, 1858, 356–7; *House Jour.*, 977–8, 35th cong. 1st sess.

[11] *Cong. Globe*, 1859–60, app., 475. Scott of California had previously introduced a bill to change the eastern boundary of California. *House Jour.*, 571, 1307, 36th cong. 1st sess.

the surveyor-general of the state to survey the line between the 42d parallel and the Monte Diablo base line, about at the 38th parallel.[12]

The discovery of silver, and the development of the Comstock mines gave additional importance to the subject. The California governor, in his message to the legislature in January 1861, mentioned that the population of the mines was desirous of being annexed to California, and recommended that congress be memorialized to grant the right to California to extend her boundary to the 118th degree of longitude. In the following month the territory of Nevada was organized with its floating western boundary as above, and on the 26th of March, the California legislature passed an act providing for the election, in joint convention, of a commissioner to coöperate with the United States commissioner in determining the eastern limit of the state.[13] At this time the terms of the act of congress organizing the territory were probably unknown to the legislators.

Governor Nye of Nevada addressed a communication to the first legislature recommending the appointment of a committee to memorialize the California legislature, asking for the grant of all that portion of their state lying east of the summits of the Sierra Nevada.[14] Two commissioners, Isaac Roop and R. M. Ford, were, in accordance with this advice, elected in joint convention November 16, 1861, to proceed, in company with the governor, to the California capital, soon after the meeting of the next assembly, and request that body to cede to Nevada the territory in question; and on the 29th of the same month an act of the Nevada legislature was approved authorizing the governor to order the survey of that portion of the west boundary from Lake Tahoe[15] to below Esme-

[12] *Cal. Stat.*, 1860, 184–5.

[13] *Cal. Jour. Sen.*, 1861, 38; *Cal. Stat.*, 1861, 587–8.

[14] *Nev. Jour. Council*, 1861, 96–7; *Nev. Laws*, 1861, 513-14.

[15] Lake Tahoe is called Lake Bigler in the act, by which name it was known to Californians for some time. The name was distasteful to many, and certainly not so appropriate as its Indian appellative.

ralda, and an appropriation was made therefor, with a proviso that the survey was to be contingent upon the non-action of California.[16] That state making no survey, John F. Kidder and Butler Ives surveyed the line from Lake Tahoe south, and received pay therefor.

The commissioners proceeded to California, and in March 1862 presented their memorial. Nothing came of the visit beyond a conference on the 21st of the month,[17] and in the following December another memorial was sent from the legislature of Nevada to that of California. Congress, had, however, already attempted to compensate for the loss of territory on the west by adding a degree of longitude on the east.[18]

In the mean time the injurious effect of the unsettled western boundary and undetermined jurisdiction was becoming more and more apparent with the increase in population. The sheriff of Plumas county, California, in attempting to make an arrest at Susanville, in February 1862, was resisted by an armed force, and one of his posse wounded. Governor Stanford of California then appointed Judge Robert Robinson a commissioner to visit the then acting-governor of Nevada, Orion Clemens, with the object of conferring upon the means of peaceably arriving at a settlement of the boundary dispute. The California commissioner informed the acting-governor of Nevada that the authorities of his state would not consent to the summit boundary, and it was agreed between them that a commissioner from California and one from Nevada should be appointed to establish a permanent boundary; but in order to remove the danger of any future conflicts as to jurisdiction, a line should be temporarily regarded as running north through the

[16] *Nev. Laws*, 1861, 269. The legislators were a little in the dark about the geography of their territory. 'Below Esmeralda' would have taken the surveyors out of the territory.

[17] *Cal. Jour. Sen.*, 1862, 387, 389; *Cal. Jour House*, 1862. 390.

[18] *Nev. Laws*, 1862, 195; *Acts and Res.*, 1861-2. 295; *Cong. Globe*, 1861-2, 408; *H. Ex. Doc.*, 47, pt 3, 46th cong. 3d sess.

eastern end of Honey lake, and as running south on the survey of Kidder and Ives.[19]

On the 16th of May, 1863, Clemens appointed Ives commissioner on the part of Nevada, who joined the California commissioner, Kidder, in Lake valley on the 22d of May, and they proceeded to establish the boundary line, beginning at Lake Tahoe, and running north to the Oregon boundary, and south to within one degree of the north line of New Mexico, when winter arrested further progress. The work of the commission was accepted by both the California [20] and Nevada legislatures, and Ives was paid, for his part of it, $3,000. This final action put an end to the conflicts which for many years distracted the communities on the border of the two commonwealths. California yielded a jurisdiction, long maintained, over the rich mining region of Esmeralda, with the town of Aurora, and Nevada relinquished any claim to a revenue from Lassen county.

Hardly were these conditions of peace entered upon when the territory aspired to become a state.[21] Without altering its boundaries in the formation of its constitution, except to add one more degree on the east,[22] in order to embrace the mining region of Pahranagat, it was provided that whenever congress should authorize the addition to the territory or state of Nevada of another degree on its eastern border, or California should relinquish any territory lying west of her then eastern boundary, either of these might be embraced within and become a part of the state of Nevada,[23] thus giving evidence that Nevada still felt

[19] Butler Ives was deputy surveyor-general to John W. North, and John F. Kidder was his chief clerk. The assistant clerk in the surveyor-general's office was Julius E. Garrett. *Nev. Laws*, 1861, xvii.

[20] *Cal. Stat.*, 1864–4, 506–7. *Nev. Laws*, 1864, 139.

[21] *Nev. Compiled Laws*, i., cxxix.; *Nev. Constit. Debates*, 847.

[22] The legislature by concurrent resolution, in Dec. 1864, asked for the extension of its eastern boundary another degree. It was presented in the senate by Nye of Nevada, and ordered to lie on the table and be printed. *Sen. Jour.*, 236, 38th cong. 2d sess.

[23] *Nev. Stat.*, 1864–5, 60; 133–4; *Cal. Jour. Sen.*, 1865, app. 55.

herself unfairly dealt with in the matter of her western boundary.

In May 1866 congress granted the one degree on the east to which Nevada laid claim, as far south as the Colorado river, and with it all of Arizona lying between that river and the south line of Nevada, making together 31,850 square miles, and made appropriations for the survey.[24] To this southern territory some objections were made, upon the ground that it was worthless, but in January 1867 the legislature formally accepted the gift, after passing a resolution in the senate to have the whole of Utah annexed, and in March 1869 appropriated $4,000 for continuing the survey of the east line. Not yet content with its area, and grasping after more silver mines, the legislature in 1871 asked congress to give Nevada all of Idaho lying south of the Owyhee river, to which request no favorable answer was returned. The same legislative body memorialized the California assembly to grant them the boundary named in the organic act of Nevada territory, namely, the summit of the Sierra.[25] But this attempt to revive the boundary agitation met with no approval by that body.[26] It was, however, agitated about this time by the commissioner of the general land office, Willis W. Drummond, who reported in 1871 that the line between California and Nevada, from Lake Tahoe north to the Oregon boundary, had never been correctly surveyed, and asked for an appropriation of over $41,000 to have the survey rectified. It was alleged that California was at that time exercising jurisdiction over 13,000 square miles of Nevada territory.[27] The

[24] First appropriation in 1868 was $10,625, which was increased to $17.000 in 1870, when I. E. James began the survey. *Mess. and Doc.*, 1871–2, pt. i., 49–51; *Carson Appeal*, Oct. 2, 1870.

[25] *House Jour.*, 137–8, 42d cong. 1st sess.; *House Misc. Doc.*, 32, 42d cong. 1st sess.; *Nev. Laws*, 1871, 185; *Nev. Jour. House*, 1867, 116, 123–4, 195–7, 235; *Nev. Jour. Sen.*, 1871, 160–2; *Carson State Register*, Aug. ,1871. *Disturnell's Dir.*, 1881, 10; *Austin Reese River Reveille*, Dec. 15, 1855; *Elliott & Co's Hist. Ariz.*, 29; *Tullidge's Hist. Salt Lake City*, 247.

[26] *U. S. Constit. and Charters*, 1240.

[27] *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise*, in *S. F. Chronicle*, April 13, 1872.

survey of the west and east lines was finally completed in 1874,[28] the returns being made by Allexery Von Schmidt, astronomer and surveyor, who gave the length of line between California and Nevada at a little over 611 miles,[29] the north line coincident with the 42d parallel being 310 miles, and the east line somewhat shorter than the west, the southern boundary being a sharp angle. Notwithstanding the frequent discussions of the boundary between Nevada and California, which should have led to a better knowledge of the limits of either, litigation has been had as late as 1881, founded upon a dispute as to the proper jurisdiction.

The United States officers, appointed upon the organization of the territory of Nevada,[30] were James W. Nye, governor,[31] Orion Clemens territorial secretary,[32] George Turner chief justice, Horatio M. Jones and Gordon N. Mott associate justices, with Benjamin B. Bunker United States attorney,[33] D. Bates

[28] *Cal. Jour. Sen.*, 1875; app. 10, 7–8.

[29] *House Ex. Doc.*, i. pt 5., 13; *Nev. Jour. Sen.*, 1877, app. 8, 1; *Id.*, 1879 app 9, 3–4.

[30] The Cal. legislature assisted in persuading congress to create a new territory, instructing its delegation in Washington to use their best endeavors. *Cal. Stat.*, 1860, 409. Gwin and Latham of Cal., and Otero or New Mexico, presented bills in favor of the project. *Jour. Sen.*, 181, 36th cong. 1st sess.; *Cong. Globe*; 1859–60, 374, 317, 2668. Latham presented 3 petitions from western Utah; Grow of Pa presented a bill in the house for the temporary government of Nevada. Green of Mo. was the author of the bill which finally passed the senate Feb. 26, 1861, and the house on March 2, 1861, and was approved the same day. *Jour. Sen.*, 228, 317, 372, 36th cong. 2d sess.; *Ex. Doc.*, vol. 26, 1084, 46th cong. 3d sess.

[31] Commissioned March 22, 1861. Nye was born in Mass. about 1815, removed at an early age to N. Y., where he was educated for the bar. He practised in Syracuse 4 years, removing thence to N. Y. City in 1857, where he was appointed com. of police. His reputation as a political orator was made in 1848, in supporting free-soil principles. Though a democrat, he was strongly anti-slavery. *Syracuse Journal* in *Dayton L. C. Sentinel* Feb. 11, 1865; *Gold Hill News*. March 8, 1870; *Virginia City Chronicle*, Dec. 28, 1876; *S. F. Evening Post*, Jan. 13, 1877.

[32] Clemens was from Mo., and a brother of Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain), who accompanied him to Nevada. J. C. Gallagher officiated as secretary until the arrival of Clemens, about the middle of August.

[33] J. McC Reardon was clerk sup. ct; David M. Hanson clerk 1st dist, with Dighton Corson district attorney; Alfred Helm clerk of the 2d district; with Marcus D. Larrows attorney; Alfred James clerk of the 3d district, with E. B. Zabriskie attorney, *Nev. Laws*, 1861, xvii.

marshal, and John W. North surveyor-general. Governor Nye arrived in July, his proclamation declaring the territory organized being issued on the 11th, following which, on the 24th, was the order to take a census of the population preparatory to districting the territory and ordering an election, Henry De Groot, in the absence of the marshal, being appointed to make the enumeration. The returns were made on the 8th of August, and the day of election set for the 31st.

The total number of votes cast at the election was 5,291, of which only 985 were democratic, the great majority in Nevada being on the union side of politics, and very enthusiastic in support of the government. "Battle-born"—meaning organized amidst the tumult of events on the eve of the great civil war—is the favorite soubriquet for Nevada in use by political writers. Born on the eve of battle, she took no time for infancy or childhood, but poured out the precious contents of her subterranean treasury with a free hand to the help of the nation, from the very hour of her birth.[34]

The election resulted in the choice of John Cradlebaugh for delegate to congress, and in the election of nine councilmen and fifteen representatives.[35]

[34] Nye says, in his report to Secretary Seward, in Dec. 1861: 'I may here, I think, with pardonable pride, call your special attention to the gratifying fact that the tertitory of Nevada, with one exception, stands alone among the states and territories of the union in having provided by legislation for the payment of her share of the war debt. The money will be subject to the draft of the secretary of the treasury of the U. S. by the month of August next' *Sén. Doc.*, 36, vol. v., 3, 37th cong. 2d sess.

[35] As there was but one county organized in the whole territory the returns for councilmen were made from the following districts: No. 1, including all of Carson valley south of Clear creek, J. W. Pugh; No. 2, including all of Carson valley north of Clear creek, Ira M. Luther; No. 3, Empire city and vicinity, William M. Stewart; No 4, Silver City and vicinity, John W. Grier (resigned during the first session); No. 5, Gold Hill and vicinity, Thomas Hannah; No 6, Virginia City and vicinity, including the Flowery mining district, Augustine W Pray and J. L Van Bokkelen; No 7, including Washoe valley and the region between the valley and Steamboat creek, Solomon Geller; No. 8, Steamboat creek and Truckee valley, none elected; No. 9, including all the territory north of Truckee valley and west of Pyramid lake, Isaac Roop The representatives from district No. 1 were Samuel Youngs and William E. Teall: No. 2, James McLean; No. 3, W. P. Har-

The governor ordered the assembling of the legislature on the 1st of October at Carson City, but houses being few, and owners doubtful of their pay, some difficulty was experienced in procuring a hall. They were relieved from their embarrassment by the offer, rent free, of a large stone building outside of town, belonging to Abraham Curry, famous among his fellows for deeds of generosity, who furnished the impromptu capitol in a primitive fashion with benches and tables, and crowned his munificence by constructing a horse-railroad from the legislative hall to Carson City, on which the legislators were privileged to ride free.[36]

The code of laws passed was similar to that of California, upon which, and the code of New York, it was based. Both houses passed strong union resolutions, and every way behaved most loyally.[37] By an act of November 25th the territory was divided into nine counties, namely: Churchill, Douglas, Esmeralda, Humboldt, Lake—name changed to Roop December 5, 1862—Lyons, Ormsby, Storey, and Washoe.

ington and John D. Winters; No. 4, William L. Card and R. M. Ford; No. 5, John H. Mills; No. 6, Mark H. Bryant, Ephraim Durham, and Miles N. Mitchell; No. 7, Edward C. Ing and J. H. Sturtevant; No. 8, William J. Osborn; No. 9, John C. Wright. *Nev. Jour. Council*, 1861, 5–6; *Nev. Jour. House*, 1861, 4; *Sac. Union*, Sept. 16, 1861. J. L. Van Bokkelen was president of the council; Henry O. Smeathman, secretary; William H. Barstow, asst sec.; Noah T. Carpenter, sergeant-at-arms; P. H. Shannon, messenger; Henry Lewis, page. Miles N. Mitchell was speaker of the house; W. M. Gillespie, clerk; Samuel E. Witherill, Charles C. Conger, assistant clerks; J. B. McCormack, sergeant-at-arms; G. S. Pierson, messenger; Robert T. Haslan, page. *Nev. Laws*, 1861, xviii.

[36] This last is on the authority of Mark Twain's *Roughing It*, in which is given a humorous history of the first Nevada legislature. He says the legislature 'sat 60 days, and passed private toll-road franchises all the time. When they adjourned it was estimated that every citizen owned about three franchises, and it was believed that unless congress gave the territory another degree of longitude there would not be room enough to accommodate the toll-roads. The ends of them were hanging over the boundary line everywhere like a fringe.' The same might have been said of all the other early territorial legislatures. But concerning the seats for the representatives, I find that Mrs M. A. Ormsby and Miss H. K. Clapp of Carson city donated on the 19th of October to the members 'comfortable chairs for their use,' and that they were not only thanked, but invited to a seat within the bar of the house for the remainder of the session. *Nev. Jour. House*, 1861, 87.

[37] *Parker's Letter-Book*, MS., 34–6; Rept. of Gov. Nye, in *Sen. Doc.* 36, v., 37th cong. 2d sess.

Churchill, Esmeralda, and Humboldt included most of the territorial area, and the other counties the population. In point of fact, the only white inhabitants of the central and eastern parts of the territory were a few station-keepers along the overland mail route, hardly more than enough to constitute the usual corps of county officers. The legislature, however, nominated, and the governor confirmed, three commissioners for each county, whose duty it was to meet and apportion their territory into voting precincts preparatory to a general election, to be held on the 14th of January, 1862, for the purpose of choosing county officers, who should hold until the regular election on September 3d, provided for in the election law of the territory. This rapid change of officers gave some of the counties three different sets between the 1st of January and the middle of September 1862.

The organic act provided for nine councilmen, which number might be increased to thirteen, whose term of service should be two years, and thirteen assemblymen, whose number might be doubled, to serve one year. The legislature made the whole of this increase at the first session. In an act concerning crimes and punishments it was provided that no black person, or mulatto, or Indian, or Chinese should be permitted to give evidence against or in favor of any white person; and that any person having one eighth part negro blood should be deemed a mulatto, while every person having one half Indian blood should be deemed an Indian. In the civil practice act it was provided that all might testify, whether of negro or Indian blood, who had not one half or more of black blood in their veins; thus placing the value of property above that of life or liberty to those who were three quarters white, an impropriety which the governor pointed out, while he approved the crimes act on the ground of necessity, the condition of society in Nevada at this time requiring the restraints of a penal

code. A tax of forty cents on every $100 of taxable property was imposed for territorial purposes, with an additional tax of sixty cents for county purposes.[38] A poll-tax of two dollars was also imposed on all males between the ages of twenty-one and fifty years, not exempted by law, for county purposes, a necessary measure for raising revenue in a country where the land still belonged to the United States, and the population was a migratory one.[39] The mines with

TERRITORIAL SEAL.

their products remained untaxed, although the design adopted for the territorial seal had reference only to mining as an industry.[40] A law to secure the observance of the sabbath was passed and approved, which

[38] *Nev. Laws*, 1861, 144. This tax was raised in 1862 to 50 cents on $100 for territorial, and 80 cents on the same for county expenses. The last territorial legislature fixed the tax at 30 cents on $100 for territorial and not to exceed 80 cents on the same for county revenues.

[39] The poll-tax was increased to $4 a head in 1862, and might be made to constitute county hospital funds. The limit of age was subsequently extended to sixty years. and assessors made ex-officio poll-tax collectors.

[40] Mountains, with a stream of water coursing down their side and falling on the overshot wheel of a quartz mill at their base. A miner learning on his pick and holding a United States flag. Motto: Volens et Potens. Designed by Secretary Clemens. *Nev. Jour. Council*, 1861, 46; *Nev. House Jour.*, 43; *Nev. Laws*, 1861, 295. Certainly nothing classic.

inflicted a fine of not less than $30 nor more than $250 for keeping open a play-house, gambling-den, cock-pit, or engaging in any species of noisy amusements on the "first day of the week, commonly called Lord's day;" and the same law interdicted any judicial business, except in the case of a jury in unfinished deliberation, which might receive further instrüction or deliver a verdict on Sunday; but permitted arrests for crime, and an examination before a justice on Sunday.[41] Cohabitation with Indians, Chinese, or negroes was made punishable by fine of not less than $100 nor more than $500, or imprisonment in the county jail for not less than one month nor more than six. Lotteries were also forbidden. Altogether the work of the first legislature, which extended over sixty days, was discreet and moral, and it would have been well could they have kept society up to their standard.

With the adjournment of the legislature, the officials appointed by that body and the governor came into power,[42] and arranged the preliminaries of the coming election of county officers. Some difficulty was experienced in appointing officers for Lake and Esmeralda counties, arising from the disputed boun-

[41] *Nev. Comp. Laws*, i. 2; *S. F. Bulletin*, Oct. 24, 1861.

[42] The commissioners appointed by Gov. Nye for Douglas county were S. A. Kinsey, Hiram Mott, and Henry Vansickle; county clerk, Joel A. Harvey; surveyor, Robert F. Hart; sheriff, Wiiliam Wallace; probate judge, Chauncey N. Noteware; recorder, B. Rush Horton; treasurer, John Tingman. Com. of Humboldt co., M. S. Thompson, A. U. Sylvester, and A. Benway; sheriff, A. W. Nightingill; probate judge, A. W. Olliver. Com. of Lyon and Churchill counties, E. B. Zabriskie, Rufus E. Trask, and S. S. Buckland; co. clerk, Daniel Kendrick; sur., Francis Tagliabue; sheriff, J. Martin Reese; dist. atty., Frank H. Kennedy; treas., John Irvine; rec., John G. Shirts. Com. of Ormsby co., H. F. Rice, J. S. Albro, and F. A. Tritle; co. clerk, Parker H. Pierce; sheriff, William L. Marley; sur., James S. Lawson; probate judge, E. C. Dixon; dist. atty, Dighton Corson; treas., Philip Stoner. Com. of Story co., H. G. Blasdel, Charles E. Olney, and Israel Knox; co. clerk, Nelson W. Winton; probate judge, Leonard W. Ferris; sheriff, William H. Howard; rec., H. G. Blaisdell; sur., Seneca H. Marlette. Com. of Lake co., William Wetherlo, William H. Naightley, and Daniel Murray. They failed to provide for the election as intended, and the county was not organized until the following year. Com. of Washoe co., F. H. Burroughs, H. F. Pierce, and C. C. Smith; sheriff, Charles C. Smith; co. clerk, B. E. Shannon; rec., Isaac Mears; supt schools, J. W. North, *Nev. Jour. Council and House*, 1861.

dary. In the case of Esmeralda, it was divided between two jurisdictions. In March 1861 the California legislature organized the county of Mono, with the town of Aurora for the county seat, assuming that the bounds of that state reached eastward beyond this then thriving place. The act creating the county provided for the election in June of a full set of county officials,[43] except a judge, who was to be appointed by the governor, and it was attached to Tuolumne for representative purposes.

Before the arrival of Governor Nye and the organization of the territory of Nevada, the election had taken place, and Mono county, with a full list of officers, most of whom resided in Aurora, was exercising jurisdiction over the Esmeralda mining district of western Utah.[44]

An appropriation of $10,000 had been made by the California legislature for the expenses of a boundary commission to act in concert with the United States surveyor in locating the east line of the state, and the Nevada legislature appropriated one tenth of this sum for a similar purpose, which circumstances deterred the territorial authorities from pressing the matter of county jurisdiction; and although an act "to legalize the records of Esmeralda mining district" was introduced in the council, it was not passed. The question of ownership was still unsettled in 1862, no complete organization of Esmeralda county having taken place before the annual election in September;[45] but nevertheless, at this election representatives were chosen from Esmeralda county to the legislature of Nevada, while Aurora was doing duty as the county seat of

[43] Commissioners of Mono county appointed by the Cal. legislature were P. J. Hickey, W. M. Boring, E. W. Casey, C. N. Noteware, L. A. Brown, G. W. Bailey, and T. A. Lane. These provided for the election in June.

[44] The officers elected were, for co. clerk, R. M. Wilson; sheriff, N F. Scott; dist. atty, R. E. Phelps; assessor, J. H. Smith; treas.; William Feast; sur., L. Tuttle; supervisors, E. Green, Charles R. Worland, and J. S. Schulz. The judge appointed by the governor of Cal. was J. A. Moultrie.

[45] Judge Moultrie had resigned and J. C. Baldwin had been appointed in his place. Sheriff Scott had been killed by Indians and G. W. Bailey appointed to the vacancy.

two counties, one in California and one in Nevada. This duplex government continued, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants, for all the years during which the boundary was in dispute. Lake county was similarly situated, being partly claimed by Plumas county, California, with the difference that in this instance Nevada failed to substantiate her claim to the Honey Lake valley, which was supposed to be within the territorial limits. It had been the home of Isaac Roop, the governor elected by the people of western Utah in 1859, and was made the 9th council district for the election of members of the first Nevada legislature by Governor Nye. The commissioners appointed in 1861 did not provide for an election in January, nor were county officers chosen before September 1862, the county remaining unorganized until after the second meeting of the legislature.[46] The representative, C. Adams, did not take his seat, and Councilman Roop, who held over from 1861, was the last member from Honey Lake valley. But the legislature in 1862 fully organized the county, changing the name to Roop, the governor commissioning the officers elected in September, appointing a probate judge, John S. Ward, and ordering a special term of court to be held in January 1863. This assumption of the control of municipal affairs in that region brought on a conflict with arms, as I have mentioned [47] in a former part of this chapter. Before

[46] The officers chosen were W. H. Naileigh, sheriff, H. J. Barette, clerk; Z. N. Spaulding, recorder. Frank Drake, treas.; E. A. Townsend, assessor; Henry E. Arnold, collcetor; E. R. Nichols, sur.; A. A. Holmes, school sup.; Franklin Strong, S. J. Hill, and J. C. Wimple, commissioners.

[47] The trouble began by the judge of Plumas county enjoining from holding court a justice of the peace of Roop county, who failing to obey was fined $100. The sheriff and probate judge of Roop co. were next ordered to cease the exercise of authority in the disputed district, failing of which the Plumas co. sheriff arrested them. The citizens then arose and recaptured the prisoners. A few days later the Plumas co. sheriff, E. H. Pierce, reappeared with a posse of between 100 and 200, and a piece of artillery. He arrested the judge and sheriff a second time, and again they were rescued. Open war ensued on the 15th of Feb.. 1863. The Roop co. forces fortified in a log building, and the Plumas co. forces in a barn near by, one of the latter being severely wounded by the Roop co. men. The battle then grew hot, resulting in the wounding of two of the latter, when an armistice was at length agreed

the final survey, which left all of Roop county which was populated or desirable in California, another election had been held in that district, but the persons chosen never were permitted to hold office,[48] and Roop was in 1864 attached to Washoe county for judicial purposes.

By the action of the first territorial legislature the whole of Carson county was eliminated, and the records ordered to be delivered to the secretary of the territory for safe keeping. The expenses of the session were estimated at $35,000, and congress had appropriated but $20,000 in a depreciated currency.[49] The members were paid three dollars a day, and three dollars for every twenty miles' travel to and from the capital. The per diem was obviously below the actual expense of living in Nevada at this period, but it might be assumed without fear of contradiction that twenty-four legislators, with the necessary clerks and officers, could have subsisted themselves comfortably for the forty-nine days they were in session upon $12,000, the lowest sum to which the depreciated appropriation had fallen. Compare the expenses of the first Nevada legislature with those of the first Oregon legislature, and we have the difference between the views of a mining and an agricultural population. The salaries of the federal officers were entirely inadequate to their expenses,[50] and these the legislature

upon by the leaders of the two factions, who promised to withdraw their men from the field, leaving it neutral, and to report to their respective governors, requesting them to find some peaceable way of settling their difficulties. Frank Drake was chairman of the conference, H. W. Jennings secretary, and the two sheriffs, Pierce and Naileigh, principals to the agreement which was entered into and a copy forwarded to the governors of Cal. and Nev. I have already stated that they immediately appointed a commission to survey the boundary, and the results.

[48] The officers elected in 1863 were William V. Kingsbury, councilman; John C. Partridge, representative; and H. L. Partridge member of the constitutional convention.

[49] *Nev. Comp. Laws*, i. 239; *S. F. Bulletin*, Nov. 13, 1861; *Cong. Globe*, 1861, app., 30. Says Clemens: 'They levied taxes to the amount of $30,000 or $40,000; and ordered expenditures to the extent of about a million.' Once in a fit of economy a member proposed to abolish the chaplain and save $3 per day to the country. *Roughing It*, 191–2.

[50] Report of Nye to Seward, in *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 36, v., 37th cong. 2d sess.; *Parker's Letter Book*, MS., 43–5, 98.

might have been justified in increasing had there been a population sufficient to pay the tax. But no such population existed, and the career of extravagance entered upon in 1861 entailed upon the state a debt from which it was not free twenty years later.[51]

With regard to the seat of government, there was not in the case of Nevada that strife concerning its location which distracted several of the Pacific group of territories. By act of November 25, 1861, Carson City was declared the permanent seat of government, and the city plaza was dedicated to the use of the public buildings. While the bill was pending a petition was presented by citizens of Virginia City asking that the capital might be located there. Silver City also asked for it, but it properly remained away from the mining district.[52]

Governor Nye, by proclamation on the 17th of July, 1861, divided the territory into three judicial districts, the 1st district to embrace all that portion of Nevada lying west of the 118th meridian; the 2d district all between the 118th and 117th meridians; and the 3d district all east of the 117th. To the first he assigned Judge Mott, to the 2d Judge Turner, and to the 3d Judge Jones. If Nye had been content to give Mott all the populated territory west of the 119th meridian there would still have been left Ragtown and Aurora west of that line for Turner, though there was nothing east of them for Jones except overland stage stations. Once a year, according to the organic act, the three judges, or a majority of them, were compelled to hold a term of court at the seat of government, and on this occasion at least the two supernumeraries had the privilege of occupying the judicial bench with Mott,

[51] The number of senators in the first state legislature was 17, and assemblymen 36. The state constitution limited the number of members to 75. *Nev. Laws*, 1864–5, 61.

[52] In 1864 a company laid out a town on the flat south from Gold Hill and called it American City, offering the territory $50,000 to remove the capital to that location

who perhaps was assigned to the whole inhabited part of the country because he was first to arrive.

That his presence was required is undoubted, as the governor called for a second term, on the 21st of August, "to meet the necessities and wants of the people."[53] A part of these wants arose from the great number of mining suits which were brought during the scramble for claims on the Comstock, but criminal cases were by no means infrequent. On the 18th of November Deputy marshal John L. Blackburn, an excellent officer, was assassinated while attempting the arrest of a criminal by William Mayfield, one of the gang to which the criminal belonged.[54] A reward of $3,000 was offered by citizens of Carson for the capture of Mayfield. So great was public indignation that the clergyman who performed the funeral services called upon the people to secure the murderer, and volunteered to assist in the pursuit. Mayfield was arrested on the 21st, and placed in irons in the log building which did duty as a jail at Carson. Threats of lynching were openly uttered, and it was observed that a large number of "secessionists, gamblers, and sympathizers with the murderer" were gathering in Carson from the neighboring towns, so that the chances were divided between rescue and summary hanging. The governor visited the jail in person several times during the night, finding it necessary to disarm a former deputy of the marshal, and to send to Fort Churchill for a military guard, a lieutenant and fifteen men arriving next day, whose presence, it was thought, averted a general jail delivery. The desperate social element was not so large as it afterward was in Idaho and Montana, but it possessed the advantage of being thoroughly organized, as it was in those territories, and was a dangerous force to

[53] *Nye's Report* in *Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 36, v. 37th cong. 2d sess.

[54] Blackburn had killed one of these men in self-defence, in Nov. 1859, while acting as watchman, as well as deputy marshal, in Carson. Doubtless he was marked. Blackburn was formerly a resident of Dutch Flat, Cal. *Parker's Letter-Book*, MS., 36–8.

encounter. By its assistance Mayfield escaped from prison and fled to Montana, where he was killed in a drunken brawl. The condition of society was chaotic. The population consisted chiefly of men, who gathered in the mining towns, one third of the whole population in 1860 being at Virginia City,[55] where very few women of the respectable class were to be found.[56] Gold Hill, which was a suburb of Virginia City, had something over 600 inhabitants, and only fourteen women. Silver City was a place of about the same importance, these three towns containing over half of all the inhabitants of the territory. Before the organization of Nevada, the following year, the popu-

[55] The number of white male and female inhabitants in 1860 was 6,102 of the former, and 710 of the latter; total of colored, 45; number of dwellings, 2,037; hotels 19, boarding houses 29, restaurants 15, saloons 63, stores 109, barbers 17, carpenters 118, teamsters 131, blacksmiths 54, boot-makers 22, jewelers 4, printers 6, physicians 19, dentists 4, livery-stables 14, harness-makers 1, upholsterers 10, tinners 11, painters 9, school teachers 3, tailors 4, brewers 9, milliners 2, gunsmiths 1, speculators 21, lawyers 5, bakers 28. The majority of the population were miners; a few were agriculturists and stock-raisers. About one third of the whole were of foreign birth, Irish, German, and English, with a few of all other nationalities.

[56] Total population of Virginia City in 1860 was 2,390, only 118 of whom were women. It was incorporated under the laws of Utah, in Feb. 1861. The first board of trustees, elected in March, consisted of N. W. Winton pres., J. C. Bateman sec., George H. Shaw, Joseph Scates, and Louis Feusier, city treas., C. P. Robinson; marshal, D. Bailey; justice of the peace, Joseph F. Atwill. *Kelly's Nev. Dir.*, 1862, 108. The editor of the *Territorial Enterprise* is the author of the following reminiscences concerning Virginia City: The first child born in that town was Virginia Tilton, born April 1, 1860, named in honor of the then new mining camp. The parents were John H. and Levina S. Tilton, who immigrated from the east to the mines in 1859. From Sept. to March they lived in their wagon, after which they occupied a house built by the father, whose first employment was carrying mortar for the Ophir office, while Mrs Tilton earned money by sewing. The first school was taught by Miss Downing, on South C street, near Taylor, in 1860. Miss Gregory opened a school subsequently on D street. The first public school was organized in October 1862, the school-house being on the site of the present third ward school-house. Mr Melville was principal, Miss Fida Collins assistant, and John A. Collins supt. Only 17 children were in attendance at the first term. A year afterward there were 360. The first religious services were held in 1861, by an episcopal minister of the diocese of Cal. In the spring of 1862 the American Church Missionary society sent Franklin S. Rising of New York to organize a church. The first death was that of a young daughter of Lyman Jones, who was buried in a cemetery near the Ophir works. The first ball was held on Christmas eve, 1860, at which the following women were present: Mesdames Dirks, Paxton, Tilton, Bryan, Blair, Flick, Hastings, Dill, Howard, Adams, Ross, R. J. Smith, Howard, C. Barstow, and Leonara Dirks. A sleigh was made by Mr Whipple expressly to carry these persons to the ball.

lation of Virginia had increased to 3,284, and of Gold Hill to 1,294.

Carson City, on account of its more agreeable climate and favorable situation, was expected and intended to be the business centre of Carson valley. While mine owners bought and sold and speculated in mining ground at Virginia and Gold Hill, speculators in town lots bought and sold, and built, and planned the future metropolis, which it was soon found would go whither the gold was, in spite of their efforts. Yet Carson City had made a good beginning in 1860. It had an able and flourishing newspaper,[57] the *Territorial*

[57] The first newspapers in western Utah were published in manuscript, as early as 1854. The *Scorpion*, edited by S. A. Kinsey, was published at Genoa; the *Gold Canon Switch*, edited by Joseph Webb, was published at Johntown. They were humorous and satirical in their character, and furnished amusement, if not any great amount of superior journalism. On the 18th of Dec., 1858, the *Territorial Enterprise* was started at Genoa, by William L. Jernegan and A. James. It was removed to Carson City on the 5th of Nov. The *Enterprise* contains a complete history of Nevada since its organization, and has been conducted from time to time by able writers. In 1860 it was a 20-column weekly, printed on a sheet 21 by 28 inches. Jonathan Williams and J. B. Wollard purchased and removed it to Virginia City in Nov. Its place in Carson City was immediately filled by the *Silver Age*, another weekly, published by John C. Lewis and Sewall. It was 24 by 36 inches in size, and union in politics. In Sept. 1871 it was issued as a daily, 16 by 20 inches. The *Silver Age* was favored by the legislature with the first public printing, to which I find reference in *Nev. Jour. House*, 1861, 85. This journal was also sold to John Church, S. A. Glessner, and J. L. Laird, who removed it in Nov. 1862 to Virginia City, and changed its name on the 4th to the *Daily Union*. In the autumn of 1868 it was again sold to W. J. Forbes, who called it *The Trespass*. Not long after, John I. Ginn and Robert E. Lowery took the stock and published the *Safeguard* for a few months. It was then removed to White Pine co. by J. J. Ayres and C. A. V. Putnam, who published the *Inland Empire*. Finally Gov. L. R. Bradley purchased the stock and sold it again te Holmes C. Patrick, who took it back to Cal., whence it came. It served afterward to print the Stockton *Republican*, the *Narrow Gauge*, and the *Daily Courier*, respectively, subsequently to which in 1874, Laura De Force Gordon purchased the remains of the plant, and published with it the *Daily Leader* for two years, after which the press was taken to Oakland.

The 3d paper published in Carson City was the *Daily Independent*, started July 27, 1863. It was a 24-column sheet, 21 by 27 inches, published by W. W. Ross, and strongly union in sentiment. Israel Crawford became business manager in August, when 4 columns were added to the size of the paper, and in Oct. Crawford purchased the establishment. A company consisting of G. W. Calwell, George A. Eades, Andrew Maute, and Charles J. Miller, purchased the *Independent*, Feb. 28, 1864, and published it as it first appeared. Within a month Crawford bought it back, and it expired Oct. 11, 1864.

On the 27th of Aug., previous to the suspension of Crawford's paper, H. W. Johnson & Co. began the publication of the *Daily Evening Post*. The press was one on which had been previously published the *Message* at Gold Hill, by an association of printers under the firm name of George W. Bloor &

Enterprise, a water company,[58] a seminary of learning,

Co. The *Post* was 23 by 32 inches, and contained 28 columns. John C. Lewis was employnd to edit it until Oct., when he purchased and changed it to a morning paper, and as such published it till Jan. 1865, when it suspended. In the following Dec. Lewis started a weekly journal called the *Eastern Slope* at Washoe City on the *Post* material, continuing the publication until 1868, when he again suspended, removing his press to Reno in July, where he printed the *Crescent* until 1875, when he sold to J. C. Dow, who commenced the publication of the *Daily Nevada Democrat*, which was followed by the *Reno Daily Record*. In 1878 the press was again removed to Bodie to print the *Bodie News*.

The 5th paper started at Carson was the *Daily State Democrat*, by A. C. Ellis, Oct. 25, 1864. It was a campaign paper, 17 by 24 inches, containing 20 columns, and supported McClellan for the presidency. It suspended at the end of the campaign, leaving the capital without a newspaper.

On the 16th of May, 1866, E. F. McElwain, J. Barrett, and Marshall Robinson started the *Carson Daily Appeal*, a republican journal, the first number of which announced the capture of the rebel chief, Jefferson Davis. Henry R. Mighels was at first only the salaried editor, but soon became joint proprietor in place of Barrett. In 1870 the paper was sold to C. L. Perkins and H. C. Street, the same who fought the newspaper battles of secession in Idaho. The politics of the paper were changed to democratic, and the name to *Daily State Register*. In September 1872 Mighels repurchased the office, and issued the *New Daily Appeal*, republican in politics, on a new press. William Witherell and D. R. Sessions were employed on the paper as local editors, and soon Robinson became again a partner in the ownership. Several changes were made in the size of the paper, and it resumed its old name of *Carson Daily Appeal* in 1874, and in 1877 it was changed to *Morning Appeal*. On the 27th of May 1879, death deprived this journal of its inspiring spirit.

Henry R. Mighels was born in Norway, Maine, Nov. 3, 1830, his father being a physician and a learned naturalist. Henry received an academic education at Portland, and removed with his father to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1849, whence he came to Cal. in 1850. Possessing artistic talent, he engaged in the business of decorative painting, but in 1856 took the more congenial position of editor of the *Butte Record* at Oroville and later of the local columns of the *Sacramento Bee*. He was the first editor of the *Marysville Appeal*, and established his growing reputation on that paper. On the breaking out of the civil war he went east to enlist in the union army. He was commissioned asst adj.-gen. with the rank of capt. on the staff of Gen. Sturgis. He was in eight battles, and wounded in June 1864, from the effects of which he was disabled for duty and honorably discharged the following Nov. In 1866 he married Nellie Verrill, also of Maine, by whom he had 4 children. A short time before his death, being in broken health, he adopted the advice of his friends and collected for publication some of the morceaux which had dropped from his pen in his journalistic experience, which were published under the title of *Sage-Brush Leaves* in a volume of 335 pages; San Francisco, 1879.

The semi-weekly *Nevada Tribune* was first published at Carson City July 16, 1872 by E. J. Parkinson and Joseph McClure. It was changed to an evening paper the following year. The *Daily Evening Herald* was started August 9, 1875, by Wells, Drury, & Co., with C. A. V. Putnam editor. The *Carson Daily Times*, republican, was first issued March 18, 1880, by Edward Niles. It suspended in 1881. The *Daily Index*, published by Marshall Robinson, commenced its existence Dec. 25, 1880.

[58] Organized Feb. 9, 1860, with Wellington Stewart prest; Thomas J. Moore, supt; John Leach, scc.; and William De Kays, treas. The legislature of 1861 granted the right to lay water-pipes for supplying Carson City, to J. J. Musser, Jonathan Wild, Sarah A. Blackburn, and John G. Kelly, and their associates. A gas company was also chartered by this legislature for

founded by Miss H. K. Clapp,[59] a telegraph office, stage lines, and other adjuncts of comfortable and refined living. The plenitude of money in the early days of the Comstock lode's development, while it made possible a rapid realization of unwonted luxuries, was in Nevada, as it always is, a temptation to vicious habits, and the occasion of glaring absurdities.[60] In Virginia might be found, notwithstanding statutes

illuminating Carson City. J. J. Musser and George Lewis receiving the franchise.

[59] Miss Clapp was formerly a teacher in Ypsilanti, Mich., and very enthusiastic in her profession. She was one of the first women to take up her residence at Carson City. Associated with her in the Sierra Seminary were Miss E. C. Babcock, and Mrs E. G. Cutler, who with the principal did much to give tone to Carson society. *Nevers' Nevada Pioneers*, MS., 3.

[60] There came to Carson valley in 1855, with Orson Hyde's company from Salt Lake, Alexander Cowan and wife. The maiden name of Mrs Cowan was Eilley Orrum, and she was born in the highlands of Scotland. At the age of 15 years she married Stephen Hunter, who immigrated with her to Salt Lake in 1850, where he, entering into polygamous relations, caused her to leave him. In 1853 she married Alexander Cowan, with whom she removed to Carson valley. She kept a boarding-house for miners in Gold Cañon in the winter of 1855, and the following summer with her husband took a land claim in Washoe valley. When Orson Hyde and the Mormons were recalled to Salt Lake, Mrs Cowan refused to return, preferring to remain at her farm in summer and keep boarding-house at the mines in the winter. In 1858 she married a miner named Lemuel S. Bowers, an illiterate Irishman, who owned 10 feet on the then undiscovered Comstock ledge, alongside of which she also owned 10 feet, for which she had paid $100. When it came to be known what lay underneath their claims, the Bowers became famous alike for their riches and their ignorance of the uses of wealth. But being urged by the mischievous miners to make the tour of Europe, they set out in 1861 to perform this pilgrimage, having first contracted for the erection and furnishing of a mansion on their land in Washoe valley, at a cost of $407,000. Before leaving Virginia they gave a farewell entertainment to their friends at the International hotel, on which occasion Bowers remarked that he had money to 'throw at the birds;' yet Sandy, as he was familiarly called, was as innocent of boasting and as kindly intentioned as ever was Dickens' Boffin of Boffin's Bower. They remained three years abroad, and probably gave some color to the popular English prejudice against rich Americans, although there was nothing American about them but their money. Four years after their return, 1868, Bowers died, owning an estate valued at $638,000. The business of her mine and mill being left to the care of a superintendent, Mrs Bowers soon found herself hopelessly in debt. Her fine mansion became a public resort, and the brave Scotch woman, with so much that is dramatic in her life, supported herself in her old age by telling fortunes. *Reno State Journal*, Jan. 9, 1875, and Jan. 5, 1878.

In strong contrast to this phase of Nevada life was that of a Scotch miner who made himself an abode in an abandoned tunnel near Silver City, and excavated for himself a number of apartments. A vein of gold-bearing quartz ran along the roof of his dwelling and he had silver ore for his door-sill, and silver in the walls of his living rooms. The eccentric owner had a good library, and being of a serious turn of mind sometimes held religious services in his cave dwelling. *Grass Valley Union*, July 28, 1870.

to the contrary, every form of vice, and all kinds of degrading amusements. On Saturday nights the underground population came to the surface; and while business houses were closed on Sunday, bar-rooms, gambling-dens, dance-houses, fourth-rate theatres, and bagnios were liberally patronized.[61] Duelling was not uncommon, but a bill introduced in the house at the first session of the legislature legalizing it was rejected. Street fights and murders were also frequent, though it was usually the organized, migratory ruffians who perpetrated robberies and murders, and not the residents of the territory. California as well as the Mississippi states had contributed largely to this undesirable condition of the body politic.

Probably the first federal judges would have been able to hold their own against the criminal element in Nevada; but opposed to the combined influence of the capital and legal talent of California and Nevada, as they sometimes were, in important mining suits, they were powerless. Statutes regarding the points at issue did not exist, and the questions involved were largely determined by the rules and regulations of mining districts, and the application of common law. Immense fees were paid to able and oftentimes unprincipled lawyers, and money lavished on suborned witnesses. As I have explained in the previous chapter, the community and the courts were divided upon the one ledge and two ledge theories, which nothing could determine except actual demonstration, and demonstration often depended upon the settlement of the suit.

[61] Jacob Klein, born in Alsace, France, in 1831, by trade a baker, who immigrated to America at the age of 19 years, and came to Cal. in 1853, removed to Nev. in 1860, settled at Carson, and erected a brewery. In a manuscript sketch of the *Founders of Carson City* he describes society in the Nevada towns at this period, and for several years following, as bad in the extreme. He sold beer in 1860 for $3 per gallon, which fact covered a multitude of sins in his customers. See *Wright's Big Bonanza*, 354–83, 392–6; *Nevers' Nevada Pioneers*, MS., 2; *Gold Hill News*, Oct. 14, 1863, and May 16, 1873; *New York Times*, Dec. 1863; *S. F. Bulletin*, Sept. 26, 1863; *S. F. Alta*; May 7, 1860; *Price's Two Americas*, 250–7; *Virginia Chronicle*, Dec. 5, and 18, 1876, and March 5, 1877; *Nev. Scraps* 480–1.

In the case of the Chollar-Potosí legislation, Judge Mott, in whose district all these suits fell, was accused of entertaining the belief which favored the Chollar company, as was also Chief-justice Turner. Mott was, therefore, worried or bribed into resigning, with no other object than to procure the elevation to the bench of James W. North, first surveyor-general of the territory, and a lawyer who was known to hold opinions of geology adverse to the Chollar company. North, who, notwithstanding appearances, was an honest man, found himself informed by telegraph September 14, 1863, of his appointment as judge of the 1st district, and immediately opened court. After several months of tedious litigation he decided in favor of the Potosí company. It was now the turn of the Chollar company to attack the judiciary, and, as it was known that the chief justice was on their side, they endeavored to get a majority on the bench by gaining over the judge of the 3d district, P. B. Locke, who had been appointed in the place of Jones, resigned. The appeal to the full bench of judges was argued on the 28th of April, 1864, followed the same evening by attempts of the Potosí people to influence the decision.[62] The excitement ran high, and Locke was severely and justly denounced for behavior unbecoming a man in his position. Contrary to the expectations of the corruptionists, however, North filed his decision May 5th, with the concurrence of Locke, affirming his former judgment, and debarring the introduction, in a suit for ejectment against the Potosí company, of any damaging evidence based on the old titles of location of the Chollar company. Bnt the advocates of the latter company used means to induce Locke to make an addendum to his decision, which reopened the hearing of evidence. Being again besieged by the Potosí company, he ordered the addendum struck off the file. This uncertain and unjudicial behavior

[62] *Territorial Enterprise*, July 26, 1864; *Gold Hill News*, Aug. 3 and 4, 1864.

caused both parties to express indignation against Locke; and as interested persons desired to get North off the bench, great pressure was brought to bear against all the judges.

Among those most anxious to unseat North was William M. Stewart, a young lawyer from the interior of California, who was proving himself of great value to certain mining companies, who retained him to look after their interests for $200,000 a year,[63] from which the measure of his talents and his energies may be estimated. Stewart's methods were sharply criticised by those opposed to him; the statement that he was not always over-scrupulous was doubtless inspired by the fact that he was generally successful, which was the basis of his claim to large fees.

On the 22d of August, 1864, North resigned, to avoid the scandal of which he was the subject. On the same day the chief justice followed his example. being persuaded to it by a "private conference"[64] with Stewart. Immediately after this triumph, the members of the bar invited the remaining judge to a meeting, and asked him to resign, which he was forced to do.[65] Thus the whole judiciary was removed in a day by the bar of Nevada, under Stewart's lead.[66] Some of the public journals professed to believe that

[63] Stewart was born in N. Y. state Aug. 9, 1827, and came to Cal. via Panamá in 1850. He mined in the Coyote claims at Buckeye hill, discovered the Eureka diggings in the autumn of that year, and projected the Grizzly ditch which supplied them with water. He built the first saw-mill on Shady creek in 1851. In 1852 he began to read law with J. R. McConnell at Nevada City. The same year, such was his progress and talent, he was appointed district attorney, and elected to the same office the following year. In 1854 he was appointed attorney-general of Cal., and married a daughter of ex-gov. Foote of Mississippi. He continued to study law and mining until he went to Virginia City, where he made and lost several fortunes.

[64] This is Stewart's own statement. But it is certain that there was a petition signed by nearly 4,000 names published in the *Territorial Enterprise*, asking the judges to resign. The petition probably emanated from the same source.

[65] Stewart's account of the affair is that Locke hesitated to obey, and turned to him, saying, 'Mr Stewart, what do you think I ought to do?' 'Do!' replied the lawyer gruffly, 'resign, and resign now.' He was obeyed.

[66] *Territorial Enterprise*, Aug. 23, 1864; *S. F. Bulletin*, Aug. 23, 1864.

the overthrow of the judges was a blessing to Nevada, as it would stop litigation for a time, during which the miners could go on with their work without fear of being enjoined but nothing was said about the benefit it might be to drive out the lawyers, who took hundreds of feet of the best mines to keep litigation going, and used hundreds of thousands of dollars of their clients' money to corrupt whoever stood in their way. Whatever may be said of the Nevada bench at this time, I know of no more trying position than that of an appointed judge.

CHAPTER VIII.

STATE GOVERNMENT.

1864–1881.

LEGISLATION—MOVEMENTS TOWARD STATE ORGANIZATION—THE UNION PARTY—UNION SENTIMENTS—MILITARY COMPANIES—GOVERNOR BLASDEL—FIRST STATE LEGISLATURE—FINANCES—TAXATION—STRUGGLES FOR SENATORSHIPS—MONEY ALL-POWERFUL—GOVERNOR BRADLEY GOVERNOR KINKEAD—POLITICS OF THE PERIOD—MONOPOLY AND POLITICAL CORRUPTION—SILVER IN CONGRESS—PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

AT the territorial election of September 3, 1862, Gordon N. Mott was chosen delegate to congress.[1] Twenty-six representatives and five councilmen were elected to legislate for the people. They changed the time of meeting for succeeding legislatures to the second Tuesday of January in each year, granted numerous franchises, authorized the creation of a jail fund in Ormsby county, increased the compensation of the federal judges, authorized the preservation of files of all newspapers, provided a contingent fund for the territory, created the county of Lander, amended the common-school law passed at the first session, created a prison board, and performed the usual amount of miscellaneous law-making[2] of no particular interest to the historian. It should be noticed, however, as relating to what has gone before, that at this session the federal judges were reassigned to their districts, the chief justice remaining in the 2d district; Jones was removed to the 1st district, such assignment not to take effect until Mott should have resigned, or until

[1] J. J. Musser, John D. Winters, and J. H. Ralston were the opposing candidates, their strength being in the order here given.

[2] *Nev. Laws*, 1862, 15, 65, 73, 76, 94, 53, 110, 115, and 127.

the 4th of March, 1863; from which it would appear that the legislature contemplated the resignation of Mott, and invited it.

In the matter of mining laws, little was attempted. By one act mining claims were made thereafter transferable by the same formalities as other real estate, but conveyances previously made, "with or without seals, recorded or unrecorded," were to be held valid if done in conformity to the "lawful local rules" of the several mining districts, and by these rules the right to contested claims should be decided in court. By another act companies might sue for injuries sustained by the mismanagement of adjacent companies, and any judgment obtained might become a lien upon the property of the judgment debtor, either party having the right to apply to the courts for an order for a survey. By a third act corporations might sue individual members for assessments. By this law it was easy for the rich members to "freeze out" the poorer ones, and take their shares for assessments made by a majority of the whole company. An act to provide for forming corporations was an attempt to compel mining companies owning in Nevada to keep their principal offices and books within the limits of Nevada, under a penalty, if refusing, after six months, of losing their standing in the courts of the territory. This act was not approved by congress.[3] On the 20th of December an act was approved to frame a constitution and state government, and an election of delegates ordered to take place on the first Wednesday in September 1863, an appropriation of $3,000 being made to pay its expenses.[4] The vote of the people

[3] Latham of Cal. procured the disapproval by congress of this act before the 6 months had passed. *Sen. Jour.*, 220, 402, 37th cong. 3d sess.; *Acts*, 99, 37th cong. 3d sess., *Misc. Doc,*, 11, 37th cong. 3d sess.; *S. F. Bulletin*, Oct. 11, 1861.

[4] The councilmen of the 2d territorial legislature were: John W. Pugh, Esmeralda co.; Ira M. Luther, Douglas co.; Thomas Hannah, A. W. Pray, and J. L. Van Bokkelen, Storey co.; Isaac Roop, Roop co.; Gaven D. Hall, and John C. Lewis, Ormsby co.; R. M. Ford and Henry M. Steele, Lyon co.; James H. Sturtevant and Solomon Geller, Washoe co.; M. S. Thompson, Humboldt co. John H. Pugh was president, George W. Hopkins, secretary,

for or against state government was provided for in the same act. If they desired state government, the delegates would meet at Carson on the 2d of November.

The result of the election showed a vote of 8,162, and a majority for a state constitution of 5,150. So strong an indication of popular sentiment inspired confidence in the minds of the delegates-elect that the instrument they should prepare would be accepted, and they accordingly put forth their best endeavors to create a constitution which should meet with favor and at the same time serve their own political purposes. But in this last attempt they defeated the main object. The constitution, as framed, provided that the offices created by it should be filled at the same time that the vote was taken on the instrument itself. This naturally led to opposition from all who desired to be nominated to some office, and were not. They would not vote for the men who were in the places they coveted; and by refusing to vote they defeated the constitution, and the plans of those who had expected to carry out their designs by attaching them to the success of the constitution. The union party, which had heretofore carried everything before it in Nevada, exhibiting the most intense loyalty, was now divided by factions on account of offices, and the seceders united with the anti-union democratic party to prevent the adoption of the organic act.

Foremost among the seceders were William M. Stewart and A. W. Baldwin. The former used all

George L. Palmer asst sec., George Madeira sergeant-at-arms, Daniel R. Hawkins messenger, Henry M. Lewis fireman. The representatives were: John H. Mills, James Drew Meagher, W. S. Mineer, J. G. Howard, J. Williams, M. N. Mitchell, E. R. Burke, and William H. Davenport of Storey co.; Theodore Winters, J. K. Lovejoy, and R. W. Peekins of Washoe co.; W. H. Brumfield, A. Curry, and Aaron D. Treadway of Ormsby co.; J. M. Ackley, John McDonald Jr, and John B. Winters, Lyon co.; Robert Fisher and Charles M. Tuttle, Douglas co.; William H. Clagett and A. J. Simmons of Humboldt co.; Arthur M. Mekeel, John S. Ross, and J. M. Calder, Esmeralda co. John H. Mills was speaker, William M. Gillespie chief clerk, Charles D. King asst clerk, John Bowman sergeant-at-arms, Charles T. Carter messenger, Charles Helm fireman.

his powerful influence to enlist the mining population against the constitution, upon the pretext that it taxed mining property, the "poor miner's shafts and drifts and bed-rock tunnels." The phrase, honest miner, came to provoke a smile wherever heard, from the frequency and effect with which the great lawyer used it in his speeches. It was sufficient, with the political discord, to make abortive the work of the constitutional convention.[5] The split in the party appeared at the nominating convention which met at Carson in December, C. N. Noteware president, A. P. K. Safford secretary, to select candidates for the state offices. It was there that the regular party, under Thomas Fitch, the "silver-tongued," himself an aspirant for the office of state printer, had its first contest with the Stewart division. But it was at the polls[6] that they felt the weight of the opposition which overthrew them.[7] Of the nine newspapers four supported the opposition,[8] three of the four giving their support to the democratic party within a short period thereafter, and the fourth in 1867.

[5] The members of the constitutional convention of 1863 were William G. Alban, Nathaniel A. H. Ball, Charles H. Bryan, C. M. Brosnan, Samuel A. Chapin, John A. Collins, Levi Hite, Miles N. Mitchell, Joseph R. Plunkett, William M. Stewart, and James C. Corey, of Storey co.; Frederick K. Bechtel, Henry Conner, James Stark, L. O. Stearns, and Samuel Youngs, of Esmeralda; Edward B. Dorsey, George L. Gibson, J. Neely Johnson, John H. Kinkead, and Warren Wasson, of Ormsby; Frederick A. Ent, Edward C. Ing, John W. North, Charles S. Potter, Thomas B. Shamp, of Washoe; William Epler, W. R. Harrison, and A. W. Nightingill, of Humboldt; James W. Haines, C. N. Noteware, and James W. Small, of Douglas; William B. Hickok, George A Hudson, Frank H. Kennedy, James B. McClure, and William H. Virden, of Lyon; Marcus D. Larrowe and James H. Ralston, of Lander. W. M. Gillespie was sec., A. J. Marsh and Amos Bowman reporters, and H. M. Stow door-keeper.

[6] The vote stood, with Ormsby county left out, 2,157 for the constitution, and 8,851 against it.

[7] The candidates put in nomination by the convention of December who received the greatest number of votes at the special election in January 1864, were John B. Winters congressman, M. N. Mitchell gov., M. S. Thompson lieut-gov., R. S. Mesick, M. D. Larrowe, J. B. Harmon, judges of sup. court, Orion C. Clemens sec. state, W. B. Hickok treas., E. A. Sherman controller, H. G. Worthington atty-gen., A. F. White supt of instructions; Alfred Helm clerk of sup. ct, G. W. Bloor state printer, H. M. Jones, William Haydon, T. M. Pawling dist judges.

[8] The opposition papers were the *Virginia Union*, controlled by Fitch; the *Old Pah Ute*, also of Virginia; and the *Aurora Times*.

But though disappointed, the friends of state government were not discouraged, a bill being introduced in the United States senate, in February following the January defeat, authorizing the people of Nevada to frame a state constitution, which was approved by the president in March, and was followed by a proclamation from Governor Nye calling for an election of delegates on the 6th of June[9] to a constitutional convention, to be held on the 4th of July at Carson

STATE SEAL.

City. The form of framing anew a state constitution was gone through with, the instrument being substantially the same as the one rejected, except in the

[9] *Unionville, Humboldt, Register*, May 14, 1864. Storey co., where the strongest opposition had prevailed, sent Nathaniel H. Ball, Cornelius M. Brosnan, Samuel A. Chapin, John H. Collins, Charles E. De Long, Josiah Earl, Thomas Fitch, Lloyd Frizell, Almon Hovey, Charles W. Tozer; Ormsby co. sent Israel Crawford, George L. Gibson, J. Neely Johnson, J. H. Kinkead, and A. J. Lockwood; Humboldt co., James A. Banks, E. F. Dunne, and William Henry Jones; Washoe co., W. W. Belden, H. B. Brady, Gilman N. Folsom, George A. Nourse, and James H. Sturtevant; Lyon co., J. S. Crossman, George A. Hudson, Francis H. Kennedy, and H. G. Parker; Esmeralda co., B. S. Mason, J. G. McClinton, D. Wellington, and William Wetherill; Lander co., E. A. Morse, J. H. Warwick, and R. H. Williams; Nye co., (created by the legislature of 1863-4), Francis M. Proctor and Francis Tagliabue; Churchill co., Nelson E. Murdock; Douglas co., J. W. Haines and Albert D. Hawley. Johnson was president, William M. Gillespie sec., Andrew Whitford assst sec., A. J. Marsh reporter, T. M. Carson serg.-at-arms, William E. Skeene door-keeper, George Richards page.

matter of taxation, the new constitution exempting all property in mines and taxing only the products.[10] Everything was put in order for adoption, even the seal of state, which represented the sun rising over mountains, an elevated railroad bridge supporting a train of cars, a quartz-mill on the right with a load of ore approaching it from the left, a plough and a sheaf of wheat in the middle foreground, and around the margin "Seal of the State of Nevada." The declaration of rights, and of the paramount powers of the federal government, were in the most liberal spirit, and of the most intense loyalty, there having been up to this time but one political party recognized, and that the loyal party.

Battle-born, owing existence to an attack on the integrity of the nation, and paying for it with a mountain of precious metals, we should scarcely expect to find this new commonwealth disloyal. California in 1861, while raising her regiments of volunteer infantry, received a company from Nevada. In 1862 the 3d regiment of California volunteers, under Colonel Connor, commanding the military district of Utah and Nevada, was stationed at the United States posts in Nevada, with headquarters at Fort Churchill. Connor issued an order, on taking possession, forbidding the utterance of traitorous sentiments, or threats against the loyal population; and though having now and then to put down disaffection by a show of force, he had little trouble in maintaining good order, the great majority everywhere being ready to give him assistance. In 1863, an order being received to raise a battalion of cavalry in Nevada, six companies were formed, consisting of 500 men, and six companies of infantry of about the same strength.[11] These volun-

[10] *Nev. Laws*, i. cxxvi.; *Kinkead's Nevada and Alaska*, MS., 4.

[11] The first officer mustered into the service was J. H. Matthewson, who opened a recruiting office at Gold Hill. He was commissioned 1st lieut of Co. B., Nevada Cav. Vol., N. Baldwin, capt.; Co. A. being formed at the same time at Silver city, E. B. Zabriskie, capt. Baldwin became major of the

teers, like those of California and Oregon, were enlisted with the promise of being sent to fight the battles of the union when they should be sufficiently well drilled; but being needed on the frontier in subduing hostile Indians, and suppressing incipient civil war, they never had the opportunity they craved. They remained and performed their less distinguished duty in Nevada and Utah. The militia organization was also made the subject of legislative care at every session.[12]

But it was in contributions of money, so much needed by the government and wounded soldiery, that Nevada most exhibited the people's patriotism. Besides providing by law for the payment of her quota of the war debt, the territory contributed $163,581.07 in currency to the sanitary fund between the years of 1862 and 1865.[13] Independently of this was over $175,000, raised by one individual, R. C. Gridley, who, from being an open disunionist, was transformed, in the performance of this charity, into a loyal citizen.[14] Nor were the legislators less mind-

battalion, and was placed in command at Fort Bridger. Zabriskie could have had the position, but preferred to remain with his company. H. Dalton was recruiting capt. of Co. C; George Milo of Co. D, Robert Dyon of Co. E. and J. W. Calder of Co. F. Co. D. was afterward commanded by Capt. A. B. Wells, and Co. E. by Robert C. Payne. The infantry was commanded as follows: Co. A., Capt. A. J. Close; Co. C, Capt. M. R. Hassett; Co. E. Capt. G. A. Thurston; Co. F. Lieut W. G. Seamonds; Co. G, Capt W. Wallace; Co. H, Capt. A. B. Kelly.

[12] The companies formed in 1864 were Dayton Guards, Dayton Artillery, Emmet Guard, of Como, Silver City Guard, and others. *Dayton Sentinel*, July 2, Sept. 3, and Dec. 3, 1864, and April 8, 1865; *Nev. Comp. Laws*, ii. 356–76; *Nev. Statutes*, 1866, 22, 206, 267, 272; *Nev. Jour. Sen.*, 1873, App. no. i. p. 18.

[13] Almarin B. Paul was secretary of the Nevada branch of the Sanitary Commission. The above sum, as given in Paul's report, does not include the counties of Humboldt, Nye, and Churchill, which must have given from $6,000 to $10,000 more. *Gold Hill News*, Sept, 8, 1865.

[14] The Gridley sack of flour became historical. It was from a wager between two citizens of Austin, Lander county, upon the result of a local election. The republican candidate for mayor was elected. It was agreed that the loser of the wager, which was a 50-pound sack of flour, should carry it to the winner, a distance of about a mile. Subsequently it was suggested to give the sack to the sanitary commission, and amidst much mirth and enthusiasm it was put up at auction. Men bid against each other chiefly for the sport it gave, and the person to whom it was knocked down returned it to the auctioneer to be sold over again, until $4,549 in gold had been paid in. Gridley caught at the idea of raising a large sum in this manner. He

ful of their expressions of loyalty, but passed resolutions expressive thereof[15] upon every fitting opportunity, enacting a law depriving those who were disloyal from voting at elections. This was done not less to hold in check the agents of a secret organization than to encourage the government.[16] Had the schemes of Gwin and Lane been carried out, it was expected that Nevada would be brought under the new government, and of this design the union men were not ignorant. They took possession of the territorial government, and kept it until the period when a state constitution was under consideration, when the democrats proceeded to organize themselves into a party, February 14, 1863, to strive for whatever share of the offices under the state government they might be able to secure.

The only act looking toward insubordination was the rejection of the national currency by incorporating in the practice act of 1863–4 a provision substantially the same as the California specific-contract act, by which gold only could be paid in cancellation of debts where the contract read "payable in gold coin of the United States;" but this did not receive the sanction of the governor.[17]

The total vote on the acceptance of the constitu-

visited the towns on the Comstock, where he sold his sack of flour over and over, until he took in $25,000 more in gold, after which he visited California, obtaining altogether from these auctions alone $175,000. He then visited the east, and added considerably to this great charity, giving a year of his life to the mission. It is said that he injured his health by the excitement of the campaign. At all events, he died in 1871 at Stockton. *Stockton Evening Mail*, March 10, 1881; *Harper's Mag.*, June 1866, 34–6; *S. F. Bulletin*, May 19 and 25, 1864; *Austin Reese River Reveille*, June 4, 1864. *Nev. Scraps*, 238. Among other gifts to the sanitary com. were several silver bricks. *S. F. Call*, May 4 and Aug. 17, 1864; *Como Sentinel*, June 18, 1864. The last silver slab was sent in 1865. *Dayton Sentinel*, Feb. 4, 1865.

[15] *House Misc. Doc.*, 70, 37th cong. 2d sess.; *Nev., Jour. Council*, 1861, 82–3, 102–3; *Nev. Jour. House*, 1861, 94, 199–201; *Gold Hill News*, Jan. 15, 1864.

[16] There was a provision introduced in the constitution enabling men in the service of the U. S. to vote at elections. *Nev. Constit. Debates*, 1864, 915, 943; *Nev. Laws*, 1864, 81–5.

[17] *Parker's Letter-Book*, MS., 177–8. The *Carson Appeal* of Sept. 22d, 1869, says that Nevada paid nearly four times as much internal revenue per capita as any other state, owing to the honesty and efficiency of her officers.

tion was 11,393, the majority in favor of it, 9,131.[18] There were elected at the same time the members of the legislature for 1864, and a delegate to congress, John Cradlebaugh, on the independent ticket. The democratic candidate was A. C. Bradford, who was beaten by Cradlebaugh by sixty-five votes only. Fitch, the republican candidate, was far behind. This was a warning to the republican party. However, all these elections went for nothing when the president on the 31st of October proclaimed Nevada a state of the union. As the presidential election was yet to take place in November, a new election for representatives and state officers was ordered to be held at the same time.[19] Two full tickets were put in the field, but the republicans elected their candidates by large majorities.[20] The choice of the people fell upon H. G. Worthington of Lander county for member of congress to fill the unexpired term ending in March 1865. H. G. Blasdel was chosen governor.[21] Under the constitution the state was divided into nine judicial districts, one judge to be elected in each, with the exception of the 1st district, comprising Storey county, which might have three district judges.[22]

According to the constitution, also,[23] the first legis-

[18] *Nev. Constit. Debates*, xiv., gives the majority at 9,091, but the Lander county vote was not counted.

[19] Congress changed the day fixed in the enabling act to bring the election on this day.

[20] The total vote at the election was 16,420; the majority for republican presidential electors was 3,232. The same majority, or near it, was given to all the republican candidates except two. Nye county sent one democrat, Frank M. Proctor, to the state senate; and Churchill county one democrat to the assembly, James A. St Clair.

[21] J. S. Crossman lieut-gov., C. N. Noteware sec. state, A. W. Nightingill controller, E. Rhoades treas., A. F. White supt of public instruction, S. H. Marlette sur.-gen., C. M. Brosnan, H. O. Beatty, and James F. Lewis, sup. ct judges, George A. Nourse att'y-gen., Alfred Helm clerk of sup. ct.

[22] There were elected in this district C. Burbank, R. S. Messick, and R. Rising, judges. Ormsby co., which constituted the 2d district, elected S. H. Wright; Lyon co., the 3d district, W. Hayden; Washoe and Roop, the 4th district, C. C. Goodwin; Nye and Churchill, the 5th district, H. L. Baker; Humboldt, the 6th district, E. F. Dunne; Lander, the 7th district, W. H. Beatty; Douglas, the 8th district, D. W. Virgin; Esmeralda, the 9th district, S. H. Chase. The district judges elected in 1864 were to hold office until January 1867, and after that their terms should be for four years. *Gold Hill News*, Nov. 16, 1864; *Nev. Laws*, 1864, 53.

[23] *Nev. Laws*, 1864–5, 65, article xvii., sec. 12 of the constitution. The

lature convened on the 12th of December,[24] and on being organized listened on the 14th to the message of Governor Blasdel, which communicated to them, among other facts affecting the state, that the new government had inherited from the territory a debt of $264,000 exclusive of the expenses of the last constitutional convention, and that to meet this indebtedness there was an empty treasury and an uncollected tax of $70,000.[25] He recommended economy and wise revenue laws; but, as I have already remarked in another place, the state of Nevada has always been burdened with debt, from habits of extravagance originating in too great expectations, and from regarding mining as the sole industry worth encouraging.[26]

regular sessions thereafter were to begin on the first Monday in Jan. following the election of members.

[24] The members of the first state legislature were: Senators N. W. Winton, S. A. Kellogg, C. A. Sumner, and W. H. Claggett from Storey co.; J. S. Seely and A. J. Lockwood from Ormsby; James S. Slingerland and Charles Lambert from Washoe; Lewis Doron and John Ives from Esmeralda; M. D. Larrowe and W. W. Hobart from Lander; M. S. Thompson and Frederick Hutchins from Humboldt; J. W. Haines from Douglas; Alfred James from Lyon and Churchill; and D. L. Hastings from Lyon. The assemblymen were: W. M. Cutter, Edwin Patten; Erastus Bond, W. W. Bishop, Charles W. Tozer, James A. Rigbey, A. L. Greely, H. M. Bien, John Leavitt, R. A. Ycung, James Bolan, and Jacob Smith of Storey co.; S. C. Denson, J. E. W. Carey, and L. C. McKeeby of Ormsby; D. H. Brown, B. H. Nichols, and J. Anson Dun of Humboldt, D. P. Walter, E. P. Sine, J. L. Hinckley, and M. A. Rosenblatt of Lander; W. F. Toombs, W. G. Lee, and H. G. Parker of Lyon; James Small and Henry Epstein of Douglas; A. C. Bearss of Nye; L. M. Shackleford, H. H. Beck, and A. J. Myrick of Washoe; James A. St Clair of Churchill; D. H. Haskell, D Wellington, John S. Mayhugh, and Cyril Hawkins of Esmeralda. *Nev. Sen. and Assem. Jours.*, 1864; *Gold Hill News*, Nov. 16, 1864. The senate was presided over by the lieutenant-governor. The officers elected were L. B. Moore secretary, Geo. R. Amnond assistant secretary, Mr Hollister and George Wellington, enr. and eng. clerks, Thomas Peasley sergeant-at-arms, and Hickey door-keeper. The house elected Charles W. Tozer speaker, W. M. Gillespie chief clerk, C. S. Hammer eng. clerk, W. B. Fulwiler enr, clerk, J. M. Woodward sergeant-at-arms. *Nev. Jour. Sen.*, 10.

[25] I am not able to reconcile this statement of Gov. Blasdell, which is undoubtedly correct, with the report of Nye, in March 1864, that the territory was not owing more than $15,000, which I find over his own signature in *Parker's Letter-Book*, MS., 179, this authority being a book of copies of official correspondence, taken with a press and therefore unaltered.

[26] The taxes imposed by an act to provide revenue for the support of the state government and payment of the public debt imposed a tax of $1.25 on each $100 of taxable property, and a poll-tax of $4 on every male inhabitant over 21 and under 60 years of age, not exempted by law. The county tax was $1.50 on every $100. The sheriff of each county was made ex-officio collector of licenses at the following rates: Each public billiard table $5 per quarter year; every bowling alley $10 per quarter; theatres $100 per month,

But whatever errors it fell into its loyalty remained; and even before hearing the message of the executive a resolution was offered in the house by Bien of Storey county, congratulating the country on the reëlection of Lincoln, and pledging the lives, honor, and fortunes of Nevada in support of the government,[27] which was made a joint resolution by the senate on the 1st of February. On the 29th of December the senate passed a congratulatory resolution offered by Sumner to General Sherman on the design and brilliant execution of his "march to the sea," which was concurred in by the assembly. On the 16th of February the senate and assembly ratified the thirteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States by which slavery was abolished.

But to return to more purely local affairs. On the 15th of December, both houses being organized, they proceeded to the election of two United States senators, Stewart, Nye, Charles E. De Long, Cradlebaugh, and B. C. Whitman being nominated. Stewart

or $5 a day for a shorter time than a month; if for three months $200; and if for a year $600; concert singers paid the same license as theatrical performers: a single exhibition of a menagerie or a circus was taxed $20; tight-rope dancers, jugglers, and such folk were taxed $10 a day; a pawnbroker $100 per quarter; a keeper of an intelligence office $15 per quarter. Brokers were divided into five classes, according to the amount of their business, and taxed respectively, $100, $80, $50, $30, and $20 per quarter. Bankers were also classified, and taxed respectively $200, $150, $100, $75, and $50 per month. All venders of any kind of wares, merchandise, liquors, drugs, or keepers of livery were divided into ten classes, according to their receipts, and taxed respectively $50, $37, $25, $20, $15, $10, $7.59, $5, $3.75, and $2.50 per month; but retailers of liquors were taxed $10 a month, and hotel keepers who kept a bar outside the limits of any town were taxed $15 a quarter. Hotels and boarding and lodging houses were taxed $10 and $5 a month; peddlers on foot and auctioneers $10 a month; peddlers using a wagon for the vending of any merchandise or liquors, or anything except fruits and vegetables, $20 a month. A capitation tax of $1 upon each person leaving the state by any railroad, stage-coach, or any vehicle employed in passenger carrying, was also levied, and charged upon the companies engaged in such traffic, such companies adding the amount to their fares. As the coaches always were well loaded with passengers this was a fruitful source of revenue, amounting in some years to $20,000. An ad valorem tax of $1 on each $100 valuation of the product of all mines, after deducting the cost of extracting and reducing the ores, was levied; and lastly a stamp-tax was imposed on agreements, affidavits, assignments, leases, bills of exchange, and almost all documents employed in business affairs of from two cents to $1, which was a source of no inconsiderable revenue. *Nev. Laws*, 1864–5, 271–324. The state was empowered to issue bonds to the amount of $150,000.

[27] *Nev. Jour. Assem.*, 1864–5, 17; *Nev. Jour. Sen.*, 1864–5, 99.

was elected on the first ballot.[28] Then followed a number of ballotings for a senator among the remaining candidates, Nye receiving on every one the greatest number of votes, but not enough to elect him, and De Long receiving the next greatest number. An adjournment took place, which permitted the presentation of informal arguments, and at the first ballot on the 16th Nye was elected. That Stewart brought his great influence to bear there can be no doubt. Nevada thereby gained a representation in the senate of which a young state might justly be proud, and which was of the greatest value to the country at large, when uncompromising republicanism was demanded to reëstablish its dignity among the nations. The presidential elector chosen to convey the vote of Nevada to Washington in 1864 was S. T. Gage.[29]

The term for which Worthington had been elected to congress expiring in March, it became necessary to provide a successor at the general election of November 7, 1865. About the only issue of importance at this time, the civil war having been brought to a close, followed quickly by the tragedy at Ford's theatre in Washington, when the revengeful hand of political fanaticism struck down the most devoted and pure-

[28] The newspapers accused Stewart of working himself into the U. S. senate through his manipulation of 'the honest miner.' The voice of Stewart's honest miner was heard above all crying, 'Hurrah for the state of Nevada, and William M. Stewart for the first chosen senator.' *Nev. Scraps.* It is said that Stewart sent word to Cradlebaugh that if he would resign to him all the patronage due to Nevada's senators, his election should be secured; but Cradlebaugh refused the proposition.

[29] Gage, an intense unionist, was born in Ashtabula county, Ohio, March 7, 1831. His father, Joshua Gage, a man of sterling qualities, was one the early pioneers in Ohio. Stephen, who worked during summer, and attended school in winter, began teaching upon his graduation, at the age of nineteen; teaching, farming, and conducting a saw-mill alternately up to 1852. During this year he crossed the plains with an ox-team, driving the entire distance himself, and making the quickest trip across the plains on record. In California he engaged in milling, mining, and merchandizing. In 1856, at the age of twenty-four years, he was elected to the legislature, being the youngest member of that body. He was one of the committee who drafted an able report on the important question of a transcontinental railroad. He held various offices up to 1860. During this and the succeeding year he engaged in transporting goods over the Sierra Nevada to the Washoe mines, his pack-trains being the largest on the road.

minded of rulers,[30] was that of the Pacific railroads, which Nevada, in common with the whole Pacific coast, very much desired to have built at the earliest possible period. On a pledge to labor for this end Delos R. Ashley was elected Nevada's representative.[31]

Under the constitution of Nevada, members of congress were chosen only at the general elections for state officers and legislators, all terms expiring on the day succeeding the next general election. The terms of those elected in 1865 expired in November 1866, and biennially thereafter.[32] This provision made another election for congressman necessary in 1866, when Ashley was reëlected by a majority over his democratic opponent, H. K. Mitchell, of 4,376, the issues involved in President Johnson's policy influencing the vote of the people. By the same majority Blasdel was reëlected governor. The changes made in the official list were J. S. Slingerland, lieutenant-governor; R. W. Parkinson controller; A. N. Fisher superintendent of public instruction; Robert M. Clarke attorney-general; and J. E. Eckley state printer.

The terms alloted to senators Stewart and Nye were four and two years. Nye drawing the two years

In 1862 he became a resident of Virginia City, where he was prominent in federal and state politics. Later, he had much to do with railroad matters. He was invaluable to the Central Pacific road during the early struggles of that corporation. His arguments before legislative committees were logical and ingenious, stamping him as a man of marked ability.

In 1871 he removed to San Francisco. He was the only officer of the road located outside of Sacramento at that date. Later, he removed to Oakland, Cal. In 1885 he was appointed assistant president of the Southern Pacific system of railroads.

[30] It would be unjust to the Nevadans not to mention the feeling with which the news of Lincoln's assassination was received. Every town and hamlet was hung with funeral black, and the expression of men's faces plainly indicated their mingled grief and wrath. The man at Gold Hill who was bold enough to express gratification at the president's death, was summarily stripped, flogged, and marched to prison with a placard on his back inscribed 'a traitor to his country.' *Gold Hill News*, April 15, 17, 20, 1865.

[31] There were two other republican aspirants, W. H. Claggett and Charles A. Sumner. The democratic nominee was H. K. Mitchell. Ashley's majority was 1,476. He took his seat Dec. 21, 1865. *House Jour.*, 101, 39th cong. 1st sess.

[32] *Nev. Laws*, 1864–5, 65; *Id.*, 1866, 223.

term, and becoming a candidate for reëlection by the legislature in January 1867, when he was returned for the six years' term commencing in March.[33] In the republican convention of September 1868 Stewart was again put in nomination for senator against De Long, who withdrew to prevent a rupture in the party, but was subsequently compensated by the position of minister to Japan, which office he filled with distinction. The same convention which nominated Stewart, also nominated Thomas Fitch[34] for congressman, without opposition. Stewart was elected on the first ballot. At the state and presidential election in 1868 all the republican candidates were chosen,[35] including Fitch for congressman, with the exception of nine democratic members of the legislature.

All over the Pacific coast the close of the civil war had been followed by the reorganization of the democrats and their gradual return to power. It took them twenty years to become strong enough to elect a president of the United States; but for congress, and for various offices under state and territorial organizations, they received the suffrages of a fearless and magnanimous people with only a little less impartiality than of old. In 1870 this party elected its candidates to most of the important offices in the state of

[33] The other nominees were Charles E. De Long, John B. Winters, Thomas Fitch, and Thomas H. Williams. De Long accused Nye of fraud in the administration of Indian affairs when ex officio supt, and the contest became very bitter. The legislature was compelled to take notice of accusations of corruption in the senatorial election, and appointed a committee of 5 to investigate the charges. This committee reported to the legislature in special session in March that their clerk, J. V. Wheelhouse, had absconded with all the papers relating to the matter, which might very properly be construed as a confession of persistent corruption in the accused. The testimony secured from witnesses went to show that De Long would have been elected but for money offered by the friends of Nye, and taken by representatives Robert Cullen, J. R. Jacobs, and two others. *Nev. Jour. Assem.*, 1867, 342–6.

[34] Fitch was born in N. Y. city Jan. 27, 1838. One of his ancestors was the last colonial governor of Connecticut, and another commanded the New England regiment during the French war; therefore Fitch had blue blood. He had only a common school education, however, and started out in life as a clerk in an importing house. In 1859 he engaged in journalism on the Milwaukee *Free Democrat*. In 1860 he came to Cal., and 4 years afterward began the practice of law. *Elliot & Co.'s Hist. Ariz.*, 289.

[35] The governor held over until 1870. John Day was elected sur-gen., H. R. Mighels state printer, B. C. Whitman and J. Neely Johnson sup. judges.

Nevada, namely, that of governor, L. R. Bradley; lieutenant-governor, Frank Denver; treasurer, Jerry Schooling; state printer, Charles L. Perkins; supreme judge, John Garber; attorney-general, L. A. Buckner.[36] They also elected the member of congress, Charles Kendall. What is remarkable about this change of party sentiment and power is its completeness, the majorities on the democratic side being fully as large as they had formerly been on the republican side. Where the latter had been accustomed to have more than double the votes of the democrats, the democrats had now double the votes of the republicans. This change was brought about largely by the unpopularity of F. A. Tritle, the Republican candidate for Governor, who was supposed to be a favorite of the Bank of California. This corporation having large mining and milling interests in the State, had gained the enmity of the workingmen, who raised the cry "Anti-bank," to the detriment of the Republicans.

In 1872, Nye's term drawing near its close, there entered the political arena a power greater than party, patriotism, or talent, which was money. The representatives of this world-moving lever were two men well known in connection with mines, railroads, and banks, but hitherto not notable in politics. One was William Sharon, born of Quaker parents in Ohio in 1821. Like many famous men, he had once owned an interest in a flat-boat, but failing to make it profitable had studied law, which mental training proved useful to him in his subsequent career of merchant, speculator, banker, and railroad manipulator. Opposed to Sharon in the race for the senatorship was John Percival Jones, a mining operator whose business it was to bull the stock market, and in which he made both money and adherents, being considered the friend of the miners, and named by the press the "Nevada commoner." The commoner now desired

[36] The republican candidates elected were the sec. of state, J. D. Minor; con., W. W. Hobart; A. N. Fisher, supt of public instruction; John Day, sur-gen.; mineralogist, H. R. Whitehill; clerk of sup. court, Alfred Helm.

to step up higher and become a senator. It was expected that the race would be to the most bountiful, and, therefore, it was said that Sharon, with the Pacific railroad at his back, was endeavoring to pull down the stock market in order to disable his rival. He accused Jones of himself forcing down stocks by causing the fire in the Yellow Jacket mine, whereby several lives were lost and much damage sustained, in order to buy up the stock of Savage at a profit.[37] Such was the nature of the contest. Sharon finally withdrew, and Jones had opposed to him only Nye; for there was still a republican majority in the legislature; but the people were pleased with their rich commoner, and no longer regarded the claims of their poorer Gray Eagle, the sobriquet applied to Nye. Jones received fifty-three out of seventy-two votes in the legislature of 1873, and took his seat in March. Nye died December, 25, 1876.[38]

The republican candidate for congressman, C. C. Goodwin, was defeated in 1872 by Charles W. Kendall, reëlected on the democratic ticket, but the party gained the presidential electors by over 2,000 majority; also the supreme judge and state printer, the only state officers voted for.[39]

The senatorial contest of 1874 was another struggle between men with large moneyed interests principally. The democrats again chose in convention Thomas H. Williams, and the republicans William Sharon. A third, or independent, party had for its leader Adolph Sutro, who feared if Sharon should be elected it would redouble the power of the bank of California and Comstock lode, against which he was making his great fight for the Sutro tunnel. Party lines were less rigidly drawn than ever before. There

[37] Jones was supt of Crown Point in 1869. He risked his life in an endeavor to extinguish the fire.

[38] *Nev., Jour. Sen.*, 1873, app., no. 12; *S. F. Call*, Jan. 24 and March 29, 1873. Of republicans who aspired to the senatorship at this time were ex-Governor Blasdel and F. A. Tritle; among the democrats there were Thomas H. Williams, Judge Garber, and Henry I. Thornton. *Gold Hill News*, Aug. 19, 1872; *S. F. Bulletin*, Dec. 28, 1876.

[39] Thomas P. Hawley judge, and C. A. V. Putnam printer.

were some men on the independent ticket from both the other parties, but more from the democratic than the republican ticket. This insured the reëlection of Governor Bradley, the election of Jewett W. Adams lieutenant-governor, J. R. Kittrell attorney-general, J. J. Hill state printer, and J. Schooling treasurer; the remaining offices being given to the republicans, who also elected their candidate for congressman, William Woodburn of Storey county.[40] The legislature consisted of forty-seven republicans and twenty-eight democrats, the full number of members allowed by the constitution. There was not one democrat among the fourteen members from Storey county—all were republicans, and represented a constituency nearly all of whom were interested in the Comstock mines, which they had been told would be ruined by the Sutro tunnel. To prevent this ruin Sharon must be elected, and was elected[41] in January 1875, to succeed Stewart, for the six-years' term, Fitch assuming the labor of the campaign. But to his coadjutor, Jones, was left the duty of representing the interests of Nevada. Sharon did not take his seat until February 1876, and was continually absent from the beginning of the session, commencing in October 1877, to January 1880,[42] attending to his money matters. No honor accrued to him or to the state through such representation.

The state congressional and presidential election of 1876 gave results showing the very gradual restoration of the ante-bellum political balance. Again the republicans obtained the presidential electors, their representative in congress, Thomas Wren, and supreme judge, O. R. Leonard. They still had a large

[40] J. D. Minor was chosen secretary of state, W. W. Hobart controller, S. P. Kelly supt of public instruction, John Day sur-gen., H. R. Whitehill mineralogist, W. H. Beatty sup. judge, Warren Earll sup. judge (short term), and C. T. Bicknell clerk sup. corut.

[41] Tho other aspirants were H. K. Mitchell and Thomas P. Hawley.

[42] *Sen. Jour.*, 240, 44th cong. 1st sess.; *Id.*, 6, 149, 45th cong. 1st sess.; *Id.*, 6, 948, 45th cong. 2d sess.; *Id.*, 6–7, 357, 46th cong. 1st sess.: *Id.*, 85, 912, 46th cong. 2d sess.

majority in the assembly, but in the senate the democrats had a majority of one. A movement to call a convention to revise the constitution, and also to change the time of the beginning of the fiscal year from the 31st to the 1st of December, was set on foot by a resolution of the legislature, passed February 18, 1875, and voted upon at this election, there being a majority of 3,341 against it, and against the design of the agitators to abolish the tax on mining products. In the political canvass of 1878 this matter of refusing to repeal the tax on bullion was made a plank in the republican platform, but afterward withdrawn through the influence of the bonanza firm. The republican candidate for congress, Rollin M. Daggett, was nominated without opposition in his own party, and elected against W. E. F. Deal of Storey county, democrat. J. H. Kinkead, republican, was elected governor over L. R. Bradley, whom even his political opponents regretted to have beaten, on account of his incorruptible honor and practical judgment in affairs.[43] Every state officer on the ticket was elected, except the superintendent of public instruction and the lieutenant-governor, for which position R. H. Mighels, the brilliant and patriotic journalist, had been nominated. His defeat was owing to the fact that he had openly advocated the cause of the Chinese, going so far as to compare them with men of Irish and Cornish birth, to the detriment of the latter, and when confronted with his utterances, attempted neither to explain or deny them. The regrets of his admirers were not lessened by his untimely death in 1879, which

[43] Kinkead was born in Pa 1826, removing with his parents to Ohio when an infant. At the age of 18 years he began going west, first to St Louis, then in 1849 to Salt Lake, where he engaged in business and remained 5 years, coming to Cal. in 1854. In Jan. 1856 he married a daughter of J. C. Fall of Marysville, and went to New York city for a year, where he was in business, but returned to Marysville, and finally settled in Nevada in 1860, and was appointed territorial treasurer. From that time he has been connected with the political history of Nevada. In 1867 he visited Alaska with the government expedition under Gen. J. C. Davis. I have in my collection a manuscript narrative of his participation in public affairs, *In Nevada and Alaska*, in which is much valuable information,

removed him beyond the possibility of reparation at some future time."

In order to make more clear the anomalous condition of Nevada politics, it is necessary to consider the local influences brought to bear upon elections. As has already been stated, the first constitution formed taxed all mines in the same manner that other property was taxed, and for that reason was rejected by a mining population, led by able and well-paid agents of the great mines. The accepted constitution exempted from taxation everything but the proceeds in bullion. The revenue law passed by the first state legislature provided that twenty dollars per ton, the assumed cost of reducing the ores, might be deducted from the gross products, and that only three fourths of the remainder should be taxed. This discrimination in favor of mining property, though evidently unconstitutional, was not referred to the courts at that time. Meanwhile the Comstock mines were yielding an aggregate of $15,000,000 or $17,000,000 annually, and the amount which under the constitution was due the state and Storey county, had accumulated to a vast sum on the Comstock mines alone. In 1867 suit was brought before Judge S. H. Wright of the 2d district, to test the constitutionality of the

"The republican candidates elected, besides those I have mentioned, were: Jasper Babcock sec. of state, L. L. Crockett treas., J. F. Hallock cont., A. J. Hatch sur-gen., Thomas P. Hawley sup. judge, A. M. Murphy atty-gen.. C. F. Bicknell clerk sup. court.

On the democratic ticket were Jewett W. Adams lieut-gov. (elected), George W. Baker sec. of state, R. M. Elstner cont., J. E. Jones treas., D. R. Sessions supt of public instruction (elected), S. H. Day sur.-gen., F. W. Cole sup. judge, J. R. Kittrell attorney-general, Richard Rule clerk of the supreme court.

Lewis R. Bradley, born in Va in 1806, began life as supt of a farm at $80 per year, being promoted to be purchaser of horses and mules. In 1843 he removed to Ky, and the following year to Mo., where he remained until 1852, when he migrated to Cal. with a band of cattle. The next year he returned to the states, and brought out horses, mules, and sheep, on which he made large profits. In 1862 he settled in Lander co., where he has followed stock-raising. His wife was Virginia Willis of Va. John R. Bradley was born in Va in 1835, and married in Mo. in 1857. The father settled in Elko co. in 1866, being a pioneer of that part of the state. He had been co. com. and treas. of Elko co., and his son, John R., has held the same offices after him. A. M. Hillhouse was nominated for U. S. senator. *Nevada State Journal*, Nov. 17, 1878.

revenue law as it related to mining property, and at the same time an extra session of the legislature was called to deal with this particular subject. Before the decision of the court was rendered pronouncing the former law unconstitutional, the special legislature had abolished it, and passed others still more favorable to the mining interest, and especially to the mines of Storey county, where the tax was limited to twenty-five cents on every $100 worth of bullion. These proceedings kept the matter in the courts and put off the day of reckoning when the bank of California, represented by William Sharon, and controlling all the then paying mines on the Comstock, would have to pay up its indebtedness to the state and county.

But in 1869 and 1870 new complications arose. Sharon had been able in the former year to induce the legislature to authorize Storey county to issue its bonds for $300,000 to constitute a gift to the Virginia and Truckee railroad company, his particular and favorite enterprise, a levy of one-half of one per cent to be made annually on the county property to meet the interest of these bonds and create a sinking fund. It became a question with the railroad company, namely the bank of California, how to avoid paying the tax upon one species of their property to discharge the interest on money presented to them by the county. As usual, resort was had to the legislature, and a new law passed which classified ores, and exempted according to class, those which were rated below $12 a ton being allowed ninety per cent for the cost of reduction; under $30 and over $12 eighty per cent; under $100 and over $30 sixty per cent; and over $100 fifty per cent, provided it could be proved that this was the cost of reducing them. What was left of the products of the mines was taxable, except in the case of those where the Freiberg process was used, when a further exemption of $15 was allowed. This law enabled the Comstock owners to work their low grade

ores without tax, for it was easy enough to show that the expense covered all or nearly all the proceeds; and at this time the bonanzas in the old mines were worked out.

But almost simultaneously with this legalized defiance of the constitution, Fair and Mackay discovered the great bonanza in the Consolidated Virginia and California mines, which soon began to produce over a million dollars a month, making this firm a powerful rival of the bank of California, which did not desire the new money kings to enjoy the same exemption which had been so advantageous to itself. The Sharon interest, therefore, offered no opposition when, in 1874, the people at large, and Storey county in particular, elected their representatives with the pledge that they would enact a more righteous law than had yet been enacted concerning the taxation of the mines. To this end, Senator John Piper of Storey county prepared a bill which passed without opposition in February 1875, making the products of the mines taxable at the rate of $1.50 on every $100, or at the same rate that other property was assessed.

It was now the turn of the bonanza firm to protest, partly because the new law seemed to discriminate between them and the bank of California, which had been helped to evade paying a just tax on its property, and greatly because they were forced to pay so large a proportion of bonds of the Virginia and Truckee railroad, which they believed had instigated the change. They set up a plea that the new law was unconstitutional and refused to pay any taxes at all, by their action forcing the people to make up the deficit. The matter became a political issue at the election of 1876, both parties insisting on no more compromises with the great mining corporations, and every candidate being compelled to pledge himself not to vote for a reduction of the tax on bullion.

The report of the controller at the opening of the session showed a balance of the state debt unprovided

for amounting to $108,429.71, of which $74,678.53 was then due. Adding to this the estimated cost of running the state government for two years, or until another meeting of the legislature, $894,250.85, and the state would be owing about a million dollars, while the state revenue less the tax on mines would not reach $800,000.[45] The mining tax, less the bonanzas, should the yield continue the same, would reduce the amount of debt $64,464, but there would still be a deficit of $193,255 to be met. This state of public affairs shook the nerves of the legislators. To add to the uneasiness of the Storey county members, it was seen that the refusal to pay taxes by Fair and Mackay would compel the county to borrow $100,000 to carry on its schools and pay for its courthouse.

Two courses lay open to the legislature: to increase the state and county debt by borrowing, or compromise with the bonanza firm. They decided to violate their pledges and compromise. A bill passed both houses which was the essence of a contract entered into between Fair and Mackay on one side and Storey county officials and state officers of finance on the other. It reduced the bullion tax 31½ per cent, which was equal to giving up 20 per cent of the entire property value of the state. The price agreed upon for this submission was the payment of the tax withheld in the past by the bonanza firm. After deliberating two or three days Governor Bradley vetoed the bill, and the question was left with the supreme court, where it was likely to be decided in favor of the state of Nevada.

In May another attempt at compromise was made, this time succesfully. The bonanza firm offered to pay all that was due from them under the law to the state and county, with the costs of the suits instituted to collect, if the recipients would agree that in case

[45] The controller figured $12,643.47 too high on the expenses, and too low on the revenue by $93,626.20.

the decision of the United States supreme court was against them, the district court of Storey county would issue a stay of execution for the satisfaction of so much of the judgment as included the penalties for contempt and the percents, until the 1st of April, 1879. This offer being accepted, $290,275.72 was paid down two days before the svpreme court decided in favor of the state. The legislature, as had been tacitly understood, passed an act in 1879 releasing the bonanza firm from paying the penalties due the state and the county of Storey. The attorney-general of Nevada, however, requested that the constitutionality of the act might be tested, with the result that the court ordered the payment of $77,578.22, the amount of the penalties unpaid.[46]

From what has gone before it will be perceived how really little national politics had to do with politics in Nevada during the rule of the Comstock firms. The republican majority in the legislature in 1879 was thirteen in the senate and thirty-two in the assembly, making secure the return of J. P. Jones to the United States senate. Jones had, as chairman of the monetary commission in 1876, done himself and his state great credit by his report.

This commission particularly concerned Nevada as a silver-producing state, its duty being to inquire into the change which had taken place in the relative value of gold and silver, the causes thereof, and whether permanent or not; its effect upon trade, commerce, finance, and the productive interests of the country, and upon the standard of value in our own and foreign countries; also into the policy of the restoration of the double standard in this country, and the legal relations between the two coins if restored; and

[46] The case was appealed in Nov. 1880, and decided in the sup. court against the company. Another attempt was made by the legislature in 1881 to release the bonanza company, but Gov. Kinkead vetoed the bill. His action was applauded by the majority. *Carson Index*, March 4, 1881; *Virginia City Chronicle*, March 4, 1881; *Lamb's Early Mining Camps*, MS., 4.

further, into the policy of continuing legal-tender notes concurrently with the metallic standards, with the effects thereof upon the labor, industries, and wealth of the country; lastly, also, into the best means of providing for the resumption of specie payments. Nothing so thoroughly exhaustive of these questions had ever been presented to congress, and the view taken was favorable to the interests of Nevada, and particularly, at that time, to the Comstock mines. Therefore, he received the votes of all the republicans in the legislature, and one of the democratic members. The legislation of congress upon the question of a double standard for money had affected the mining interests of Nevada sensibly. In July 1870 an act was passed to refund the national debt, the government engaging to pay at some future time $2,000,000,000 in coin of the value of the coinage of that date. The units of value of coinage were dollars consisting of $412\frac{1}{2}$ of standard silver and $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains of that of standard gold. In 1873 the holders of the United States bonds, and bonds of the French government, made a movement in Europe to demonetize silver in order to compel the payment of these bonds in gold only, Germany being the first to come into the arrangement. Such influences were brought to bear in the United States that congress, in revising and codifying the mint and coinage laws of the country, omitted the silver dollar from the list of coins, and it being the only silver coin which was a full legal tender, became thereby demonetized, and the people were compelled to pay the national and private indebtedness in gold alone. The product of gold being irregular, and growing less with the increase of population, as well as the decrease of the metal, it was considered to work not only a present hardship by raising the price of gold in the market, but to threaten at some future time to make the people slaves to the bondholders, by compelling them to yield so much more of their labor and property for

a dollar in gold than they would have to do were there a double standard as before. Silver had already depreciated twenty per cent in 1878, when congress required the secretary of the treasury to purchase, at the lowest market price, not less than two nor more than four millions a month to be coined into standard dollars for circulation, the government speculating in the difference in commercial value, but without restoring the silver dollar to its equality with the gold one. This was the status of silver in the currency of the United States, while the question of restoring it to its former value was becoming one of the foremost subjects with which statesmen had to deal, and one of vital importance to the state of Nevada. By 1885 the silver question was regarded as a political issue, and the public was much interested in knowing what course a democratic administration would pursue with regard to it. A silver convention was held at Carson January 31st. The voice of the convention was that demonetizing silver would double the riches of the rich, and in the same proportion increase the burdens of the laboring and producing classes. The Nevada Silver Association was formed, with a constitution and by-laws, the object of which was to insist upon the retention of silver as money. The meeting also indorsed the proceedings of the silver convention held at Denver, Colorado, at which Kansas, Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, Idaho, Wyoming, and Arizona were represented.[47]

[47] *Proceedings of the Nevada Silver Convention*, 1885; *Pacific Coast Mining Review*, 1878–9, 97–103; *Jones' Speech on the Silver Question*, April 24, 1876; *Jones' Speech on the Optional Standard*, June 28 and July 15, 1876; *Jones' Speech on Silver Demonetization*, Feb. 14, 1878; *Carson Appeal*, July 14, 1876; *S. F. Chronicle*, March 2, 1885; *Proceedings of the Nevada Silver Convention*, 1885.

A monograph upon the silver question called *A Plea for Silver Coinage and the Double Standard*, pp. 139, written by T. B. Buchanan, and published at Denver in 1885, attempts to explain the money question as affecting values. It is a good, common sense treatise, but shows what its author claims, that the science of political economy cannot all be contained in one book, and has never been completely formulated. A much more trenchant treatment is that contained in a dictation on *The Silver Question* by Wm M. Stewart in my possession, the body of which is also contained in a pamphlet

President Cleveland in Febuary 1885 expressed views contrary to the retention of silver in circulation on a par with gold, and immediately the conflict over silver revived, and was carried on vigorously, the battle being chiefly between eastern bankers and western silver producers. In his message to congress in December he elaborated his views more fully. It brought out some interesting facts and figures. The statement of the director of the United States mint for the year ending June 30, 1885, was that the decline in gold production on the Pacific coast from 1881 to 1885, inclusive, was $8,070,438.07. The deposits of gold and silver at the San Francisco mint was $25,399,707.10, or $5,000,000 less than the preceding year. The Nevada mint was closed this year, the mining industry once centering in Carson "being practically reduced to nothing," and the institution being conducted simply as an assay office. It has since been closed. With regard to the country in general, there was deposited at the United States mints during the year $52,894,075.09 in gold, and $36,789,774.92 in silver, the total coinage value of which was $89,683,850.01, an increase over the previous year of $1,728,726.09. The imports of gold bullion into the United States during the year was $11,221,846.45; the exports of gold bullion, $395,750, being a gain in gold of $10,826,096.45. The imports of silver bullion amounted to $4,530,384; the exports to $20,422,924, being a loss of $5,066,444. The pro-

with that title issued in San Francisco in 1885. The sub-title is an expression of the author's views, running as follows: 'Bondholders' conspiracy to demonetize silver; legislation affecting national debt, and gold and silver; unfaithful treasury officials; hostility of national banks; independent financial policy for the United States; free coinage or enforcement of existing laws.' Mr Stewart shows the absurdity of permitting foreign bondholders to regulate American finance, and ridicules President Cleveland's action in sending a commissioner, Manton Marble, to Europe to import the views of the purchasers of American bonds. He prophecies the oppression of the people, the growth of a bond-holding aristocracy, the mortgaging of property, and the impoverishment of the agricultural classes. The loss of millions of mining property, rendered valuless, is, he thinks, one of the least injurious effects of the disturbance of the relative values prevailing in our present currency.

duction in the United States during the year had been $30,800,000 in gold, and $48,800,000 in silver. Of this amount of silver $28,000,000 had been coined and $6,000,000 used in the arts, which, with the bullion exported and wasted, left little or nothing on hand. The production of the whole world in the year ending June 30, 1885 was $95,292,569 in gold, and $115,147,878 in silver, gold production having fallen off over $5,000,000 since 1882.

There would appear to be nothing very alarming in the relative qualities or values of gold and silver at this time, but agitation has made it a party question in congress. The repeal of the act of 1878 being insisted on by the monometalists, various schemes for preventing the demonetization of silver were broached, such as certificates of deposit with a market value, the government being obligated to coin the bullion and use it in redeeming certificates when presented, and other proposed devices for keeping silver in circulation. An English writer, Morton Frewen, proposed that the Pacific ports should be made free to the eastern nations of China and Japan, buying their tea, coffee, sugar, rice, jute, etc., in exchange for the silver of Colorado, Nevada, and California, and building up a mercantile marine to rival England. This proposition, which might be considered were it not for the Isthmus canal and the Canadian Pacific railway, would doubtless be received with caution. A meeting of the Nevada Silver Association was held at Nevada City October 20, 1885. The resolutions passed declare that the agitation of the silver question is "especially aggravating, since the success of such a policy involves the annihilation of millions of dollars worth of capital locked up in their mills and mines," threatening to bankrupt an industrious and loyal people. A convention of silver men, and another of bankers, was held at New Orleans in December, but congress alone had the settlement of the question; and the president's message was distinctly

adverse to silver coinage. Later legislation was more favorable.

James G. Fair, though never an aspirant for office and taking so little interest in political affairs that he never voted for a president but twice, was prevailed upon by the democrats to become their candidate for the United States senate. The course of Sharon as senator had not been without distinction or profit. He had offered himself for renomination purely on his merits, without the usual golden cross on the palms of his constituents, and the election, which may be said to have gone by default, threw everything into the hands of the democrats, who had a majority of over 800 for presidential electors. George W. Cassidy, their candidate for congressman, was elected by over 1,200 majority, and Charles H. Belknap supreme judge in place of W. H. Beatty. By this election Nevada lost her able and working congressman, Daggett, and an able and incorruptible jurist.[48]

There were offered at this election the following amendments to the constitution, which were accepted:

[48] Cassidy was reëlected in 1882 by a majority of 1,258 over his opponent. J. W. Adams, democrat, was elected governor by about the same majority. O. R. Leonard, republican, was elected judge by even a larger majority, and all the other state offices were filled by republicans. *Reno Gazette*, Dec. 30, 1882; *Biennial Rept Sec. of State*, 1884, 3. Rollin M. Daggett was born in Richville, New York, in 1832. In 1837 his father removed to north-western Ohio, and young Daggett received his education and a knowledge of printing at Defiance in that state. At the age of 17 years he crossed the plains to Cal. on foot, supporting himself with his rifle. After mining for two years, in 1852 he estsblished the *Golden Era*, a literary journal, in S. F., and in 1860 the *Mirror* in the same place, the latter being merged in the *S. F. Herald*. His reputation as a journalist was wide-spread. He settled in Nevada in 1862, and was a member of the territorial council of 1863. The following year he became connected with the *Territorial Enterprise*, and retained his place upon that journal for many years. In 1876 he was presidential elector, and in 1878 congressman. *Moran's Pen Pictures of the State Officers, Legislators, Public Officials, and Newspaper Men, at the Capital During the 9th Session of the Nevada Legislature*, Virginia, Nevada, 1879. Contains 72 biographies. W. H. Beatty was born in Monlova, Ohio, Feb. 18, 1838, removed to Ky in infancy, and to Cal. in 1853. Being still a lad, he returned east and spent 3 years at the university of Va, coming back to Cal. in 1858, studying law in Sac., and being admitted to practice in the sup. court. In 1863 he went to Austin, Nevada, and was elected judge of the 7th district court in the following year. The legislature, in 1869, appointed him judge of the new district of White Pine county, to which office he was elected in 1870. His promotion to the supreme bench followed in 1874. Later he removed to Cal., and in 1888 was elected chief justice sup. court of Cal.

The elimination of the word "white" from section 1, article 2. The addition of article 18, granting rights of suffrage and office-holding without reference to race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The addition of section 10 to article 11, forbidding the use of public moneys for sectarian purposes. Chinese immigration was disproved by a vote of 17,259 against 183.

Of the sixty-one members of the legislature elected, only nine were republicans. Two of these were senators, who with the republicans holding over gave a majority of five in that branch of the legislature, whereas they had but seven members altogether in the assembly. The aspirants for the senatorship, besides Fair, of the democrats, were Sutro of the independents, who desired to keep the Comstock out of politics, and Thomas Wren, nominated by the republicans in place of Sharon.[49] Sutro was not put in nomination. Fair was elected on the first ballot. Wren received twenty votes and Daggett one.

[49] William Sharon was born in Smithfield, Ohio, Jan. 9, 1821. After graduating at college he studied law, practising for a time at St Louis, Mo. Afterward he engaged in a mercantile business at Carrollton, Ill. Coming to Cal. in 1849, he opened a store at Sac., later engaging in real estate in S. F. When the bank of Cal. opened an agency at Virginia City the management was entrusted to him, and in connection with his associates in the bank bought up the greater portions of the Kentuck, Yellow Jacket, and Chollar mines, and obtained control of the mining mills, incorporating the Union Mill and Mining company, and the Virginia and Truckee R. R., the state of Nevada granting a liberal subsidy in aid of the latter. The road was finally completed to Reno, where it connected with the C. P. R. R., the cost being three millions. Sharon and W. C. Ralston also purchased the Belcher mine, receiving large returns therefrom. In 1875 Mr Sharon was elected U. S. senator from Nevada, serving with honor and credit. Mrs Sharon was formerlyMiss Maria Mulloy, a native of Quebec, and the result of their union was five children, two surviving, Frederick W., who married a daughter of Lloyd Tevis, and Florence E., who became the wife of Sir Thomas Hesketh. Mrs Sharon died in 1875, and Mr Sharon in 1885. After setting apart $100,000 for charitable purposes, and the embellishment of Golden Gate park, the property fell in equal parts to his son, daughter, and son-in-law, F. G. Newlands.

CHAPTER IX.

INDIAN WARS

1849–1882.

California Emigrants of 1849—Subsequent Deeds of Violence—Winnemucca and the Pah Utes—Outbreak of 1860—Attitude of Young Winnemuca—The Shoshones—Attack on Williams' Station—Organization of Forces—Battle of Pyramid Lake—Death of Ormsby—Movements of Troops—Further Fighting—Continued Troubles—The Gosh Ute War—Treaties and Reservations.

In whatever part of the country the American trapper has first come in contact with the aborigines, there has followed wars and extermination. Of the first conflicts between white men and the natives of Nevada I have spoken in the opening chapter of this history. The migration to California in 1849 was large; and during this and the following year the Indians were more bold, and the white men vengeful. Several trains were attacked in the Humboldt valley, and their cattle taken, leaving the emigrants on foot. Later companies coming up formed a pursuing party, and having a fight with the natives, killed thirty of them.[1] This checked hostilities, but did not allay hatred. The notorious Bill Hickman shot down two Humboldt Indians who hung about his camp at Stony Point.[2] On the same grouud reddened by the blood of his victims, a few months later three white men were klled by the Indians.[3]

[1] *Beatie's First in Nevada*, MS., 5–6. The *Sac. Transcript* of Sept. 23. 1850, says that in the Carson valley constant skirmishing had occurred between the immigrants and the Indians, and that in a battle with 400 or 500 of them they were victorious.

[2] Cosser says Hickman pretended to no other reason for these acts than the pleasure in killing them.

[3] A. Woodard of Sac., Oscar Fitzner, and John Hawthorne, carrying the mail from Salt Lake to Sac., were the victims.

From 1851 to 1857 there were many deeds of violence on both sides. In 1856 a party of ten men led by Levi Hutton of Missouri were surrounded in camp on the Humboldt by sixty Indians well armed with rifles and revolvers. The party returned the fire of the Indians and retreated, dragging their wagon by hand, four of their horses being killed and others wounded. All that night and next day the Indians continued to harrass them. Hutton and Aleline, a Frenchman from St Louis, were killed. Two other men were severely wounded, Thomas Reddy from Leavenworth, and James Edwards from St Louis. Reddy became exhausted and urged the remainder of the party to leave him and save themselves, which they finally did, taking what provisions they could carry, and destroying all the arms they were forced to leave. The party of seven arrived in Carson valley October 25th, where Edwards had his wounds dressed, after a fatiguing journey of 200 miles. Thirteen Indians were killed.[4]

In 1857 a party of twenty-two immigrants under Captain Pierson encountered on the Humboldt, near the mouth of Reese river, a large body of Pah Utes, with whom they had a severe contest. The place obtained the name of Battle Mountain, which name was retained when the country was settled, and given to a mining district on Reese river.[5] John McMarlin and James Williams, in charge of pack trains from Mormon station to California, were killed by Washoes on the trial which crossed the mountains south of Lake Tahoe on the same day, one at Slippery Ford hill and the other on the summit. The settlers became alarmed and called upon the people of California for assistance.[6] Arms and ammunition were tendered by the governor of that state; the Pah Utes also offered their warriors to fight the Washoes.

[4] *Hayes' Scraps Mining*, xi. 2, 3.

[5] *S. F. Alta*, May 7, 1866; *S. F. Alta*, Aug. 2, Sept. 7 and 10, 1857.

[6] A party of young men attempted to find and punish the offenders, but incautiously fired at some birds and discovered themselves to the Indians, who fled. *Hawley's Lake Tahoe*, MS., 4–8.

Brigham Young, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for Utah, in the summer of 1857 sent Garland Hurt, Indian agent, to Carson valley, who made a treaty of amity with the Washoes.

In the summer of 1858 the Pah Utes gave considerable trouble in the Humboldt valley, and F. Dodge was sent to reside in Carson valley as Indian agent to endeavor to keep the peace. Early in the following year also, they, as well as the Pit river and Walker river tribes, displayed open hostility to prospectors and settlers. In March seven men, among whom was the well known pioneer Peter Lassen, were prospecting in the Black Rock country, on the immigrant route of 1846, when they were attacked in camp and Lassen and another man killed. Other small parties disappeared never to be heard from, and their fate could be readily conjectured.[7]

The winter of 1859–60 was one of exceptional severity, and the Indians suffered greatly from cold and hunger. So strong was their distrust of the white race that although some good men now endeavored to mitigate their misfortunes, building large fires and offering them food, they were but little benefited, many refusing to eat, lest the food should be poisoned, and attributing the extreme cold to the presence of the detested white man. Many children died of privation.[8]

In January 1860 the Pah Utes killed Dexter E. Deming, who lived on Willow creek, north of Honey lake, then thought to be in Nevada. A company, under Lieutenant W. J. Tutt, was ordered to pursue

[7] *Buckland's Indian Fighting*, MS., 2–3; *Kelly's Nev. Directory* 1862, 33; *S. F. Bulletin*, April 21 and 28, and May 9, 10, and 11, 1859. According to the report of Dodge, Indian agent for Carson district, the Pah Utes numbered about 6,000, the head chief, Winnemucca, residing on Smoke creek, near Honey lake. Small bands under sub-chiefs resided at the forks of Carson river, Gold Cañon, Big Bend, sink of the Carson, on Walker river, at Big Meadows on Truckee river, at the lower crossing of Truckee, at the mouth of Truckee, at Pyramid lake, and Lower Mud lake. The Washoes numbered 900, and inhabited the country at the base of the Sierra Nevada, Washoe, and Eagle valleys, and about Lake Tahoe. *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1859, 273–4.

[8] *Territorial Enterprise*, Dec. 24, 1859; *Hayes' Mining Scraps*, xi. 40.

the offenders, who were traced to the Pah Ute camp. The governor then appointed two commissioners, William Weatherlow and T. J. Harvey, to visit Poito, the head chief, known as Old Winnemucca, to demand the criminals, in accordance with an existing treaty. Winnemucca was found at Pyramid lake. He did not deny the governor's right in the matter, but refused to give the order for the surrender, and demanded $16,000 for Honey Lake valley.

It was observed early in March that the Indians were withdrawing from the settlements. In the latter part of April they held a council at Pyramid lake, and recited their grievances, a long enough list of insults and injustice, among which the encroachments of the white race upon their favorite lands, and the cutting down of the pine nut trees, which were their orchards, were mild charges. Every chief in the council except Numaga, known as Young Winnemucca, although not related to the head chief of that name, which signifies bread giver, was in favor of war, he having mingled more with white people, and knowing their numbers and strength. The head chief, like Peupeumoxmox of the Walla Wallas was a shrewd politician; and, while secretly supporting the war movement, never committed himself openly to either party, but consented to be governed by the majority. Then there was a chief of the Shoshones who had married a Pah Ute, and another chief from Powder river, Oregon, a half Bannack, who were clamorous for war.[9]

Meanwhile Mogoannoga, chief of the Humboldt Meadows men, known to the settlers as Captain Soo, stole away from the council with nine braves to end

[9] The Shoshone was killed a few years later, after a raid into Paradise valley, by some of his own people, near Battle mountain. They killed him because he kept them in perpetual trouble by his raids upon the stock of the settlers in Nevada and Oregon. The chief of the Smoke Creek Indians, a brother-in-law of Winnemucca, was slain by one of his own people for attempting to bewitch him. The chief of the Honey Lake band was also killed by his followers after years of war, to put a stop to hostilities; and another Honey Lake chief was killed by his people. A brother of Winnemucca named Wahe was murdered by the Pah Utes at Walker river.

all discussion by opening the war. On the 7th of May they attacked Williams' station, on the overland road, killed seven men, and burned the house. Then passing by the place of Samuel S. Buckland,[10] they came to the farm of W. H. Bloomfield. They drove off the stock and returned to Pyramid lake, sending one of their number in advance to announce to the council still in session that war had been begun. On the morning of the 8th, also, J. O. Williams returned to his home to find it a smoking ruin, near which lay the dead bodies of his brothers, and among the ashes the bones of his friends. He fled to Virginia City, pursued a part of the way to Buckland's, where he gave the alarm.

Like the bursting out of a long smothered conflagration was the vengeful excitement which followed the news of the attack at Williams' station. Couriers sped in every direction, and at night, and by unfrequented ways, to warn camps of prospectors and outlying settlements of their danger. On the day of the attack John Gibson and seven others, sixty miles away, were also slaughtered; settlers were killed and houses burned at Honey lake, and two men killed on Truckee river; war parties stationed themselves in the Humboldt valley, and in the mountains at Mono and Walker river. Intelligence was sent to California with an appeal for arms and ammunition, to which the citizens of that state quickly and generously responded. But without waiting for aid, the Nevadans immediately formed companies in all the towns, and proceeded on the 9th to Buckland's, en route to Williams' station. They were divided into several detachments under leaders few of whom had any military knowledge, numbering altogether but 105 men. They were poorly armed and undisciplined.[11] After

[10] Buckland was a native of Ohio, born in Licking county in 1826. He came to Cal. in 1850, via Panamá, removing to Carson valley in 1857. In a manuscript by him in my library he states that the attack was brought on by the Williams brothers, who had imprisoned and violated a Pah Ute woman.

[11] Under arms were: The Genoa rangers, Capt. Thomas F. Condon, C. E. Kimball, Michael Tay, Robert Ridley, Big Texas, M. Pular, J. A. Thomp-

interring the dead the volunteers proceeded to the Truckee river, where they encamped on the night of the 11th at the present site of Wadsworth, moving down next day toward the main camp of the enemy. About two miles from the foot of the lake the mountains approach closely to the river, leaving but a narrow strip of bottom land, which constitutes a pass easily defended, and dangerous to an attacking force. No enemy appearing in sight, the volunteers marched on for a mile and a half. When they were well within the trap, about 100 Indians showed themselves on the ridge a little in advance. Major Ormsby gave the order for his company to charge up the slope. When they reached the plateau above, on still another ridge, another line was stationed in the same manner as the first, but more extended, and with their right and left almost touching the narrow valley through which ran an impassable river. Soon from every sage brush twanged an arrow or hissed a bullet, and the thirty men realized their peril. They made a hasty retreat to a piece of timber which came down toward the bottom on the west. But here they were met by the savages under the Black Rock chief Sequinata, commonly called Chiquito Winnemucca, or Black Rock Tom, who forced them down toward

son, Lee James; Carson City Rangers: Maj. William M. Ormsby, John L. Blackburn, F. Steinger, Christopher Barnes, James M. Gatewood, William S. Spurr, Frank Gilbert, William Headley, F. Shinn, William Mason, Richard C. Watkins, John Holmes, Samuel Brown, William E. Eichelroth, Anton W. Tjader, James J. McIntyre, Eugene Angel, William C. Marley, Lake, Abraham Joncs, Charles Shad, Bartholomew Riley, and 5 discharged U. S. soldiers from Fort Ruby. Silver City guards: Capt. R. G. Watkins, Albert Bloom, Charles Evans, James Lee, James Shabel, Boston Boy, Keene, and a boy; Virginia vols. co. 1: Capt. F. Johnson, F. J. Call, McTerney, Hugh McLaughlin, Charles McLeod; John Fleming, Henderson (Greeks), Andreas Schnald (Italian), Marco Kneegiswoldt, and John Gaventi (Austrians), George (a Chileno), O. C. Steel; Virginia vol., co. 2., Capt. Archie McDonald, William Armington, Charles W. Allen, G. F. Brown, Joseph G. Baldwin, Jr, D. D. Cole, A. K. Elliott, A. L. Grannis, Fred. Galehousen, F. Hawkins, Archibald Haven, J. C. Hall, George Jones, Charles Forman, R. Lawrence, Henry Mercdith, P. McIntosh, O. Spurr, M. Spurr, John Noyce, C. McVane, Patrick McCourt, S. McNaughton, Henry Newton, A. J. Peck, and Richard Snowden. Another company from Gold Hill contained J. F. Johnson, G. Jonner, James McCarthy, T. Kelley, J. Bowden, N. A. Chandler, A. G. B. Hammond, Armstrong, E. Millson, and 24 others.

the river, where they would be entirely at his mercy.

At this juncture Numaga or Young Winnemucca, threw himself between Chiquito Winnemucca's warriors and the volunteers, and attempted to obtain a parley; but he was disregarded by the Indians, now in hot pursuit of Ormsby's men, who had been reënforced by other companies from the valley, and were making a stand in the timber, where Ormsby by general consent took the command. When the commander comprehended that his force was surrounded he made an effort to keep open an escape by sending Captain Condon of the Genoa rangers, and Captain R. G. Watkins of the Silver City guards, the only veteran soldier among them,[12] to guard the pass out of the valley. But a panic ensued. Seeing the hopelessness of their situation, many turned and fled. Watkins returned to the bottom where the remnants of the commands were engaged in a life and death struggle with the Indians, who, flushed with victory, were sating their thirst for blood. The white men cried for mercy, but the savages said "No use now; too late."[13]

The battle began about four o'clock in the afternoon. The bloodiest part of it was where the rear of the white forces, crowding at the pass in their efforts to escape, retarded the exit, and the Indians riding in amongst them hewed them in pieces. Just where Ormsby died his friends could not tell. He was shot in the mouth by a poisoned arrow, and wounded in both arms. The working of the poison caused him to fall from his horses. It was said that he besought his men to rally around him, dreading to fall into the hands of his enemies before life was extinct. The

[12] Watkins was one of Walker's Nicaragua force, and had lost a leg in action. He rode a powerful horse, to which he was strapped.

[13] 'White men all cry a heap; got no gun, throw 'um away; got no revolver; throw 'um away too; no want to fight any more now; all big scare, just like cattle; run, run, cry, cry, heap cry, same as papoose; no want Injun to kill 'um any more.'

pursuit was kept up until interrupted by the darkness of night, and the fugitives scattered over the country a hundred miles from Virginia City.[14] Comparatively few were wounded. The first effect of the defeat at Pyramid lake was to drive many out of the country. The women and children of Virginia City were placed in an unfinished stone house, which was turned into a fortress and called Fort Riley. At Silver City a fortification was erected on the rocks overlooking the town, and a cannon made of wood was mounted at the fort to frighten away invaders. At Carson City the Penrod hotel was used as a fortification, after being barricaded, and pickets established. At Genoa the small stone house of Warren Wasson was taken for a defence, while Wasson rode through the enemy's country 110 miles, to Honey lake, to carry a telegraphic order from General Clarke to a company of cavalry supposed to be at Honey lake, to march at once to Carson.

As I have before stated, the Californians responded quickly to the call for help. The news of the battle and the death of young Meredith aroused the citizens of Downieville, who within thirty-six hours raised and equipped 165 men, who marched to Virginia City on foot in five days. Sacramento, Placerville, La Porte, San Juan, and Nevada City sent volunteers to help fight the Pah Utes. San Francisco raised money and arms. General Clarke issued orders to Captain Stewart of the 3d artillery stationed at Fort Alcatraz, and

[14] The killed, besides Ormsby, were Eugene Angel, William Arrington, S. Auberson, Boston Boy, A. K. Elliott, John B. Fleming, W. Hawkins, William Headly, F. Gatehouse, John Gaventi, George Jones, Flourney Johnson, M. Kuezerwitch, James Lee, Henry Meredith, P. McIntosh, Charles McLeod, O. McNaughton, J. McCarty, Parsons, Richard Snowden, William E. Spear, Andrew Schueld, and others. One correspondent of the *S. F. Herald* gave the number of bodies found on the field and buried at 43, *Hayes' Scraps Mining*, xi. 104, and another says that on the 27th, two weeks after the fight, nearly 60 persons were still missing. See also *Sac. Record*, June 22, 1872; *S. F Herald*, May 14, 1860; *S. F. Call*, Jan. 26, 1879; *Klein's Founders of Carson City*, MS., 4; *S. F. Alta*, May 8, 1860; *Hawley's Lake Tahoe*, MS., 4–5; *Cradlebaugh's New Biog.*, MS., 4–5; *Hayes' Scraps Mining*, xi. 61–83; *S. F. Bulletin*, May 14, 16, 17, 26, 29, 31, and June 5, 6, 7, 1860; *Cal. Farmer*, May 11, 1860.

Captain Flint of the 6th infantry, stationed at Benicia, to proceed at once to Carson Valley, the two companies numbering 150 men, and there establish a military post. Almost daily thereafter there were arrivals from west of the mountains, which gave much uneasiness to the divers Winnemuccas on the watch to see what turn affairs would take. By the last of the month there were about 800 troops in the field, of whom over 200 were regulars.[15]

On the 26th the united forces marched down the Carson Valley from Camp Hayes twenty miles below Carson City, with the understanding that they were to go to Pyramid lake, and if the Indians would fight, to engage them; but if they could not be brought to battle, the volunteers were to disband in ten days, and leave the regulars to guard the passes into Carson valley. Thus the pony express, just established, as well as the settlers, might be protected. Every station was reported broken up as far east as Dry Creek and Simpson Park, in the eastern part of what is now

[15] The Washoe regiment was officered as follows: Col commanding, John C. Hays; lieut-col, E. J. Sanders; maj., Dan. E. Hungerford; adjt, Charles S. Fairfax; actg-adjt of infantry, J. S. Plunkett; reg. quartermaster, Benj. S. Lippincott; asst quartermaster, John McNish; dept quartermaster, Alex. Miot; commissary, R. N. Snowden; A. C. S., Capt. H. Toler; surgeon, E. J. Bryant; asst-surgs, Ed. T. Perkins, C. R. Bell; serg-maj., R. Macgill. Co. A, Spy; J. B. Fleeson capt.; 15 men. Co. B, Sierra guards; E. J. Smith capt.; 1st lieut J. B. Preasch; 2d lieut William Wells; 3d lieut J. Halliday; 46 men. Co. C, Truckee rangers; capt. Alanson Nightingill. Co. D, Sierra guards; capt. J. B. Reed; 1st lieut N. P. Pierce; orderly D. Ralston; 14 men. Co. E, Carson rangers; capt. P. H. Clayton. Co. F, Nevada rifles; capt. J. R. Van Hagan. Co. G. Sierra guards; capt. F. F. Patterson; 1st lieut C. S. Champney; 2d lieut T. Maddux; 3d lieut A. Walker; 41 men. Co. H, San Juan rifles; capt. N. C. Miller. Co. I, Sacramento guards; capt. A. G. Snowden. Co. J; capt. James Virgo. Co. K, Virginia rifles; capt. E. T. Storey; 106 men. Co. L, Carson City rifles; capt. J. L. Blackburn; 1st lieut A. L. Turner; ord. sergt Theo. Winters. Co. M, Silver City guards; capt. Ford. Co. N, Highland rangers; capt. S. B. Wallace (spy co.); 15 men; 1st lieut Robert Lyon; 2d lieut Joseph F. Triplett; 20 men. Co. O, Sierra guards; capt. Creed Haymond; 1st sergt George A. Davis; 2d sergt H. M. Harshberger; 9 men. Scouts Willlam S. Allen, Samuel Buckland, Benjamin Webster, and S. C. Springer. Teamsters and armed followers numbered 30 more. U. S. troops, officers: Capt. Jasper M. Stewart, 3d artillery commdg 82 men; lieut H. G. Gibson, with howitzers and 10 men; capt.; F. F. Flint, 6th inf.; lieut E. R. Warner; 62 men; lieut J. McCreary, 6th inf.; 53 men; quartermaster, Capt. T. Moore; asst quartermaster, Ed. Byrne; surg., Charles C. Keany.

Eureka county.[16] On the 19th of June the express and mail were escorted from Carson City eastward by a picked company of twenty men, and the line re-established. While the volunteers were crossing the Twenty-six-mile desert, one of the scouts, Michael Bushy, was cut off by the Indians. His remains were found two years afterward near Williams' station, and the Indians who pointed them out said he had fought bravely for eight miles, turning on his pursuers and driving them to cover, but his horse gave out, the enemy surrounded him, and the end soon came.

The army found the Indians waiting for them at Big Meadows, in the neighborhood of Williams' station, where they engaged a detachment of scouts, under Captain Fleeson, whom they attempted to cut off. In the skirmish two volunteers were wounded, and six Indians killed. The enemy retreated when the main volunteer force came up. In this fight, as in the battle of Pyramid lake, the Indians had rifles of longer range than the volunteers. The regulars coming up two hours after the action at Big Meadows, the whole force moved on to the scene of the first battle, where they found and buried the bodies of the slain. From this point the Indians warily withdrew toward Pyramid lake, followed by the army, which could not bring them to any decisive engagement, but which was resolved to drive them beyond the lake, and then leave the regular troops to guard the passes, as previously agreed upon, hoping thus to starve them into subjection.

As the fatal pass was neared they found the bodies of those killed in the retreat of the 12th of May, which were interred, and camp was made on the 1st of June, about eight miles below the lower crossing of the Truckee river. On the afternoon of the 3d an order was issued to Captain Storey of the Virginia Rifles with twenty men, Captain Wallace of the

[16] *Hayes' Scraps Mining*, xi. 217, 221.

Spy company with three men, Captain Van Hagen of the Nevada Rifles with twenty men, and Captain George Snowden, to make a reconnoissance toward the battle field. They approached near enough to count twenty-three bodies, when suddenly arose from the shadow of bush and rock a host of armed Pah Utes, and the detachment hastily retreated toward camp, pursued by the foe, which posted itself on a rocky ledge two miles from camp.

News of the attack being conveyed to Colonel Hayes and Captain Stewart, they hastened to the spot, and a battle three hours in length was fought, in which 200 volunteers and 100 regulars were engaged. They dislodged the Indians, pursuing them between four and five miles, killing twenty-five and taking fifty of their horses. In this action Captain Storey,[17] was shot through the lungs, and died on the 7th. Privates J. Cameron and A. H. Phelps of his company were also killed. Four regular soldiers were wounded, and a private of the Nevada Rifles, Andrew Hasey, who charged with his company after being severely wounded in the hip. The pursuit was abandoned at sundown, the Indians fleeing to the mountains. Fortifications were constructed, and the name of Fort Storey given to the place.

On the 4th the march was resumed toward Pyramid lake. The Pah Ute valley was found deserted, the trail of the Indians appearing to lead north. From this point, where Captain Stewart remained and threw up earthworks, which he named Fort

[17] Edward Faris Storey, after whom Storey county was named, was born in Georgia July 1, 1828, and was a son of Colonel John Storey, who commanded a regiment during the Indian wars in the western part of Georgia, under Jackson's administratioh. He afterward removed to Texas, and with his three sons in 1846 enlisted in a company of Texas rangers under Capt. McCulloch. Of the sons only E. F. Storey survived the war. In 1848 he was elected lieut in a company of rangers under Capt. Jacob Roberts to quell outlaws. In 1849 he married Adelia Calhoun Johnson of Texas, by whom he had a daughter, later Mrs J. W. Williams of Visalia, California, which child, after the death of his wife in 1852, he brought to the Pacific coast overland through Mexico, embarking at Mazatlan for S. F. He engaged in stock raising in Tulare co., removing to Nevada a short time before the Indian outbreak.

Haven, Colonel Hayes returned to Carson and disbanded his regiment. On the march he lost a valued scout, William S. Allen,[18] who was shot from an ambuscade, this act being the last of the Pah Ute war of 1860, in the western part of the county of Carson. There was some fighting in the Goose Lake country between the force under Colonel Lander, then exploring for a wagon road over the sierra and across the great basin, who had been appointed special Indian agent. In August, Lander gave information that old Winnemucca, with the principal part of his band, was in the mountains north of the Humboldt river, and the Smoke Creek chief scouting from the Truckee river over to a point north of the sink of the Humboldt. Before quitting the Humboldt country, Lander sought an interview with young Winnemucca, and through him a convention was entered into by which Numaga agreed that the Pah Utes should keep the peace for one year, and Lander promised at the end of that time to use his influence with congress to procure payment for the Pah Ute lands.

The regulars under Captain Stewart remained at Fort Haven until the middle of July, some persons taking advantage of their presence to make settlements on the Truckee, and near Pyramid lake.[19] The troops after leaving Fort Haven occupied themselves, under the direccton of Captain Stewart, in erecting Fort Churchill, a permanent post on the Carson river thirty-five miles below Carson City. Indian-agent Frederick Dodge endeavored to perfect the promised peace by setting off reservations at Walker and Pyramid lakes, and in the Truckee valley, where the fishing and other food supplies of the Indians were most abundant, and placing them in charge of Warren Wasson, an energetic, fearless, and just man.

[18] *Buckland's Indian Fighting*, MS.

[19] J. D. Roberts, Thomas Marsh, Robert Reed, Hans Parlan, O. Spevey, Anderson Spain, Washington Cox Corey, and M. A. Braley. The mines at Aurora were discovered by Corey and Braley, whose names were given to two mountains in that region.

By the exertions of Wasson and the friendly chiefs Oderkeo, Numaga, and Truckee,[20] war was averted for the time.

The winter of 1861–2 was severe, and the Indians whose hunting ground had been spoiled, and whose stock of provisions was inadequate to their wants, killed the cattle belonging to the white men, and were themselves sometimes slaughtered in return. Retaliations multiplied, and several white men [21] were killed in Owen River valley. The remaining inhabitants, herdsmen, fortified themselves thirty miles above Owen lake. Eighteen men marched from Aurora to the relief of the graziers, who now took the field sixty strong, under a leader named Mayfield, and had a skirmish with the Indians in force, losing one man.[22] Retreating to camp they were pursued, and in another skirmish two other white men were slain.[23] The company escaped under cover of night and returned to their fortification, abandoning a considerable quantity of ammunition, eighteen horses, and leaving their dead on the field. On the march they met Lieutenant-colonel George Evans with two lieutenants and forty men of the Second Cavalry California volunteers, from Los Angeles, who joined his force to theirs, and went again in pursuit of the Indians. In the meantime Governor Nye had been informed by Agent Wasson of the difficulty on Owen river, with request for troops sufficient to quiet the disturbance, and prevent the infection of war from spreading to the Pah Utes. General Wright, in command of the department, ordered Captain E. A. Rowe of the above mentioned regiment, stationed at Fort Churchill to send fifty men to the scene of the conflict, and the orders of Captain Rowe to Lieutenant Noble, in

[20] Truckee died in October 1860. His name was given to the Truckee river by the early immigrants, to whom he behaved well. He possessed papers given him by Frémont in 1844.

[21] E. S. Taylor, J. Tallman, R. Hansen, and Crozen were killed by the Indians in the spring of 1862.

[22] C. J. Pleasants of Aurora.

[23] N. F. Scott, sheriff of Mono county, and Morrison of Visalia.

command of the detachment were not to engage the Indians without the sanction of the Indian agent. But when Lieutenant Noble met Colonel Evans on the 7th of April his command was taken away, and his men ordered to join in the pursuit of the Indians, whom Wasson desired to meet and pacify. On the second day, believing that the Indians were secreted in a certain cañon, Evans sent Sergeant Gillespie and nine men to reconnoiter in advance of the main command. The squad was fired upon almost as soon as it entered the cañon, the sergeant killed and Corporal Harris wounded. An attack was then ordered, the cavalry under Evans taking the mountains on the right of the defile, Noble, with his company and a few citizens, the heights on the left, and the remainder of the force remaining below. Noble succeeded in gaining his position under a galling fire from a concealed foe, but the colonel of the citizen's company, Mayfield, who had accompanied him, was killed Not being able to cope with an invisible enemy, he retired down the mountain, and Evans having no provisions for an extended campaign, returned to Los Angeles. Noble then escorted the graziers with their herds, numbering 4,000 cattle and 2,500 sheep, to quieter pastures in Nevada, and the Indian agents undertook the task of soothing away the excitement among the reservation Indians, who from fighting among themselves were willing and anxious to go to war with the Owens River tribe should they be asked to do so. But with this people the governor of California made a treaty in the following October,

On the 23d of May the governor met Winnemucca and his people in council at the lower bend of the Truckee, but nothing came of it. In August, eleven immigrants, men, women, and children, were killed by the Indians on the Humboldt, eight miles east of Gravelly Ford, and their bodies cast into a stream. Thereupon General Conner issued the eminently in-

telligent, just, and humane order to "shoot all male Indians found in the vicinity, and to take no prisoners." When savagism and civilization fight, let me ask, Is it savage warfare or civilized warfare that the white men engage in? The operations of Connor who assumed command of the district of Nevada and Utah in August 1862, against the Pah Utes of eastern Nevada, and the Snakes, Shoshones, and Bannacks of Idaho are given elsewhere in these histories.

Meanwhile desultory hostilities were carried on with the Gosh Utes. A company of regulars under Captain Smith crept upon a camp of Indians in Steptoe valley on the 4th of June, and killed twenty-four. Next day they killed five more, and the day after twenty-three—horrible massacres these acts would be called had the savages perpetrated them. Meanwhile the Indians continued to pick off an emigrant or a stage driver occasionally, and destroyed the stations all along the line. Treaties were made in the summer and autumn of 1863 with the Shoshones, General Connor and Governor Doty of Utah treating with the Shoshones and Bannacks in south-eastern Idaho in July, and Governor Doty and Governor Nye with those in the north-eastern part of Nevada, at a later period, including the Gosh Utes, who were placed on a reservation in Ruby valley.[24] In the spring and summer of 1863 were raised the Nevada cavalry and infantry by order of the general government, which were distributed to the different posts and overland stations. Nevertheless, murders by white men and red continued through 1864 and 1865 much as before.

Twenty-nine of Winnemucca's men having been killed for stealing cattle, by a cavalry captain in March of the year last named, a conference was called at which the chieftain handed in a catalogue of crimes committed against him by white men, which far outnumbered those which could justly be brought against

[24] The losses sustained by the stage company in the Gosh Ute war were 150 horses, 7 stations destroyed, and 16 men killed.

him; yet Winnemucca was not able to kill ten white men for every twenty dollars' worth of property stolen, else he would have done so. In April the settlers in Paradise valley were attacked, and the Indians with difficulty repulsed. In May thirty-six men attacked a force of 500 Pah Utes and Shoshones, 130 miles north-east of Gravelly Ford, and 75 miles from Paradise valley. The troops were repulsed after four hours hard fighting, having lost two men killed and four wounded. An Indian camp at Table mountain was surprised in September and ten killed. A whole village full were butchered shortly afterward, and other camps and other villages; and so the game went on, until enough of the savages were swept away—the civilized war being likewise brought to a close—to enable the Nevada volunteers to be mustered out of service.[25]

Troubles continuing in northern Nevada, Captain Conrad of Company B, of that organization, and a detachment of Company I, under Lieutenant Duncan, with eight citizens, had a battle on the morning of the 12th of January, 1866, with the Indians on Fish creek, sixty-five miles west of Paradise valley. The conflict was a determined one on both sides, the savages being led by Captain John, a chief of the Warner Lake Shoshones, who had killed Colonel McDermit. After a three hour's fight the troops were victorious, slaying thirty-five warriors, capturing ten women with their children, and destroying their supplies.[26]

The settlers of Paradise valley being again disturbed by Indian raids, an expedition against them was organized, under Major S. P. Smith, of fifty-one

[25] The military farce in Nevada in 1868 consisted of 6 cos. of cav. and 2 of inf., which companies garrisoned camps McDermit, Winfield Scott, Ruby, Halleck, and Fort Churchill. *Mess. and Doc.*, 1868–9, 368–9. In 1872 camps Halleck and McDermitt alone were garrisoned, the former by 1 company of the 1st U. S. cavalry, and 1 company of the 12th U. S. inf. *Sec. War Rept*, i. 66, 43d cong. 1st sess.

[26] *Unionville, Nev. Gazette*, Jan. 24, 1866; *Sac. Union*, Jan. 22, 1866; *Doc.*, 7, *Misc. Hist. Papers*, MS.

men of the same regiment aided by thirty citizens of the infested region. A battle was fought at Rock cañon, on the 15th of February, in which 115 Indians were killed and 19 prisoners taken, with a loss of one soldier killed and Major Smith and six privates wounded.

By reference to the second volume of my *History of Oregon*, it will be seen that the troops in that state and in Idaho were driving the Indians south, while the Nevada troops were forcing them north, so that truly the savage had no place to lay his head. The total loss to Indians in the district of Nevada for 1866 was 172 killed and about an equal number made prisoners.

In 1874–5 there was some trouble with the Indians in eastern Nevada, which was, however, quickly suppressed. C. C. Clevland was conspicuous in putting down the disturbance. Owing to the milder disposition of the Nevada tribes, as well as to the swift vengeance by which any resistance was met, the state has suffered less than some others by Indian wars. Probably 250 or 300 white persons have been killed by Indians in Nevada, while ten times that number of savages have suffered death at the hands of white men.

No treaty was ever entered into between the government and the Pah Utes or Washoes. The latter never had a reservation, but roamed up and down the country formerly occupied by them, sometimes laboring as servants, but largely idle, with every combination of vices, savage and civilized. The friendly Pah Utes, less vile, more manly, and numbering a little over 1,000, were for the most part established on reservations at Truckee and Walker rivers, aggregating 644,000 acres These reservations were surveyed by the government, and confirmed to the Indians by executive order in 1874.[27]

[27] *Ind. Aff. Rept.* 1871, 682. *Land Off. Rept*, 1864, 20; *Hayes' Scraps, Indians*, i. 51; *Sec. Int. Rept*, iii., 9–10, 168–73, 361–95, 40th cong. 2d sess.;

Winnemucca did not remain long upon the reservation at Pyramid lake, but roamed over the northern part of the state, being never met in battle. After the peace of 1868 in southern Oregon and Nevada, he remained in the neighborhood of Camp McDermit and received rations from the military department.[28] It is quite certain that in the Modoc war of 1872–3 the Modocs looked for assistance from the Pah Utes and Shoshones in that quarter. A tract in eastern Oregon containing 1,800,000 acres was set apart in 1870 for a reservation on which to place the Malheur and Warner lake Shoshones, and the restless Pah Utes of northern Nevada. A few were gathered upon it in 1873, among them Winnemucca's band, who still spent the summers in roaming through Nevada and Idaho, and were fed whenever they applied for rations at Camp McDermit. During the wars of 1877–8 in Idaho and eastern Oregon, Winnemucca's band was hovering on the edges of the hostile field, yet sustaining a neutral character. The war of 1878 caused the abandonment of the Malheur reservation, the Indians having destroyed the agency. At the conclusion of the war the Shoshones and Pah Utes were removed to the Simcoe reservation in Washington, where they were not wanted by the Yakimas, who made them miserable by various systematized oppressions, causing them in 1880 to return to Nevada. The Malheur reservation was ordered to be sold, and the money applied to the benefit of the Indians.[29]

The treaty made in October 1863, between the Indians of eastern Nevada on one side and governors Nye and Doty, of Nevada and Utah respectively, on the other, contained an article authorizing the president of the United States to select a reservation for

Tyler's Posts and Stations, 2; *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1874, 3–4, 53–4, 104–79, 278–84; *Id.*, 1873, 336–46; *Nev. Sen. Jour.*, 1873, app. no. 6, 18; *Sen. Doc.*, 42, i., 43d cong. 1st sess.; *House Ex. Doc.*, 157, xii., 43d cong. 1st sess.

[28] Winnemucca died in Oct. 1882. *Reno Gazette*, Oct. 27, 1882.

[29] *Winnemucca Silver State*, July 10, 1880; *Reno Gazette*, Nov. 27, 1880.

the western Shoshones. This reservation was established in 1877 at Duck valley, between the forks of the Owyhee river, in Elko county. The only other was the Moapa river reservation in the south-eastern corner of the state, established in 1875.[30]

[30] In Feb. 1871 congress passed an act to provide for the disposition of useless military reservations, in which Camp McGarry, Nevada, was named. *Ex. Doc.*, 1013, 1180, vol. 26, 46th cong. 3d sess.; *Cong. Globe*, 1870-1, app. 341. Total area of military reserves 22,195.33 acres. *Ex. Doc.*, 253, vol. 25, 46th cong, 3d sess.

CHAPTER X.

MATERIAL RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT.

1849-1886.

QUESTIONABLE VALUE OF MINES—TRANSPORTATION—ROADS AND RAILROADS—MAIL ROUTES AND TELEGRAPHS—STAGES—PONY EXPRESS—STEAMBOATS—FISHERIES—METALS—BOOK REVIEWS—AGRICULTURE—CLIMATE—WHIRLWINDS AND EARTHQUAKES—FLORA AND FAUNA—LIVE STOCK—CATTLE RAISING—LANDS AND SURVEYS—COUNTIES OF NEVADA—SUMMARY OF RESOURCES—SOCIETY—EDUCATIONAL, RELIGIOUS, AND BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS—NEWSPAPERS—BIBLIOGRAPHY.

WHAT advantage to Nevada has been her mountain of silver? What advantage her organization as a state? Some, no doubt, but more to individuals than to the commonwealth at large. To the later inhabitants, the merchant, the miner, the farmer, the professional man, it is not a matter of great moment, the fact that millions of money have been taken from somewhere about Sun Peak, leaving hills of débris and ghastly holes in the ground—money squandered by lucky gamblers in New York and Paris, and used for purposes of political bribery and social corruption in Virginia City and San Francisco. Less than the least of the tailings of all this vast output of wealth has gone to benefit Nevada. California assumed in the beginning, and kept until the end, the mastery of affairs. San Francisco without the Comstock was a different city from San Francisco with a long list of Nevada mines, paying large dividends, on the stock-boards.

I wish I could say that Comstock ethics were likely to mend; but the truth must be told, which is that

the managers, when they had appropriated to themselves the bonanza, erected a multitude of mills, and kept on reducing the lower grade ores at a cost to themselves of $5 a ton, but to the other stockholders of $14, when perhaps the rock only yielded $14, or at any rate it was reported at that figure. A thousand Comstocks at this rate would be of little value to a state. Some good, in spite of all this, remains from bonanza days. S. L. Jones, brother of Senator Jones, has worked several of the Gold Hill mines from the 350 foot level to the 1,700 foot level, systematically and economically, and Evan Williams[1] has shown great skill and wisdom in the working of low grade ores. Had the same business like methods prevailed in former days it would have been better for all interested. In 1885 the state was redistricted for judicial purposes and in 1887 the old fee system revised, and by these wholesome measures much expense was saved to the state, without any detriment to the public service.[2]

But after all, the real wealth of Nevada lies in the improvements made; in developments that are in fact improvements; in farms and manufactures; in roads and systems of irrigation; which are due rather to

[1] Williams was born in Blossburgh city, Penn., of Welch parentage, Jan. 13, 1844. He came to Nevada in 1868, and for some years was prominent in educational matters. He was subsequently a senator from Ormsby county for years. Noted for his ability and common sense; a fearless and just man, wholly reliable, very public spirited, of a generous nature, and deservedly popular; became wealthy by intelligent land investments; he did much to develop the Owen river section of Inyo co., Cal.

[2] M. D. Foley, who participated in this legislation as state senator, was born at St Andrews, New Brunswick, October 22, 1849, of Scotch-Irish parentage; came to Nevada in 1867 and participated in the White Pine excitement; removed to Eureka, Nevada, in 1870, where he still resides. He has taken an active part in various enterprises of importance, notably in the affairs of the Richmond Mining company, is of the firm of Remington, Johnson & Co., successors to the well-known house of Walker Bros., Salt Lake City, Utah, with a branch of the business in Eureka; is president of the Bank of Nevada, Reno, in which he is a large stockholder; is interested in ranching and stock-raising. He served two terms in the state senate, of which body he was a useful member, especially in legislation on economic questions.

the absence of enormous mineral developments, such as paralyze puny effort, invite speculation, and turn the heads of men from patient, plodding effort. Far greater general progress has been made since the Comstock mines ceased their fabulous yield than before. But this is not meant to deny the value of legitimate mining to Nevada.

With regard to transportation, always an important subject in an undeveloped country, Nevada was for a long time unfortunate. It is true that a road to California existed before the discovery of mines in western Utah, and the same trail led backward to the Missouri frontier. But the distance in one direction and the high sierra in the other gave the territory an isolation which retarded development, and added to the cost and inconvenience of living. It was necessary to make provision in the summer for the subsistence of the people through the winter season, during which they were cut off by snow from travel in either direction through an uninhabited country.

As early as 1851 the United States mail was carried by a contract with Woodard and Chorpening of Sacramento, from that place to Salt Lake City, going and returning once every month, the mail-bags being transported on the backs of mules, and the distance being 750 miles. The route was via Folsom, Placerville, the old immigrant road through Strawberry and Hope valleys to Carson valley, through Genoa, Carson City, Dayton, Ragtown, across the forty mile desert to the Humboldt river near the sink of the Humboldt, thence along the south side of the river to the point where Stone House station of the Central Pacific railroad was placed; thence south of east by the Hastings cut-off to Salt Lake City. Woodward and two of his men were killed at Stone House station in the autumn of 1851, but Chorpening continued to carry the mail until the expiration of his contract in 1853. Snow-shoes began to be used

in crossing the Sierra in the spring of 1853 by the carriers, Fred Bishop and Dritt, succeeded by George Pierce and John A. Thompson. The latter distinguished himself by his feats on snow-shoes, being a Norwegian by birth. The shoes used were ten feet long, and of the Canadian pattern.

In 1854 the legislature of California appointed commissioners to lay out a road from Placerville to Carson valley. The contract for carrying the mails for four years was again given to Chorpening in company with Ben Holladay, with permission to use a covered wagon and four-mule team, and to carry passengers, which was the best means of travel in western Utah prior to 1857, when J. B. Crandall established a tri-weekly line of stages between Placerville and Genoa, which carried the mail between these places, connecting with Chorpening's line at Genoa. This was the Pioneer Stage Line which became so great an institution in early times. It was transferred to Lewis Brady & Company in 1858, who established a semi-weekly line between Sacramento and Genoa; and George Chorpening secured the mail contract from Placerville to Salt Lake, where it connected every week with the overland mail from that city to St Joseph, Missouri, thus completing a transcontinental mail and stage line between the Missouri and Sacramento rivers. The first eastward bound coach left Placerville June 5, 1858; and the first arrival from the east at Placerville was on the 19th of July following.

The improvement in mail communication was rapid. Letters from the east came through overland a week sooner than by ocean transit. The amount of mail matter that was sent by stage increased, and new routes were sought to shorten the distance, the stage stations being moved south in the autumn of 1859. to the Simpson route. During the winter a new stage line between Placerville and Genoa was started by John A. Thompson and Child, who used sleighs

between Strawberry and Carson valleys, keeping the road open all winter for the first time.

The pony express was the next step. It was the conception of F. A. Bee,[3] W. H. Russell and B. F. Ficklin, managing officers of the Central Overland and Pike's Peak Express company, incorporated by the Kansas legislature in the winter of 1859–60, to keep messengers going for over 1,700 miles, flying at the rate of from seven to nine miles an hour for ten days. Stations were first established twenty-five miles apart, but the distance between was subsequently shortened. The messengers were required to ride seventy-five miles, but the ponies were changed at every station. Not more than ten or twelve pounds of mail were allowed to be carried, five dollars being charged on each letter. Newspapers printed on tissue paper were allowed. The mail was wrapped in oiled silk and carried in pockets in the four corners of the mochila, or leathern saddle cover, which, with the saddle, went through from St Joseph to Sacramento without change. The first pony express from the east brought eight letters, and made the distance in ten days, having started April 3, 1860. The first from the west left Sacramento April 4th, and arrived at St Joseph on the 13th. The route followed was nearly straight, and through Nevada pursued the Simpson trail via Ruby valley. The expense of maintaining this line through an unsettled country was extraordinary. As an enterprise it was unproductive, and the object of its founders has never been distinctly made known. They claim, however, to have shown that the central route across the continent was feasible for railroad operating at any time of the year, which had been doubted. The view taken by Walter Crowinshield of Nevada, who assisted to

[3] Bee was born Sept. 9, 1826, at Clinton, Oneida co., N. Y. He came to Cal. in 1849. Was early identified with telegraphic matters and later gained distinction by being the third in rank as consul of the Chinese government. He was a man of striking personal appearance and tenacity of purpose.

restock the road after the Pah Ute outbreak in 1860, is that it was with a view of obtaining the mail contract over that route when its feasibility was demonstrated. Yet this company made no effort in that direction, but suffered the old Butterfield contractors to obtain the route west of Salt Lake under the name of Wells, Fargo & Co. and Ben Holladay to secure the eastern portion. But other considerations besides climatology settled the location of the first overland road—placing it out of the reach of the confederate states.

In the spring of 1860 another advance was made in staging. Louis McLane having purchased the Pioneer line from Genoa to Placerville, sold it to Wells, Fargo & Co., who then had control of the entire route to Salt Lake. McLane, however, in 1862 purchased an opposition line to Placerville owned by A. J. Rhodes, who introduced six-horse coaches, and lowered the fare from forty to twenty dollars.

In 1861 a daily overland mail was established from the Missouri river to San Francisco, over the central route, in lieu of the southern daily overland mail through northern Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and southern California, established in 1858, which was discontinued July 1, 1861. To avoid the expense of transporting feed, etc., the company opened a farm at Ruby valley, and raised an abundance of barley, oats, potatoes, and vegetables, this being the first experiment at farming in eastern Nevada. Congress in making the change required the letter mail to be carried through in twenty days, with as much newspaper mail as would make one thousand pounds daily. Other matter was allowed thirty-five days, besides the privilege to the contractors of sending the excess bi-monthly by steamer. The contractors were also required during the continuance of their contract, or until July 1, 1864, to run a pony express semi-monthly, schedule time ten days, carrying five pounds of mail for the government, with the privilege of charging

the public $1.50 per half ounce. The contract also required the performance of a tri-weekly mail service to Denver and Salt Lake City. The maximum price allowed for the overland service, including the pony express, was $1,000,000. The quickest time ever made across the continent was in 1861, when President Lincoln's inaugural address was brought to Sacramento in five days and eighteen hours. The last pony to Denver was but twenty-one and a half minutes in running ten miles and eighteen rods. These were the achievements of pioneer times.

In September 1861 the telegraph line from Denver to Sacramento, via the stage route, was completed, this being the first wire toward the east, although the Carson and Placerville division, built by F. A. Bee, had been in use since 1859. It was necessary to the proper protection of the road, as well as a convenience to the public. There never was any stage service in the world more complete than that between Placerville and Virginia City. A sprinkled road, over which dashed six fine, sleek horses, before an elegant Concord coach, the lines in the hands of an expert driver, whose light hat, linen duster, and lemon-colored gloves betokened a good salary and an exacting company, and who timed his grooms and his passengers by a heavy gold chronometer watch, held carelessly, if conspicuously, on the tips of his fingers —these were some of its conspicuous features. This service continued until it was supplanted by the Central Pacific railroad from Sacramento.

On the 4th of July, 1858, the Placerville and Humboldt Telegraph company erected the first pole on the line of a transcontinental telegraph, and the wire was extended to Genoa that autumn, to Carson City in the following spring, and to Virginia City in 1860. Congress then passed an act directing that the secretary of the treasury advertise for sealed proposals for the construction of a line from the Missouri river to

San Francisco, to be completed within two years from July 31, 1860, to be for the use of the government for ten years, the bids not to exceed $40,000 per year. This offer caused a concert of action between the California State Telegraph company and the Overland Telegraph company, which immediately organized with a capital of $1,250,000. The line was under the general superintendency of James Gamble, who completed its construction from Sacramento to Salt Lake City, where it connected with the eastern division, between the 27th of May and 22d of September, 1861. It was built along the central or overland stage route, and was in use until May 13, 1869, when the stage route was abandoned, and the railroad began to carry the mail.

In June 1863 a telegraph line was completed from San Francisco to Aurora, via Genoa. In February 1864 a franchise was granted to John B. Watson to construct a line of telegraph from Unionville and Star City to San Francisco, via Austin, Virginia, Gold Hill, and Carson, in Nevada, and Nevada City, Marysville, and Sacramento in California, which was constructed and put in operation within the year. A second overland telegraph line was erected in 1866 by the Atlantic and Pacific company of New York, which pushed its line westward nearly to Denver the first year, and from the western end to Virginia City in the same time. This line was carried from Virginia to Austin along the former overland route. Telegraphic rates were held very high so long as there was but one line. The charge, from Aurora to San Francisco, for ten words was $2.50, and to the eastern cities as high as $7. To encourage competition, the Nevada legislature enacted in 1866 that any persons or corporations might construct and maintain telegraph lines over public or private lands when they did not interfere with the use or value of the same.[4] With the construction of the Central Pacific railroad

[4] *Nevada Comp. Laws*, ii, 310-12.

came the erection of the Western Union transcontinental telegraph line, which followed the railroad route.

With the first contract to carry the mail over the Sierra in wagons, it became necessary to improve the old immigrant road, which, in 1856, was done by partially rebuilding it. The road to Salt Lake had also to be furnished with bridges, and made passable. Numerous toll-roads were chartered. John Reese and Israel Mott were the first grantees of toll privileges under the provisional government. The first territorial legislature granted six franchises for toll-roads, the second twenty-five, and the third twenty-nine. It would seem from this that the traveller could not proceed far in any direction without paying toll. From Gold Hill down Gold cañon to Dayton, a distance of seven miles, was a toll-road in 1859, owned by H. C. Howard, S. D. Bosworth, and G. D. Roberts. As most of the quartz extracted from the Comstock lode passed over it to the various mills, it was a paying property, and cost about $20,000.[5]

As early as 1860 an application was made for a railroad franchise from Carson City to Virginia City, the petitioner being Leonard L. Treadwell. Several projects were before the first legislature, which granted charters to four companies, namely, the Nevada Railroad company, with the privilege of constructing a road from the western to the eastern boundary of the territory, to Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, Collis P. Huntington, Lucius A. Booth, Mark Hopkins, Theodore D. Judah, James Bailey, and Samuel Silliman; the Virginia City and Washoe company; Virginia, Carson, and Truckee company; and the Esmeralda and Walker River company. Henry A. Cheever and associates received the franchise for the

[5] Another, extending from Gold Hill half way to Carson, was built at a cost of $12,000 by Waters, Blanchet, and Carson in 1861. *Kelly's Nev. Dir.*, 1872, 174.

Virginia and Washoe road; J. H. Todman, R. R. Moss, C. W. Newman, William Arrington, Hiram Bacon, Joseph Trench, John A. Hobart, Frank Drake, William Hayes, William Gregory, J. P. Foulks, and associates the grant for the Virginia, Carson and Truckee road; and P. G. Vibbard, John P. Foulks, and John Nye the grant for the Esmeralda and Walker River road. Only the first of these roads was built under these legislative grants. Even at that early period the people protested against too much power in the hands of a few.

So eager were men for cheap and rapid transit to and from the Pacific that in the first state constitution, which was rejected, a clause was introduced which permitted the legislature to give $3,000,000 in bonds to the first company that should connect Nevada with navigable waters. Though the clause was stricken out, the first state legislature took measures to ascertain what was being done by railroad companies, and whether any company was actually intending to construct a railroad to tidewater in California. The Central Pacific had at this time built only thirty miles on its selected route, while another company, the San Francisco and Washoe Railroad, had constructed thirty-eight miles from the head of navigation on the Sacramento river to Latrobe in California, which was on a nearly direct line with Carson City. It was therefore resolved by both houses that congress should be asked to enact a law giving $10,000,000 in United States bonds, at dates of thirty years or less, to the corporation which should first complete a railway line, in good running order, from navigable water on the Sacramento river to Carson valley. This proposition had no other effect than to stimulate the company in possession of the congressional subsidy to greater effort. Their road was completed to and beyond the Nevada line in December 1867, and to Reno in May 1868. On the 10th of May 1869, the Central and Union Pacific

lines were united by driving a golden spike, with elaborate ceremonials, about fifty miles west of Ogden, in Utah.

Strange as it may appear, the legislature of Nevada, which of all the states and territories received perhaps the most benefit from the construction of the railroad, failed to appreciate the patriotic and disinterested motives of the builders, and a violent opposition early appeared. The average legislative mind is unable to penetrate far beneath the surface of things. The resources of the directors, no less than their designs, were brought in question, and a leading engineer declared before the Nevada legislature that it could not be completed within twenty years though its promoters had at their command all the gold in the bank of England.

In a letter written by this engineer in February 1865, in answer to the request of a joint committee on railroads of the Nevada legislature, he says: "The celebrated engineering work built for the Austrian government—a railway crossing the Alps from Vienna to Trieste—is a bagatelle as compared with the projected line to Dutch Flat. Comparing the estimated cost of the Central Pacific with the actual cost of such eastern lines as the Baltimore and Ohio and the Boston and Worcester, and allowing for the difference in the price of labor and materials, and for the greater physical obstacles to be overcome, "It is my firm conviction," he writes, "that the Central Pacific will cost $250,000 to $300,000 per mile before it is completed to the Truckee, stocked and equipped as a first-class railroad." Now while a few miles passing through the heart of the Sierra may have cost perhaps $300,000 per mile, the average cost to that point was less than half this amount, while the average cost of the entire road was little more than $100,000 per mile.

Not least among the opposing elements was the hostility of the owners of toll-roads and stage lines across the Sierra, all of whom were arrayed against

a project which would absorb their profits on the rich traffic of the Nevada mines. To supply them vast quantities of provisions and machinery were forwarded from San Francisco and other distributing centres. In 1862 no less than 3,000 teams were employed on the wagon-road across the mountains in El Dorado county, the tolls for that year amounting to $693,000. Connected with it was a railway, by which the competition of the Central Pacific must be keenly felt. From Sacramento to Virginia City freight in the same year was $120 per ton, and the total freight money amounted to nearly $5,000,000. Many other enterprises, individual as well as corporate, were also threatened by the transcontinental line, on which all of them joined in making war, with a persistency worthy of a better cause.

When the Central Pacific was at length completed and in running order, it was complained by the people of Nevada that while the tariffs were low enough to discourage former methods of transportation, they were still so high as to prohibit a free use of the road, and that discrimination was also exercised to the disadvantage of her business community. Thus the company charged more for a carload of goods forwarded from New York to eastern Nevada than for carrying them six hundred miles farther to San Francisco. In answer to this the railroad company claimed that the line with its equipments and land-grants was the property of the stockholders, and not of the state or nation; that it belonged to them as fully and completely as if it had been built entirely at their own expense. The subsidies were granted on condition that they should build a road to be owned by themselves. They were granted at a time when the railroad was a national necessity, and one that could not be supplied without offering such inducements as would secure the services of able and responsible men. It is from this standpoint they claimed that the charges of discrimination and of

what might seem to be excessive rates of fare and freight should be considered. The railroad man, they said, like the merchant, is compelled by the very nature of his business to discriminate between his several classes of customers. Just as the merchant demands less for his wares when sold by the ton than by the pound, demands more when he knows that he alone can supply the article required, so does the railroad man charge a lower freight for large than for small quantities, and less for points where there is competition—as by steamer and sailing vessel—than for those where none exists. For one carload of goods shipped from New York to the towns of eastern Nevada probably a hundred are forwarded to San Francisco, and no one will dispute that goods can be conveyed at cheaper rates in large quantities than in small, and handled more readily at terminal points than at intermediate stations.

Then as to local traffic it should be remembered that the portion of the line which crosses the Sierra was by far the most expensive section to construct, and is perhaps the most expensive to operate of any in the United States. Between Sacramento and Rocklin, where the grades are moderate, forty-five loaded freight cars can be drawn by a single engine, while from Rocklin to Truckee, a distance of ninety-seven miles, only nine can be hauled by the most powerful locomotive.[6] If we take into consideration also the extra wear and tear occasioned by heavy grades and curves, it will be found that the cost of maintenance and operation on this division is probably seven or eight times as much as for the same distance on level ground.

The first, second, third, and fourth franchises granted for the construction of a railroad from Virginia City to the Truckee river failed of their purpose.

[6] From Rocklin to the summit of the Sierra the rise is 6,768 feet, and the work to be overcome equal to 420 miles of a level road-bed.

Yet it was of vital importance to connect the towns on the Comstock lode and Carson and Washoe valleys with the Central Pacific railroad. At length a company was formed which would build the road as desired, provided the counties of Washoe and Ormsby would take $200,000 worth of stock each. At the head of this scheme was William Sharon, and between him and Thomas Sunderland, and the commissioners of the two counties in question, an agreement to this effect was made, which, however, was not carried out. The Virginia and Truckee Railroad company filed articles of incorporation March 5, 1868, the survey was completed with estimate of costs, and in December it was announced that Sharon would build the road from Virginia to Carson if the people of Ormsby county would donate $200,000 and the people of Storey county $300,000. As an inducement to make this present to the company, it was shown that the property of a single county, Ormsby, would be benefited $1,000,000. The people caught at the gilded fly, and asked the legislature to permit them to give their bonds for the amount, with interest at seven per cent, permission being granted at the following session. With this Sharon constructed a portion of the road, and by mortgaging the whole raised money to complete it.[1]

The cost of the Virginia and Truckee railroad for the first twenty-one miles to Carson was set down at $83,333 per mile; but the total cost of the whole to Reno, and equipment, was more fairly stated afterwards at $52,107 per mile. In 1880 the company in its report to the state made its cost per mile, to Reno, 52 20-100 miles, $93,027. It had received in gifts from Ormsby and Storey counties and the Comstock mining companies $887,383.53, equal to $17,065 per mile. Instead of increasing the taxable property of the county of Ormsby $1,000,000, the property of the

[1] *Nev. Laws*, 1869, 43, 49; *Carson Appeal*, Sept. 25, 1873; *Wright's Big Bonanza*, 228.

company in that county was given to the assessor at $130,350. In order to induce the people to give their bond for $200,000 the company had promised to permit themselves to be taxed on $40,000 per mile. So far from growing any richer through the possession of a railroad, which was making $12,000 a day, the total tax paid to the county by the company in twelve years was very little more than the interest the county had to pay to the company on its bonds presented to the company. I have already spoken of the struggle of Storey county with the Virginia and Truckee railroad, or in other words the bank of California. That Nevada assessors, sheriffs, legislators, and shareholders have assisted these railroads to oppress the commonwealth cannot be gainsaid. The example to other railroad corporations, which are in a manner compelled by the larger companies to adopt similar tactics, has been and is extremely injurious to the best interests of the state, by defeating the true purpose of railroads, which is cheap as well as rapid transportation.

The Nevada Central, narrow gauge, railroad was projected in 1874 by M. J. Farrell of Austin, and after five years of unceasing effort was completed in 1880. The surveying engineer was Lyman Bridges of Chicago; president, W. S. Gage of San Francisco; vice-president, R. L. S. Hall of New York; treasurer, A. A. Curtis of Austin; secretary, J. D. Negus of Battle Mountain; directors, D. B. Hatch of New York, James H. Ledlie of Utica, M. J. Farrell, M. E. Angel, and A. Nichols; assistant superintendent, F. W. Dunn. Governor Bradley vetoed the franchise bill in 1875 on account of a subsidy from Lander county of $200,000 granted by the legislature, but the bill was passed over the veto.[8]

The road extended from Battle Mountain south along Reese river to Ledlie, two miles from Austin.

[8] *Nev. Jour. Sen.*, 1875, app. no. 1, 18–20; *Id. Jour.*, 15, 121.

From Ledlie to Austin and the Manhattan company's mines, a distance of three miles, was another narrow gauge, owned by the Austin City company. Another branch was the Battle mountain, called the Battle mountain and Lewis railroad, running from Galena through Lewis and Bullion to Quartz mountain, a distance of eleven miles.[9]

The Eureka and Palisade, narrow gauge, company was organized in November 1873 to construct ninety miles of road between these two places. The incorporators were Erastus Woodruff, William H. Ennor, Monroe Salisbury, John T. Gilmer, C. H. Hempstead, and J. R. Withington. In 1874 the franchise passed to a company of Californians, who also purchased the Eureka and Ruby Hill railroad, five miles long, similar to the Austin City road, and operated both with profit.

The Pioche and Bullionville narrow gauge, was incorporated in February 1872. It was twenty-one miles long, and completed in 1873, its use being to transport the ores of that region to the mills at Bul lionville. When the mines were exhausted it was no longer operated. Another short road was eight and three-fourths miles, constructed to carry lumber and cord wood from Glenbrook on Lake Tahoe to the eastern summit of the Sierra, whence it was conveyed in a flume to Carson City. It was built by H. M. Yerrington and D. L. Bliss. There are points on it remarkable for scenic effect.

The Carson and Colorado narrow gauge railroad was incorporated in May 1880, to run from Mound

[9] Farrell, the projector of the road, was a native of Mount Hope, Morris co., N. J., born March 29, 1832, of Irish parentage. He came to San Francisco in May 1853, going to the mines in Nevada co., Cal. In 1863, after a varied experience, he went to Reese river, Nev., locating himself at Austin, in Lander co. He was at one time part owner in the Eureka Consolidated and Richmond mines, but sold out before they were developed. In 1867 he became secretary to the Manhattan Mining co., and in 1872 was elected clerk of Lander co. He was elected to the state senate in 1878 and reëlected in 1880. In all relations to society he was a public spirited and high minded citizen. His wife was Miss L. C. Peterson of Austin.

house, on the Virginia and Truckee railroad, along the Carson river, through Mason valley, to Walker river and lake; thence through the mineral region of Esmeralda county, the borax and salt fields of Rhodes Marsh, to Belleville and Candalaria; and thence over the White mountains into Owens river valley, in Colorada, to the sink of Owens river, and eventually to the Colorado river.[10]

The Nevada and Oregon Narrow Gauge company was organized in June 1880, to construct a road from Aurora, via Bodie, north to Carson City, and Reno; thence to Honey Lake valley, Madeline plains, Pit river, and Goose lake; and thence to the Oregon line, whence it was expected it would proceed to the Columbia river. The directors were A. J. Hatch, George L. Woods, James McMechan, C. A. Bragg, John Sunderland, R. L. Fulton, and C. P. Soule. Hatch was president, Woods vice-president, Sunderland treasurer, T. S. Coffin secretary, H. G. McClellan chief engineer of construction, and Thomas Moore of New Jersey contractor. Ground was broken at Reno in December, but owing to mismanagement, no material progress was made, and in April 1881 the franchise was transferred to a New York company. Besides the railroads actually completed and in progress there were several incorporated companies making surveys in different parts of the state, and perhaps no better proof could be given of the resources of Nevada than this investment of capital in railroads where the population is still much below 100,000.

Transportation by water is impracticable in Nevada, except upon the lakes of the western portion, where small steamers may be employed with some little

[10] *Surveyor-General's Rept*, 1884, 27–8; *Candalaria True Fissure*, Sept. 25, 1880; *Reno State Jour.*, May 6, 1880; *Carson Times*, June 7, 1880; *Silver City Times*, Aug. 28, 1880; *Sutro Independent*, Sept. 13, 1880; *Eureka Leader*, Oct. 13, and Dec. 29, 1880; *White Pine News*, Jan. 21, 1881; *Esmeralda Herald*, May 28, 1881; *Tuscarora Times Review* March 7, 1881; *Reno Gazette*, April 4, 1883.

benefit to commerce. Efforts have been made to navigate the Colorado, which bounds the state on the south-east, but without much success. The rivers of Nevada are useful for irrigation, and future generations may possibly see their powers utilized in manufactures, and other branches of industry.

In January and April 1879 the California fish commission placed 500,000 young trout and 75,000 young salmon in the Truckee river, which is partly in that state, and in May 1880 several thousand more trout. In March 100,000 white fish was placed by the same commission in Lake Tahoe, and the waters of Washoe lake, Humboldt river, Walker river, Eureka pond, Reese river, and other waters in different parts of the state stocked with catfish and salmon. In 1880, 70,000 pounds of trout were taken from Lake Tahoe in October. This result was encouraging. Further experiments followed in 1881, and in 1882 a hatchery for eastern brook-trout was established, with fish-spawn from Maine and Vermont. These were planted in presumably the best locations, and with flattering results. In 1881 Truckee trout were shipped to New York. The following year salmon weighing seven pounds were caught in the Truckee, and it is said that a trout taken in Lake Tahoe weighed thirty pounds. Considerable shipments of trout were made from this lake, and canneries were established at Wadsworth, thus opening a new source of revenue as well as food supply.

I have already spoken of the mountains rich in metals, and the plains abounding in those minerals which have been deposited in water—salt, soda, sulphur, soap, mica, arsenic, and manganese.

Coal was found as early as 1860 in Carson valley, and has since been proved to exist in different localities, along the line of the Central Pacific railroad, on the route of the Nevada and Oregon railroad, near Tuscarora and Argenta in Elko county, and in El

Dorado cañon. Immense tracts of peat, one bed covering 15,000 acres, extend along the Humboldt river, valuable for fuel, particularly in a country destitute of timber like this valley.

Of the ores of metals used in manufactures, Nevada furnishes many. Iron, although known to exist on the Carson river as early as 1862, on Reese river in 1865, and in the Peavine district of Nye county in 1865, has been neglected. Copper, discovered first in Carson valley in 1856, and quarried in specimen blocks a few years later, was little heeded by mining men until recently. Copper ore is found on Walker river, in Elko county, and near Soda springs in Esmeralda county. The copper mines of Elko county were the first to be developed. Lead production has increased so rapidly in a few years as to place Eureka at the head of the lead producing districts of the United States. Cinnabar was discovered in Washoe and Nye counties in 1876. It is found in a crystalized state and also in amorphous masses. Nickel mines exist in Humboldt county, the discovery being made in 1882, and immediately worked. Ten car-loads of the ore were shipped within a month after it was found. Tin ore has been known to exist in Nevada since 1863, but it has never been worked or its value determined. Antimony was discovered as early as 1876, but does not appear to have been mined until 1882, when there was a shipment of the ore from Elko county. Bismuth is another metallic product of which at present not much is known.

Notwithstanding this extraordinary richness of mineral productions, or perhaps because of it, few specimens of precious stones have been found in Nevada, and those of an inferior quality. A ruby from the Comstock lode weighing one carat, after cutting, was discovered in 1882, and occasionally, opals and turquoise have been found, of little value. Of the distribution of the precious metals, the most

important part of the mineralogy of Nevada, I shall speak in giving the productions of counties.[11]

Nevada is a better agricultural country than at first glance one might expect to find. Time was when the

[11] On the subject of resources and physical features the authorities are more numerous than for most new political divisions, because it has been directly in the line of travel during the whole period of the settlement of the Pacific coast by Americans. Of these *Lieut George M. Wheeler's U. S. Survey Report*, 1877, upon the geology, geography, and mineralogy of the country, must be considered of the highest value, as well as upon other branches of natural science. Wheeler's first expedition in Nevada was in 1871, and began in the extreme southern part of the state, with headquarters at Camp Independence. He was assisted by Lieutenants R. L. Hoxie and William L. Marshall in 1873. The last published report, in 1878, embraced the botany of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, and Arizona. The reports of the *Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel*, Clarence King director, begun in 1867, bearing particularly upon the subject of mining and minerals, their distribution and relative situation, and especially the features of the Comstock lode, are also of great importance in forming an estimate of the resources of Nevada. George F. Becker, geologist in charge, devotes an entire volume to the Comstock; and James D. Hague, another geologist and mineralogist, in a large volume called *Mining Industry*, considers all the mining districts of the state in a minute and careful manner. *The Mines and Mining Interests of the United States*, by William Ralston Balch, 1882, is a compilatiou of articles upon this subject, and contains a vast amount of information in its 1,200 pages of quarto size, in which Nevada comes in for its shares. L. Simonin, the French author of *La Vie Souterraine*, 1867, contrives to give some hints of what may be found in Nevada, albeit, it is nothing of more importance than that the natives do not work in the mines. *The Great West*, by E. V. Hayden, formerly U. S. geologist, discusses climate, health, husbandry, education, the Indian question, the Chinese question, and the land laws, besides giving descriptions of the scenery, geography, and geology of the intramontane states and territories, of which Nevada comes in for its share. *The West; Census of 1880*, by Robert P. Porter, whose specialty in the labor of taking the census was upon the wealth, debt, taxation, and railroads, assisted by Henry Gannett, geographer of the 10th census, and William P. Jones, is a reliable authority upon the material development of Nevada. *The Undeveloped West*, by J. H. Beadle, is a work of little value; and the same may be said of *Where to Emigrate and Why*, by Frederick B. Goddard. *Greater Britain*, 1869, by Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, an Englishman, follows the stereotyped rule of English travellers, and instead of giving discriminative observations upon real things, occupies all his space. 22 pages of Nevada, with absurd and exaggerated pictures of American life. The only touch of reality in it is a description of Nevada staging, which is a fair account of pioneer travel. A better book, because containing more matter of a useful nature, is that of another Englishman, Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints*, meaning Salt Lake. Burton, however, was travelling to acquire information, and, having acquired it, imparted such as he had gained in a style honest if not altogether correct. He passed through Nevada in 1860, and gives a general description. *Life on the Plains and Among the Diggings*, by A. Delano, 1861, devotes about 50 pages to the incidents of immigrant travel through Nevada in 1849. The book is a history of a journey overland, with its hardships and sufferings, familiar to thousands before this book was written. *An Excursion to California, over the Prairie, Rocky Mountains and Great Sierra Nevada, with a Stroll through the Diggings and Ranches of That Country*, is the long title of a 2-volume book, by William Kelly of England,

whole expanse of plain at the eastern base of the Rocky mountains was represented to be a desert; yet out of that desert how many states and territories have been carved whose wealth and importance are now understood. Eastern Oregon and Nevada have been considered little better than deserts, although it was known that the Indians pastured large herds upon their nutritious grasses. Wherever the pasturage is rich the soil may be converted to the growth of cereals, and often only water is required to make the driest and most barren-looking sections fruitful fields. The overtopping influence of the mining interest has kept back the agricultural.[12]

and sufficiently describes the work without saying more. *Héap's Central Route to the Pacific from the Valley of the Mississippi to California: Journal of the Expedition of E. F. Beale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California, and Gwin Harris Heap, from Missouri to California, in 1853.* The route called central in this work is by the old trail from Westport to near Bent's fort; thence to the Huerfano river, in the Sangre de Cristo mountains, and through them to Fort Massachusetts, on Utah creek, in New Mexico. Leaving Fort Massachusetts, the route lay up the San Luis valley to the Saguache valley, through the Cochetopa pass in the Saguache mountains, and down the River Uncomphagre to the Grand river fork of the Colorado in Utah; thence across the Bunkard river and the Green river fork of the Colorado, through the Mormon settlements near Little Salt Lake and the Vegas de Santa Clara; thence along the old Spanish trail from Abiquiú across the desert to the Mohave river, into the Tulare through Walker pass in the Sierra Nevada. Except that the route was an unusual one, and the Pah Utes were found to be the worst horse thieves on the continent, there is nothing worthy of note in the book. *California and its Conditions* (Californien und Seine Verhältnisse), by A. F. Oswald, is a hand book containing a sketch of the history, geography, statistics, climate, soils, commerce, laws, modes, and routes of travel, etc., with a map of the United States, 1849. The references to Nevada are of the briefest. *Appleton's Hand Book of Travel*, 1861, makes a brief notice of Utah territory, without mentioning the separation of the territory of Nevada from Utah. The traveller could not have gained much information from Appleton. The *Overland Guide*, by Hosea B. Horn, 1852, is a mere road book from Council Bluffs to Sacramento, and as such must have been of much use to immigrants, as it gave all the river crossings, camping places, etc., with the distances between. There are some striking inaccuracies in the distances, however, on the western end of the route. Albert G. Bracket, in the *Western Monthly*, a magazine, Chicago, April, 1869, has an article on *Nevada and the Silver Mines*, which contains a very particular description of the western portion of the state, and remarks upon the then new district of White Pine, made from personal observation. There might be mentioned also *Remy and Brenchley*, i. 168, ii. 382–49; *Cram's Top Mem.*, in *U. S. H. Doc.*, 114, 1859; *Rossi's Souvènirs Voy. en Oregon*, 258–60; *Mayer's Mexico; Aztec, Span., and Rep.*, ii. 374–5; *Kneeland's Wonders of Yosemite*, 23; *Hall's Guide to the Great West*, 55–60; and *Victor's Manifest Destiny in the West*, in *Overland Magazine*, Aug. 1869.

[12] In 1860 Nevada had less than 100 small farms; in 1870 there were over

The first observed earthquake since settlement was in 1857. On the 29th of May, 1868, there were four shocks at Carson between nine and ten o'clock at night. They were distinctly felt in the mines, but did no damage, though they displaced bricks at the top of the court-house. On the night of December 26, 1869, a series of severe shocks were experienced, commencing at six o'clock in the evening, and continuing at intervals through that night and the next day. Some buildings were injured, and at Steam-

1,000, and in 1879 nearly 1,500, ranging from 10 acres to 1,000 or more. That there are farms in the state equal to the best anywhere is sufficient evidence of what may yet be. In *Nevada Biography*, MS., 4, by William M. Cradlebaugh, brother of Judge Cradlebaugh of Cireleville, Ohio, who came to Cal. in 1852, and to Nevada in 1859, is mention of his farm of between 400 and 500 acres in Carson valley. This MS. is devoted in great part to the history of early times and Judge Cradlebaugh's contest with the Mormon authorities in relation to the Mountain Meadows massacre. In *Nevada Miscellany*, MS., containing several contributions upon the physical features of the country, B. H. Reymers of Hanover, Germany, who came to Nevada in 1870, speaking of farming, says that he gets 4 tons of alfalfa to the acre in two crops, 45 bushels of wheat, 30 to 40 bushels of barley, and raises some blue joint grass, 2 tons to the acre, all in Mason valley. According to this author the finest draught horses in the state are raised in Lyon county, which will yet be famed for its production of English Coach, Clyde, and Morgan stock. Richard Kinnan and T. B. Rickey of Antelope valley have as fine farm and stock raising property as can be found in the world. T. B. Smith of Smith valley in Lyon county, born in Mass in 1834, came to Cal. in 1853, and to Nevada in 1859. He first settled the valley in company with R. B. Smith and C. Smith, whence the name. According to his statement wheat yields in Smith valley 30 to 60 bushels; barley 25 to 40 bushels; oats about the same. Apples, prunes, pears, currants, etc., do well. T. Winters of Reese river in 1864 had 110 acres in barley, 75 in oats, 30 in potatoes, 20 in Hungarian grass, 350 in native grasses, and 10 in vegetables. The yield is not given. *Austin Reese River Reveille*, June 21, 1864. Within a radius of 100 miles of Pioche, excluding the Mormon settlement of St George, are 150 farms. *Pioche Record*, Feb. 13, 1873. Judge Perley of Pioche purchased 640 acres in Steptoe valley for the purpose of raising fruit, grain, and blooded stock. John Guthrie in Humboldt county, brought his farm of 640 acres to be one of the most valuable on the coast. *Winnemucca Silver State*, May 25, 1882. This data was gathered for me by Geo. H. Morrison.

The climate is dry and healthful. Cloud bursts are occasional. There were three in 1872. *Overland Monthly*, 1873, 464–6. The most remarkable one occurred in 1874, on the 18th of August. A mass of water 8 feet in height came rolling down the cañon where Austin was located, sweeping through the town like an avalanche, and carrying $100,000 worth of property before it. The people being warned by a swift rider, escaped to the hills. *Sacramento Bee*, Aug. 19, 1874. On the 24th of July a similar flood overtook Eureka without warning. Many lives were lost in this cloud burst. *Marysville Appeal*, Aug. 1, 1874; *Reno State Journal*, Aug. 1, 1874; *Amador Dispatch*, Aug. 1874. A flood resulting from a violent rainstorm, which probably followed a cloud burst in the mountains, destroyed $100,000 worth of property at Austin in August 1868.

boat springs the geysers were unusually active. The mines were not at all affected by the shocks, although the boilers of the steam hoisting-works blew off steam at each vibration, much to the consternation of the engineers, who could not account for the phenomenon. At the Savage mine the engineer stopped the large pumping engine, and alarmed the miners underground by this action more than the earthquake had done. In March 1872 there were two heavy shocks in White Pine county. This was probably what is known as the Inyo earthquake, which was felt at the coast. On November 5, 1873, a heavy shock was felt at Unionville and four at Virginia City between 9 A. M. and 7 P. M. The disturbance continued two days, during which time there were eight distinct shocks about the sink of the Carson, the waters of which were much agitated. In August 1868 Mount Butler, near Virginia City, was observed to be given signs of volcanic disturbance, flames breaking out in a cave, but probably from the ignition of gases.

Of the indigenous productions of the soil in Nevada, the timber is first in importance, and is found in the mountains exclusively. First on the ranges comes a belt of the juniper and nut-pine; next above, the white pine and balsam fir; then the Douglas spruce, and on Wheeler peak and elsewhere the Rocky mountain spruce. Groves of aspen occur at a height of 9,500 feet in the Troy range, the height of the timber belt being nearly 11,000 feet in central Nevada. Occasional cedars and cottonwoods, with willows, and mountain mahogany, complete the list of trees. Their size relatively to those of the same species in California and Oregon is inferior. Trees fifty feet in height, and twelve to fourteen inches in diameter are of the average size cut for milling. The number of acres of timber, including woodland, was reported in 1879 at 1,426,410, with some counties to hear from. Congressional and state legislation has endeavored to protect the forestry, which with judicious

management may be largely preserved. The flora of Nevada is much more extensive than at first sight might be supposed, there being over 1,200 plants catalogued without completing the list. The obtrusiveness of the artemesia, or sage-brush, obscures everything more modest.

Wild game is more plentiful now than thirty years years ago, being protected by game laws, and not so much needed by the Indians for food as formerly.

It would be erroneous to conclude that because few animals have chosen Nevada for their home that there was not support for animal life; for next in importance to its mines at present is the trade in cattle, and stock subsist almost entirely upon the native grasses. Their low hills and the loftiest summits of the mountains furnish bunch-grass, of which there are two varieties, that growing on the lower hills being coarser and more thinly set than that which grows further up, and which bears an oat-shaped seed. Native clover, blue-joint, red-top, and one kind of bunch-grass are found in the valleys. On all the creeks of the northern part of the state are extensive patches of rye-grass, which grows often six feet high, and makes excellent hay. The number of acres classified as grazing land in 1878, some counties not being heard from, was 7,508,060.[13]

[13] The cattle herded upon these natural pastures make the best of beef, or which at least cannot be equalled except upon similar ranges in the bunch grass regions of eastern Oregon, Idaho, and Montana, and superior to that produced with careful farming in the eastern states. I have given so full particulars of stock raising for market in my *History of Montana* that it is unnecessary to repeat the account here. except to say that Nevada is vastly superior to Montana on account of the milder winters. The facts are in general the same, and the profits similar. The common stock of the country was graded somewhat by bulls kept by immigrants, but has been greatly improved more recently by imported animals. The average weight of cattle has been increased ten per cent, and the Nevada herds in 1886 were about half thoroughbred. Some examples may not be out of place. W. J. Marsh had a stock farm at the head of Carson valley of high bred cattle. T. D. Parkinson of Kelly's creek imported in 1881 six car loads of improved stock. He had imported several lots before. Daniel Murphy had 60,000 acres of land in Nevada, from which he shipped 6,000 head of cattle yearly. Murphy was a California pioneer of 1844, and the largest

The number of sheep in Nevada in 1884 was 300,000. The wool clip of Nevada was given in 1876 at 100,000 pounds. In 1880 the crop in Paradise valley alone was 84,000 pounds. The shipment from Battle Mountain for the year was 200,000 pounds, a falling off from previous years, owing to large sales of sheep

stock owner in Nevada, as well as the largest land owner in the world. He owned 4,000,000 acres in Mexico and 23,000 in California. He died at Elko Oct. 22, 1882. The combined herds of Glenn and his partners aggregated about 30,000 head. Todhunter and Devine had 25,000 head, and shipped 6,000 annually. They had over 100,000 acres of land. Riley and Hardin own about 30,000 cattle. Burns, Stoffal & Co. 8,000. E. W. Crutcher's stock range covered all the meadow land and water on a section of country 61 by 42 miles. He had 15,000 head of cattle and 1,000 head of horses. Hardin of Humboldt county shipped 30 car loads of beef cattle monthly to California. Wells & Co. near Rabbit creek were the heaviest cattle dealers in that vicinity. Altogether there were in 1885, 500 stock raisers in Nevada, large and small. *Hansen's Mining About Eureka*, MS., 4.

One of the first persons to discover the advantages of keeping cattle on the Nevada ranges was Harry Gordier, a Frenchman, who was killed in 1858 by Edwards and Thorrington that they might get possession of the cattle he had driven over the mountains from California, and was fattening in Carson valley. But he was not the only person feeding California cattle on Nevada pastures, for as early as 1855 the practice of driving stock over the mountains in summer was well known. *Huffaker's Early Cattle Trade*, MS., 1–2, 5–6. G. W. Huffaker bought cattle at Salt Lake City, and drove them to the Truckee meadows in 1856, fattening them and selling beef to the miners in the early days of the Comstock excitement, when prices ruled high. Cattle were first wintered on the Humboldt in 1859–60, and were of the common Texas species. Long Valley in White Pine county was first occupied for herding cattle in 1869 by Alvaro Evans and Robert Ross. In that year several thousand head were driven from Texas to stock the Nevada ranges. The laws of Nevada encourage stock raising, and shield the owners of cattle from the penalties which should follow injury to crops through trespass by them. No act having been passed defining a lawful fence, the supreme court decided in 1880 that owners of stock were not liable for damage done to crops by their cattle unless the land was so fenced as to exclude ordinary animals. This decision placed the burden of protecting crops entirely upon the agriculturalist, and saved the cattle raiser the expense of herdsmen. Again, cattle must be taxed at the owners' residence, and not in the localities where they were grazed; by which decision the county was often defrauded of its proper revenue. The law of 1873 required each owner to have a brand, and also a counter-brand in case of sale. A law of 1881 provides for an inspector of hides, who may enter premises and search for hides, reporting to the district attorney as to the brands. This act insures equal justice to all. The number of cattle in Nevada in 1884, as estimated by stock raisers, was about 700,000. English capital was being used in purchasing ranges to a large amount.

The finest draft horses in the state in 1886 were raised in Mason valley. *Fox's Mason Valley Settlers*, MS., 1, in *Nevada Miscellany*. J. J. Fox, born in 1834 in Baden, Germany, immigrated to the U. S. in 1854, and to Virginia City in 1860. In 1864 he settled east of Dayton, but the following year removed to Mason valley, and raised stock. J. A. Perry imported Norman stallions in 1880. Scott and Hank imported 3 English stallions of the Shire breed in 1881. J. S. Trask, W. W. Williams, and W. L. Pritchard raised

to Montana. From Winnemucca the shipment for 1880 was 140,000 pounds instead of the usual amount of 250,000 or 300,000 pounds. These figures give some idea of where the sheep pastures are to be found. The total shipment by railroad in 1882 was 349,585 pounds, the bulk of which was sold to eastern dealers at from sixteen to twenty cents per pound. Angora goats were increasing rapidly in Nevada. In 1869 there were 25 of these animals reported to be in the state. In 1879 there were several bands of several thousand each. The sage brush land was found well adapted to pasturing these hardy creatures—the one animal which thrives upon this coarse diet. The long silky wool finds a ready market, and the hides are sold to the Angora Glove company of California.

In 1861 an attempt was made to domesticate the camel. A band of a dozen was first employed in this year to bring salt from Teel's marsh, in Esmeralda county, to the Washoe silver mill, a distance of 200 miles. They proved well suited to the labor, but on the discovery of a nearer salt deposit, wagons were used, and the camels turned loose to take care of themselves. This they did, increasing in number and condition. The camels taken to Nevada in 1861 were part of a herd of thirty-four which was sold at Benicia, California, by the government to Samuel McLaughlin, who had been intrusted with the care of them. They were brought to the United States for use on the plains, and increased after their arrival. In 1876 the band was taken to Arizona, with the exception of a pair placed on a rancho in Carson valley, where they increased to twenty-six in a few years. But it was found impracticable to use them on the

blooded horses. In 1882 the latter shipped 8 thoroughbreds to Cal. This year 300 horses were sold to go east. J. W. Dean of Eureka county was the largest horse raiser in the east range of Cortez mountains. In 1881 a car load of jacks and jennies was imported from the western states by William Billups; mule raising having become a considerable branch of stock farming.

highways, horses being frightened by them, and suits for damages following, for which reason the legislature in 1875 prohibited their running at large or being upon the public roads. A part of the herd was disposed of to the Philadelphia zoölogical gardens.

An experiment in ostrich farming was made in 1879 by Theodore Glancy, whose land was southwest of the Bismark range, near the old route from Carson to Bodie. Failing to hatch the eggs in sand by solar heat, he obtained a pair of birds from which, in 1881, he raised ten others. The use intended to be made of the birds, was in transporting provisions and other parcels. Their plumage alone would make them valuable.

Hog raising proved profitable. H. C. Emmons in 1882 had 400 at the sink of the Humboldt, which was the largest herd in the state. There were several others near Lovelocks, and James Guthrie near Winnemucea was raising Berkshires extensively. Poultry raising likewise prospered, George W. Chedec, at Carson City, having in 1882 twenty-six different breeds on his poultry farm. From these beginnings, small when compared with the area of the state, enough may be learned to remove the impression that only metals and minerals can be produced in Nevada.

Something should be said here of the public surveys and land laws. I have already mentioned that John W. North was the first surveyor-general appointed. Acts of March 14 and May 30, 1862, united Nevada to the California surveying service, to take effect July 1, 1862. On the 2d of July congress established the land district of Nevada, and authorized the appointment of a register and receiver. A joint resolution of the Nevada legislature protested against being united to California, and asked to have the office of surveyor-general restored, with an ap-

propriation for the survey of the public lands. An act of congress approved July 2, 1864, attached Nevada to Colorado for surveying purposes. Another act, on March 2, 1865, attached Nevada once more to the California surveying district. It was not until July 4, 1866, that a United Stated surveyor-general of Nevada was again authorized by congress with a salary of $3,000. The constitution of Nevada, adopted in 1864, provided for the election of a surveyor-general with a salary of $1,000. S. H. Marlette was chosen at the first state election to hold office, according to the constitution, for four years. By a special law of March 9, 1866, it was enacted that the state officers should be chosen at the general election for that year, and on every fourth year thereafter. Marlette was reëlected. The duties of the state surveyor-general were to select and dispose of the lands granted to the state, and act as ex-officio register. The same law fixed the minimum price of the lands belonging to the state, except the lands embraced within the twenty mile limit of the Central Pacific Railroad, at $1.25 per acre, and the minimum price of all lands falling within that limit at $2.50; but the board of regents of the state had the power to fix a higher price upon any unsettled lands not already applied for. By an act of congress approved June 8, 1868, Nevada was authorized to select from the alternate even numbered sections within the limits of any railroad grant, lands in satisfaction of the several grants to the state made in the organic act, the act of admission, and the act of July 4, 1866, granting university lands and agricultural college lands. The public lands of Nevada were not subject to entry, sale, or location under any laws of the United States, except the Homestead act of May 20, 1862, and preëmption law, until after the state should have received her full quota of lands; and she should have two years after the survey should have been made in which to make her selection, in tracts of not

less than forty acres, but could not sell in tracts of more than 320, and to actual settlers.

The state had selected all the land granted by the government in 1877, except the sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections, or common-school lands. In these sections was included a large amount of desert, alkali, and mountain land which the public surveyors pronounced unfit for cultivation, and therefore left unsurveyed. In 1877, 780 townships only had been surveyed, and the available area out of 17,971,200 acres was 10,762,237 acres. The state in consequence lost 7,208,963 acres, which were pronounced unfit for cultivation, and the school fund in proportion. Out of the 10,762,237 acres of land surveyed as cultivable, the sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections contained 608,307 acres. Of this amount only 64,528 acres had been sold in 1877.

The whole state of Nevada contained $3,113\frac{67}{100}$ townships, or an area of 71,737,741 acres, which upon the above basis would afford of available land 42,960,889 acres, and of school lands 2,428,252 acres, instead of 3,984,640 acres, which, if the whole were available, would belong to the school land. At the rate at which the sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections were selling, it was evident that not more than 257,581 acres would have been sold within the time allotted for reserving the public lands for selection by the state, when the opportunity of securing indemnity lands would be lost. State surveyor-general Charles S. Preble recommended to the legislature to take some action to secure a grant of land in lieu of the sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections for school purposes. This advice was acted upon, and congress granted 2,000,000 acres of land to be selected by the state in place of those sections. For this service the state owes Mr Preble a lasting recognition of his talents. This grant placed the state as well as the school fund upon a better basis, no waste land being chosen, and sales being much more numerous. From July 1,

1880, to January 1, 1883, 1,031 applications were filed, covering 166,800 acres of school lands.

The meridian and base of Mount Diablo were used for the standard in the survey of Nevada. Guide meridians were established in all the principal centres of population. The first land district was that of Carson. The second land-office was located at Austin in 1867; the third at Aurora in a district including the counties of Esmeralda, Nevada, and Mono and Inyo, California, in 1868; the fourth at Belmont, in 1869, removed to Pioche in 1874; the fifth at Eureka, in 1873, removed from Austin; there being but four local land-offices in the state. In March 1872 the Elko land district was established.

The amount of mineral land in the state was approximately given, from the incomplete returns of counties in 1876, as being 1,679 acres. The total amount of salt, soda, and borate of lime lands was reported in 1871 at 52,000 acres. The legislature of 1873 asked congress to permit Nevada to select saline lands under previous acts, and subsequently fixed the value of salt and borax lands at five dollars per acre, maximum. An act of congress concerning desert lands, passed in 1877, provides that a settler may acquire title to six hundred and forty acres by irrigating the tract for three years, and paying $1.25 per acre. Capitalists were quick to see the advantages of this law to acquire large tracts of country, which by the simple cost of irrigating canals became of great value. In 1879 an act of congress provided for a public lands commission, to consist of the commissioner of the general land office, the director of the geological survey, and three civilians, to report to congress a system of classification of public lands, and a codification of existing laws relating to such lands.

The territory of Nevada established by a legislative act, on the 25th of November, 1861, nine counties, and on the 29th fixed their capitals. Douglas,

with the county seat at Genoa, contained the oldest settlements, and is therefore entitled to the first place on the list. Extending on the west to the eastern summit of the Sierra, it includes 50,000 acres of timber and wood lands, from which have been drawn vast quantities of wood and lumber by means of flumes constructed at great expense for this purpose. Glenbrook, situated on the eastern shore of Lake Tahoe, is the principal lumber manufacturing point in the state. It was first settled in 1860 by G. W. Warren, N. E. Murdock, and R. Walton. In 1861 A. W. Pray .erected a saw-mill, which was run by water conducted half a mile through a flume and ditch, which served until 1864, when a steam-mill was erected. Pray's mill was the second one built at Lake Tahoe, the first being on the California side, in 1860. Other mills followed, and in 1873 the firm of Yerington and Bliss began the lumber business at Glenbrook, and threaded the entire timber belt of Lake Tahoe and the surrounding slopes with flumes and chutes, conveying wood and lumber to the towns about. The lumber product of Douglas county was about 12,000,000 feet annually. It cannot be classed with the mining counties, although some mining enterprises have been attempted there. Agriculturally it is one of the foremost sections of the state, producing grains, fruits, and vegetables in variety and abundance, and having about 40,000 acres of arable land, 200,000 acres of grazing land, and 100,000 of reclaimable desert lands. In 1885 the county had six saw-mills, two hundred miles of irrigating ditches, made forty thousand pounds of butter annually, and had farms to the value of over half a million. Genoa was made the county seat. The extraordinary snows of 1882 caused an avalanche which came near destroying the town of Genoa. The towns and settlements not before mentioned are Bridge House, Carter, Carson Valley, Cradlebaugh's bridge, Double Spring, Hot Springs, Hoyes' Store, Job, Mollville, Mammoth,

Mottville, Mountain House, Sheridan, Spooner Station, Sprague, Summit Camp, Thornton, Tisdell, Twelve-mile House, Valley View, Van Sickle's, Walker River, and Warren's.

Ormsby county, a small shire sandwiched between Douglas and Washoe, but of an importance not proportioned to its size, contains about ten thousand acres of arable land, half of which was under cultivation in 1885, and excellent grazing lands. It shared largely in the lumber and wood trade, was the seat of numerous quartz-mills, contained the capitol of the state, the penitentiary, mint, and other public institutions, and in 1876 paid taxes on $2,673,066. Carson City, incorporated in 1875, is both the county seat and state capital, and is pleasantly situated, with wide streets which are bordered with trees. It has, besides the public buildings, a number of fine structures for business purposes, half a dozen churches, and many handsome residences. Its water-works were erected in 1860. The towns and settlements not named are Brunswick, Clear Creek, Empire City, Lookout, McRaey, Merrimac, Mexican, Mill Station, Santiago Mill, Swift's Springs, and Vivian Mill.

Washoe county, also one of the first subdivisions of Carson county, contains 75,000 acres of agricultural, 400,000 of grazing, 80,000 of timbered, and 20,000 of mineral lands, and pays taxes on $4,165,210 of real and personal property. One of the farm products in which Washoe excelled was honey. The crop in 1884 was not less than 37,000 pounds. Hops also did well in this county, which produced 40,000 pounds the same year. The first county seat was at Washoe City, but was removed to Reno by vote of the people in 1870, and an act of the legislature in 1871. Reno was founded by the Central Pacific Railroad company in 1868, in the Truckee valley, and named in honor of General Reno, who fell at the battle of South Mountain. It has been twice nearly destroyed by fire, once in 1873, and again in 1879. A court-house

was erected of brick in 1872–3. A poor-farm and hospital were provided by the county commissioners in 1875, who purchased forty acres for the purpose on the south side of the Truckee, one mile east of Reno, with water for irrigating purposes. A free iron bridge was constructed across the river in 1877 in place of a toll-bridge, which had been in use since 1863. An asylum for the insane is located a short distance from the town; also the state board of agriculture, the state university, and a fine school for girls under the management of the episcopal church, named after Bishop Whittaker, who founded it. The Truckee river, which is near the town, will some day, no doubt, invite manufactures. The first settlement on the site of Reno was made by C. W. Fuller in 1859, who kept a hotel, and built the first bridge across the Truckee at this place in 1860. Fuller also owned a toll-road, and sold the whole of the property to M. C. Lake, from whom the place took the name of Lake's crossing. The name still survives in Lake house, a hotel on the original location of Fuller. Among the prosperous stock-raisers may be mentioned Jacob Stiner, a native of Ohio, who came to California by sea in 1853, mined on the Yuba at Park's bar, subsequently settled in Sutter county on the Sacramento river, giving the name of Stiner's bend to that portion of the stream. The towns and settlements of Washoe county not named above are Anderson's, Brown's, Clark's, Crystal Peak, Essex, Galena, Glendale, Huffaker's, Lake View, Little Valley, Long Valley, Mayburg Store, Mud Lake, Ophir, Pleasant Valley, Poeville, Salvia, Steamboat, Three-mile Station, Two-mile Station, Vista, Verdi, Wadsworth, and Winnemucca valley.

Storey county, named in honor of Edward Faris Storey, who was killed in an attack on the Pah Ute camp in 1860, has been the theatre of the most stirring events of mining life in Nevada, and still maintains much of the prestige acquired when the Comstock

was at its highest point of development. It was organized in 1861, and contains seven hundred and fifty acres only of farming land, twenty thousand acres of grazing land, the remainder being classed with mineral lands. Much of its history has already been given.

Virginia City, the county seat, being 6,205 feet above sea-level, and 2,000 feet above the Humboldt plains, perched on the eastern slope of an isolated mountain, whose altitude is 7,827 feet, the only water supply of the city came at first from natural springs. A few wells were added as the town increased in size. At length a company was formed, which collected in wooden tanks the water flowing from mining tunnels, and distributed it by means of pipes through the town. But in time the tunnels ran dry, and it became necessary to pierce the hills for new water deposits, which in turn became exhausted, until the town was threatened with a water famine. Prospecting for water brought out the fact in topography that it was in the flat-topped hills it would be found, rather than in the conical ones. Miles of tunnelling were done with no other object than to find water, and many thousands of dollars were expended in this work, and in dams and bulkheads to hold the water formed by meltingsnow.[14]

All the institutions of Virginia City were cosmo politan compared to other towns. The hotels, banks, churches, school houses, theatre, opera house, court house, city hall, odd fellows' hall, hospital, stores, and business places and residences still give evidence of the enterprise and money which have been expended there. "After the discovery of silver mines," says Clarke, "two enterprising men of San Francisco took advantage of the excitement, surveyed and staked out

[14] In 1872 the Virginia and Gold Hill Water company employed H. Schussler, engineer of the S. F. water-works, to make a survey of the country to the first available streams in the Sierra Nevada, twenty-five miles west of Virginia City. Athwart the route lay the Washoe valley, an obstacle requiring unmistakable skill to conquer. The works were completed in 1873 at an estimated cost of $2,000,000.

all the unoccupied land where Virginia City now stands and sold off the lots as mining claims, though no mine existed there, nor any symptoms of it. They actually sold off $25,000 worth of stock." It was built upon ground with such a pitch that what was the second story of a house in front became the first at the back. The assessed valuation of the whole county of Storey, given in 1884, was $2,885,356, being less than that of Washoe, but its finances were in a healthy condition, without debt of any kind. The towns and settlements in Storey county, aside from Virginia and Gold Hill, are American Flat, Baltic, Bonanza City, Gold Cañon, Louisetown, Mound House, Washington, and Valley Wells.

Lyon county was organized in 1861, but had its boundaries changed in 1864. It has 128,000 acres of agricultural, 100,000 of grazing, 5,000 of mineral, and 2,000 of timbered lands. It has 200 miles of irrigating ditches, which water 17,500 acres. Its property valuation in 1884 was $1,336,659. The general surface of the county is mountainous, all the arable land being upon the Carson river, except about eight miles of Mason valley in the southeast corner. Dayton, the county seat, is one of the oldest towns in Nevada. Being situated at the mouth of the cañon leading to the Comstock mines, it became the site of numerous quartz mills, and shared in the general prosperity of that lode. In the mineral district of Palmyra, southeast from Dayton about ten miles, in an elevated valley, in 1863–4, was the mining town of Como and its sister Palmyra. Como grew rapidly, its hopes being based on the supposed richness of its mines. It was made the county seat of Lyon county, and had a quartz mill and a newspaper, the *Como Sentinel*. Gradually the town was abandoned by every inhabitant except one, G. W. Walton. On the 22d of November, 1873, the last inhabitant perished in the flames of his solitary residence. The deserted houses, haunted by the ghosts of dead hopes, open to the

winds of summer, and buried under the snow drifts of winter, offer a sad commentary on human expectations. Silver City, settled before Virginia City, was incorporated in 1877. There were, in 1885, four quartz mills, six tailings mills, two arastras, and one smelting furnace in the county, and seven miles of mining ditches. The towns or settlements not mentioned above in Lyon county are Buckland's, Cleaver, Eureka, Fort Churchill, Hayward's, Hot Spring, Johnstown, Mound House, Mountain, Palmyra, and Wabuska.

Esmeralda county, organized in 1861, has, approximately, 100,000 acres of agricultural, 150,000 of grazing, 150,000 of timbered, and 300,000 of mineral lands. The value of its real and personal property in 1884 was given in by the assessor at $1,158,365, or nearly $200,000 less than the previous year. Mining began early, Esmeralda mining district, about the present town of Aurora, being organized in August 1860. No less than seventeen quartz mills, costing over $1,000,000 were erected at Aurora, and bullion to the amount of $16,000,000 has been produced in this district. Aurora, for twenty years the county seat, was first settled by J. M. Carey, James M. Brady, and E. R. Hicks in 1860. The value of its taxable property in 1880 was $200,000. One newspaper, the *Esmeralda Herald*, was published there. Hawthorne, a new town, twenty-eight miles distant on the Carson and Colorado railroad, was made the county seat in 1883. Belleville, situated at an altitude of 5,000 feet, on the slope of the Monte Christo mountains, was founded in 1873. Marietta, another mining camp, lies ten miles northwest of Belleville. Candelaria, the railroad terminus, had, in 1885, a school house, church, hotel, stores, and other places of business. It was named after a mine discovered in 1865 by Spanish prospectors, and was surveyed for a town in 1876 by J. B. Hiskey. The White Mountain Water company of Nevada was organized under

the laws of New York to do business in Nevada, Henry A. Gildersleeve president, James A. Pritchard secretary, John Aandroth treasurer. The distance to the springs was twenty-one miles. The *Candelaria True Fissure* newspaper was first published June 5, 1880, by John Dormer. Columbus was settled in 1765, and a quartz mill erected. In 1872 the Pacific Borax company commenced operations on the Columbus marsh, and in Fish Lake valley in 1875. This company suspended work on the borax marshes; but the Teel salt marsh was worked by Smith Brothers, and Rhoades salt marsh by A. J. Rhoades. Walker lake, with a part of the Pah Ute reservation, is in Esmeralda county. The only agricultural town in the county is Greenfield, or Mason valley, in the bend of Walker river. It was first settled by W. R. Lee in 1869. Its growth has been permanent and healthy, with church, school, and mail privileges. The settlements not above mentioned in Esmeralda county are Birch Agency, Alida Valley, Alum Creek, Black Mountain District, Cambridge, Chase, Coryville, Coal Valley, Cottonwood Well, Dead Horse Well, Durant's Mill, East Walker, Elbow, Fish Lake, Five Mile Station, Gillis Mountain, Gold Net, Hog's Back, Hot Spring, Hulche Cañon, Johnson, Lida, Lobdell, McGeer, Mammoth Ledge, Marietta, Metallic, Military Station, Miller, Montezuma, Mount Grant, New Boston, Nine Mile House, Palmetto, Pick Handle, Pine Grove, Rockland, Sand Spring, Santa Fé, Silver Peak, Soda Springs, Sweetwater, Sylvania, Virginia, Volcano, Walker River, Washington, Wellington, Wheeler, Whiskey Springs, Wildes. Gold Mountain is a new town in the southern part of the county, which took its birth and growth from the recent development of an old gold discovery called the State Lime mine, remarkable for the richness and extent of the fissure on which it is located. This lode was discovered in 1864 by Thomas J. Shaw, who abandoned it on account of the distance from water

or mills. It was relocated in 1865, and sold to Joggles Wright, who worked it for some time, with only partial success, and it was neglected until recently.

Churchill county, created by the legislature of 1861, with the county seat at Buckland, was attached to Lyon for judicial purposes. Before it was organized it lost a portion of its area by the creation of Lander county, and only came to be an independent district in 1864. It lost another part of its territory in 1869 to Nye county. What is left is largely desert, marsh land, and alkaline lakes, but contains 25,000 acres of excellent hay land, and 20,000 acres of arable land, of which there are perhaps 5,000 acres under cultivation, on Carson slough. The first flour mill in the country was erected in 1881 by J. T. Walker & Co. The first farm was started by Asa L. Kenyon in 1854, who settled on the Carson at Ragtown. The principal resources of Churchill county are salt, soda, sulphur, and stock-raising. Its assessable property is reported as less than that of any other county in the state, being only $486,432 in 1883.

La Plata, a mining town on the eastern confines of the county, was the first county seat after organization, but having become deserted by its inhabitants about 1866, the county seat was removed to Stillwater, in the farming region, in 1868. The founder of Stillwater was J. C. Scott, who settled there in 1862. Wadsworth, on the Central Pacific railroad, was the shipping point for the agricultural region of Carson slough. The wood supply was obtained in the Silver Hill range, from twelve to twenty miles distant. In 1863–5 considerable gold and silver mining was done in the mountains of the east part of the county, but on the discovery of White Pine these mines were abandoned. They never paid higher than twelve or fifteen dollars to the ton. The settlements besides those mentioned are Alan, Clan Alpine Mill, Coates Wells, Cold Spring, Desert, Desert Well,

Eagle Salt Works, East Gate, Hill's station, Hot Springs, La Plata, Mirage, Mountain Well, Murphy Station, Ragtown, Salinas, Shoshones Spring, Sink Station, Soda Lake, Soldiers' Spring, St Clair, West Gate, White Plains, and White Rock House.

Roop county has no separate existence, but is attached to Washoe for judicial and revenue purposes. It has thousands of acres of land valuable for farming could water be brought to it. At present its valleys are used for the pasturage of stock, of which 20,000 head are herded in the county. The settlements in Roop are Buffalo Meadows, Chalk Hill, Church's Camp, Duck Flat, Fish Springs, Lewis Rancho, Millers, Sheep Head, and Smoke Creek Depot. Several land claims were taken on Duck Flat, at Dry Lake, Dry Valley, Little Winnemucca, and Winnemucca valley proper, and at Murphy's Salt Marsh. Grain is raised and dairy-farming carried on in the last-named valleys.

Humboldt, the last of the original nine counties, is of great extent and varied resources. It contains 30,000 acres of agricultural, 50,000 of grazing, 8,000 of timbered, and 508,000 acres of mineral lands. It has 10 miles of mining and 400 miles of irrigating ditches. The largest single enterprise of this kind was the Humboldt canal, projected in 1862 by J. Giuacca, an Italian, the founder of the town of Winnemucca. He formed a company in San Francisco. The first 28 miles cost $100,000, and there was no more money forthcoming. Humboldt county had in 1885 10 quartz mills and 2 smelting-furnaces, 3 steam grist-mills, and 2 water-power mills. It had in 1884 of stock cattle 28,000 head, besides work oxen, 57,000 heeps, 866 hogs, a few cashmere and angora goats, 5,600 horses, 200 mules, 10 asses, 300 milch cows, 4,500 calves on the ranges, and 1,348 beef-cattle. The amount of land actually cultivated in 1884 was 9,218 acres. The wheat raised was 86,000 bushels; of barley, 125,000; of oats, 5,230; of corn, 40 bush-

els. There were raised also 8,170 bushels of potatoes, and of hay, 21,175 tons were cut. The product of the dairy was 1,800 pounds of butter. The wool crop was 240,000 pounds. There were growing 5,000 apple, 2,500 peach, 250 pear, 200 plum, 50 cherry, 10 nectarine, 40 quince, 20 apricot, and 20 prune trees. Of shade or transplanted trees there were 6,020. Of the small fruits there were 7,000 bushels; grapes, 200 vines. Thousands of acres of wild sugar-cane grow about the sink of the Humboldt; and a textile called hemp, but of a stronger fibre and longer staple, is abundant in the Humboldt valley. In fruit and transplanted trees the county of Washoe alone surpasses Humboldt. The assessed valuation of the county, real and personal, for 1884, was $3,152,692, which is a good showing for the population. The mining property of Humboldt county is of much less value than its farm property, a fact which I have endeavored to show in detail. Yet there are good mining districts, one of which, the Buena Vista, has yielded its millions in bullion [15]

Unionville, which owes its existence to mining prospectors of 1861, was the first county-seat. A majority of its founders being confederates, it was originally called Dixie, but as union men became prominent, the name was changed. In 1873 the

[15] John H. Hoppin, engaged in cattle raising in Humboldt co., was born in Lanesboro', Berkshire co., Mass., Feb. 9, 1821, and brought up on a farm in the town of Eldridge, Onandaga co., N. Y. He was educated at Monroe acdaemy, and taught school for a while after completing his studies. In 1844 his father and all his family removed to Niles, Michigan, where they resided until 1849, when John H. Hoppin set out for Cal., overland, and reached the Yuba diggings in the autumn, mining during the winter at a place now called Washington. The following year he started in merchandising on the North Yuba at Goodyear's bar, in connection with Woodruff, Duncan & Co. Later he was joined by his brother Charles R., and they purchased 400 head of cattle from the immigration, which they fattened and sold. Ths brothers purchased a 6-league grant at Yolo, where they were joined by two more of their brothers, Henry L., and Thaddeus C., John and Charles going to Texas in 1870 to buy cattle to stock grazing land in Nevada. They own 15,000 acres in Humboldt co., on which are from 12,000 to 15,000 sheep, and from 2,500 to 3,000 head of cattle. In 1872 John H. was elected to the legislature on the republiean ticket, and helped to elect John P. Jones for U. S. senator. He is laboring for the plan of storing water for use in farming, and believes Nevada will yet be a wheat growing state.

county seat was removed to Winnemucca, wnich until 1868 was known only as French Bridge or Ford. In that year it was named to commemorate the Pah Ute chief by C. B. O. Bannon, a nephew of the secretary of the interior.

The other towns and settlements in Humboldt county are Adobe, Barbersville, Bartlett Creek, Batavia City, Brown's, Buffalo Station, Cane Spring, Cañon Station, Centreville, Clark's, Coin, Cumberland, Derby's Dun Glen, Fairview, Fort McDermit, Gem City. Granite Creek, Grass Valley, Griggsville, Hardin's Ranch, Hillyer, Humboldt City, Indian Creek, Iron Point, Isabella, Jersey City, Junction, King River Valley, Lancaster, Little Humboldt, Lovelock, McCulley, Mason, Mill City, Mountain Spring, O'Connor Station, Oreana, Panther Cañon, Paradise Hill, Paradise Valley, Pine Forest, Pleasant Valley, Queen City, Queen River Valley, Raspberry Creek, Rock Spring, Rockwell Station, Rocky Cañon, Ross Creek, Rye Patch, Santa Clara, Scottsville, Smith Ford, Spring City, St Mary, Star City, Trinity, Tule, Vandewater, Varyville, Ward, Willow Creek, Willow Point, and Winnemucca Spring.

Lander county, created December 19, 1862, was cut off from the eastern portion of Humboldt and Churchill counties in obedience to the demand of a small army of miners, who, according to their traditions, made a rush in the previous May for Reese river, hitherto unknown except to the Indians, the military, and the overland-stage and pony-express companies. The road crossed Reese river at Jacob station. Almost directly east of the station was a pass known as Pony Cañon, because the riders of this express often shortened their route by taken it instead of the usual pass through the Toiyabe range. William M. Talcott, who had been a pony-express rider, being in this cañon May 2, 1862, discovered a quartz vein, some ore from which was sent to Virginia City to be assayed. Reese river mining district was imme-

diately organized, and in the following December a county was also created, and named after F. W. Lander, in acknowledgment of his services to the government and the territory. From Lander county, which was enlarged by the change of boundary between Utah and Nevada, so many districts have been carved that it has been called the mother of counties.

The amount of surveyed land in Lander county is small, whence it may be inferred that the agricultural interest is small accordingly. It is, indeed, principally as a mineral region that it is known, its wealth having been dug out of its quartz mines, which, unlike those of some other portions of the state, remain productive. Its total valuation in 1879 was given at $1,038,373, and its population at 3,624. The great cost of living, and of working mines so far in the interior has been the main difficulty to be overcome in Lander county, which, until 1880, when the Nevada Central railroad was completed to Austin, remained unchanged. During the eighteen years while freight-wagons drawn by horse or mule teams performed all the transportation to the mines of the Toiyabe range, quartz ledges that yielded no more than $100 per ton were almost worthless, the cost of extracting the bullion being equal to that for the first few years, and never having come down to the rates at which the Comstock mines were worked. With all these disadvantages, the Reese river mines have paid for working. Battle Mountain district furnishes galena ores assaying $400 per ton in silver and 70 per cent of lead. The average yield is $150 per ton silver and 50 per cent of lead. It has been found in some combinations to contain from $3,000 to $4,000 in silver. The copper ores of this district are also of a high grade. The same may be said of Jersey district, south-west of Battle Mountain station. The ores from these districts were concentrated and shipped east for reduction. Lewis district, distant 16 miles

from Battle Mountain, was connected by rail with the Nevada Central and Central Pacific railroads.

Reese river district was the principal as it was the first organized in the county. Since it creation two other districts have been consolidated with it, Amador and Yankee Blade. The number of locations recorded was over 8,000. The veins were contained in gneiss of granite, and run northwest and southeast, dipping northeast 35°. The ores were silver bearing, although a small percentage of gold was found in some mines; also galena, antimony, copper, iron, and zinc. The chief mines of this district were King Alfred, Chase, New Pacific, Magnolia, Morris and Caple, Patriot, and the Manhattan company's claims. The King Alfred mines were owned by an English company. An English company also owned a copper mine in Battle Mountain district. The first mine located was the Pony. The deepest shaft in 1884 was 700 feet, and was on the Oregon, one of the Manhattan company's mines. The veins of this district were narrow but rich, two and a half feet being the widest, and all require chlorination. The gross bullion yield of this district, from its discovery to 1865, is estimated at $2,000,000, since which time it has yielded $19,591,551.18. ranking third in the state for productiveness.[16]

The amount of land cultivated in Lander county in 1880 was 2,700. The productions were 1,080 bushels of wheat, 43,000 of barley, 775 of oats, 62,000 of

[16] The Marysville mines in Lander co. were discovered by William Stanage Wilson, who, with his sons, owns the group. Mr Wilson is of Scotch descent, his grandfather arriving in America about 1775, and helping to fight the battles of the revolution. Mr Wilson was born in Logan co., Ohio, Dec. 30, 1821, but at the age of 11 years removed to Elkhart co., Ind. In 1848 he volunteered for the Mexican war, but peace being soon after declared, he was discharged. He came to the Pacific coast in 1852 along with the immigration to Oregon, residing in that state until 1874, when he removed to Carico valley, Lander co., about 60 miles from Austin. Having made a comfortable fortune in mining and cattle raising, he left the care of the large Carico farm to his sons, and devoted himself to prospecting, which he followed for eight years before he found what satisfied him. He later became a resident of Reno, his large family being provided for, and all the result of his indomitable energy and sagacity.

potatoes, 9,500 tons of hay, and a few hundred fruit trees. Of live stock, it owned 2,100 horses, 400 mules, 4,624 cattle, 23,000 sheep, and some other farm stock. The first town and county seat was Jacobsville, at the overland stage station. But Austin in 1863 superseded it. In December 1862 two men, named Marshall and Cole, were the sole occupants of the site, being engaged in running a tunnel on the south side of the Pony cañon, on the Highland Mary claim, near the centre of the present town. In that same month John Frost, [17] Felix O'Neil, J. Q. C. Vanderbosch, and George Buffet located the Oregon, North Star, and Southern Light mines in the same locality, and in the following spring erected a log cabin.[15]

A survey was made of a town site, which was intended to secure the water and mill rights, but the property was sold in 1865 to a New York company, under the name of Manhattan, Frost being retained as superintendent, and having charge of all the machinery put up on Lander Hill for many years. Marshall also located a town site, and another was taken up by D. E. Buell, W. C. Harrington, E. Welton, and I. C. Bateman. The citizens united to construct a graded road from the lower town, or Clifton, to the upper town, or Austin, and soon the majority of the population was at the higher point, and practically there was but one town, which was Austin. In April 1863 a hotel, newspaper, and post office were added to the new city. A pony express was started by G. L. Turner to the various mines, and Wells, Fargo &

[17] John Frost, born in Monroe co., N. Y., in 1829, and educated at the common schools, came to Cal. in 1846 in a whaler, touching at Valparaiso and Monterey. He was 2 years before the mast, and 2 years 3d mate of the vessel, the voyage lasting 4 years and 8 months. In 1851 he made another voyage to Cal., and arrived, for the third time, in Dec. 1852, in the clipper ship *Thomas Watson*, when he went to the mines on Yuba river, remaining there until 1860. In that year he erected a hotel in the Henness pass of the Sierra Nevada, but removed to Pony, now Austin, in 1862, in company with Vanderbosch, O'Neil, and Buffet. This company, known as the Oregon Mill and Mining co., erected a ten-stamp mill, which ran for two years.

Co. established an express office. Being directly upon the overland route, Austin had stage communication with the east and west, besides which special lines were established. The passenger traffic for 1865 was estimated at 6,000 fares between Virginia City and Austin, at $40 a fare. The freight carried over the road cost $1,381,800 for transportation from this direction alone, besides what came from Salt Lake. Lumber transported from the mills of the Sierra cost $250 per thousand feet, and that sawed out of the native piñon, $125 per thousand. Brick manufactured at Reese river cost $12 to $18 per thousand, and other things in proportion. The treasure carried by the express company that year aggregated $6,000,000. Three banking houses were in operation. Men of the learned professions flocked there, and Austin was that anomaly of modern times, a city in the midst of a wilderness, grown up like a mushroom, in a night. It was incorporated in 1875, and disincorporated in 1881.

Battle Mountain, the town next in importance to Austin, is simply a shipping point on the Central Pacific railroad, and the northern terminus of the Nevada Central. Its position with reference to the Humboldt valley is favorable to its growth. Irrigation is converting the desert lands in its vicinity into fertile fields.[18]

[18] John Ansel Blossom, the first settler of Battle Mountain, was born in Ohio in 1836, went to St Louis in 1857, and remained there until 1860, when he came to Cal. In 1862 he went to Nevada with barley and hay, starting a livery-stable at Star city. In 1867 he removed to Dun Glen, where he mined, and went next year to French bridge, now Winnemucca. This bridge, the first on the Humboldt, was erected by the Lay Brothers, and a Frenchman named Frank Band. Burned out at Winnemucca, in 1869, he went to Battle mountain, Nathan Levi, a merchant of Winnemucca, assisting him to start anew. His house was the first in Battle Mountain, after the railroad buildings; and the town received its name from Robert Macbeth, a pioneer who was conversant with the early history of the spot. In 1871 Blossom began stock raising on an extensive scale. He was the contractor who built the Nevada Central railroad from Battle Mountain to Austin.

Another early settler of Battle Mountain was John W. McWilliams, born in Ohio in 1835, and in 1854 came to California, and in 1863 to Nevada, settling first at Unionville, where he was county recorder. In 1870 he located himself at Battle Mountain, where J. A. Blossom had a tent, and Thomas

The settlements in Lander county, otherwise than those mentioned, are Addington, Amador, Ansonia, Argenta, Artesian, Bailey, Campbell, Cañon City, Canton's, Cooper's Cañon, Curtis, Deep Creek Station, Dodgeville, Empire, Galena, Geneva, Grass Valley, Hallsvale, Helena, Lander, Ledlie, Lewis, Piute, Ravenswood, Reese River, Santa Fé, Skunktown, Smoky Valley, Stoneberger's. Lewis has recently become a well-known mining town.[19]

Nye county, organized in 1864 out of Esmeralda county, and named in honor of Governor J. W. Nye, occupied at that time all that portion of Nevada south of the thirty-ninth parallel not remaining in Esmeralda, a large and almost unknown area. Its boundaries have been several times changed, and it remains a large county still, its present area being 18,432 square miles. The discovery of a new mining district, sixty miles south of Austin, in the Shoshone range, was the occasion of the subdivision, and the town of Ione, in Union district, became the county seat, which honor it enjoyed for three years, when the county records were removed to Belmont, a town founded in

W. Rule a small shop. E. T. George, J. H. Green, and a few others, had taken land claims. In 1872 he was elected county commissioner. J. C. Fall, with whom McWilliams had been associated in business at Dun Glen, had presented his interest in the firm to his son-in-law, J. H. Kinkead, which interest was purchased from the latter in 1873, and the concern carried on by McWilliams until 1880, when he sold to A. D. Lemaire, and retired.

[19] B. F. Wilson, born in Canada in 1832, came to Cal. in 1854, and in 1868 to Nevada, settling at Galena and looking for mines, in which he was successful, opening up some good prospects. On the Hamburg mine he erected in 1885 a mill with a capacity of 15 tons per day, running by steam power.

Thomas G. Morgan, locator of the Pittsburg Consolidated and other mining properties in Lander co., was born in Wales in 1845, and came to the U. S. in childhood, residing at Massillon, Ohio, from which state he came to Virginia, Nevada, in 1873. Subsequently he removed to Galena in Lander co., and engaged in mining, beginning operations in 1880, and being associated with several others. He purchased the interests of his associates excepting that of J. A. Blossom, who sold the Pittsburg to a London company for $160,000, and had left the Evening Star, Cumberland, Ida Henrietta, and Lady Carrie. These claims are gold bearing. In 1883 Mr Morgan married Miss Carrie Bertrand, whose brother discovered the Geddes Bertrand, near Eureka. He has faith in the resources of Nevada, both mineral and agricultural, he has many important and valuable mining claims in the Lewis district, and steps are now being taken to work them.

1865, by Antonio Bozquez, the first settler, and A. Billman, H. G. C. Schmidt, J. M. Reed, C. L. Straight, R. Kelley, D. R. Dean, L. Martin, O. Brown, S. Tallman, J. Grover, D. E. Buel, William Geller, Charles St Louis, J. W. Gashwiler, S. M. Burk, and others. The situation was upon a plateau of the Toiyaba range, at an altitude of 8,000 feet, where wood and water were abundant, and the scenery picturesque.

There are several good mining districts in the county, which has produced $8,000,000 in bullion, and has a permanent population of two thousand, with an economical and healthy county administration, yet owing to its want of transportation the progress of any kind of enterprise has been slow.

The number of acres under cultivation in 1880 was 2,300; of bushels of wheat raised, 4,328; of barley, 33,212; oats, 5,000; potatoes, 18,000. It had comparatively little stock, about ten thousand head having been driven away in the two previous years, owing to a failure of grass from over-feeding. Fruit does well in this region, and is extensively cultivated. The total assessed valuation of real and personal property in Nye county in 1880 was not much over $1,000,000, the decrease being in personal property, which, being largely mining property, has failed to hold its own, while farming property has not declined. The gross yield of the mines for the last half of 1880 and the first half of 1881 was respectively $273,881 and $188,908.

Mining having reached a depth at which capital and improved methods must be applied, a temporary abandonment followed, this being the history of the great majority of mining districts, just as hydraulic mining not being known or applied, the placer gold mines were deserted when the bars had been washed off. The settlements in Nye county to be named are Argenta, Barcelona, Blue Eagle, Centennial City, Central City, Cherry Creek, Cloverdale, Danville,

Doyle, Duckwater, Dutch Flat, East Belmont, Ellsworth, Grant, Grantville, Jett, Junction, Kiney, King's House, Knickerbocker, Lodi, Logan, Milton, Morey, New Philadelphia, Northumberland, Peavine, Rattlesnake, Reese River, Reveille, Sacramento, San Antonio, San Augustine, San Juan, Seymour, Spaulding, Toyah, Troy, Tucker's Station, Tybo, Union, Ural Cañon, Washington, and Yokum.

Lincoln county, cut off from Nye February 26, 1866, is a mining county of much historic interest, having been first traversed by the white race when the Spaniards, between 1540 and 1775, made explorations through the interior of the continent. In 1863–4, an Indian brought to William Hamlin, in Meadow valley, a specimen of silver ore, which on being sent to Salt Lake caused several expeditions to visit that region, the first of which, under J. M. Vandermark and Stephen Sherwood, organized the Meadow valley mining district in April 1864. Not to be dispossessed by Gentiles, Brigham Young ordered Erastus Snow from St George to Meadow valley with a company of men, who in the temporary absence of the mining recorder, organized a new district with new rules. A third company, consisting chiefly of men from the California volunteers, followed, and the former rules were ultimately restored; but the presence of so many Mormons making the place distasteful, the district was abandoned by the gentiles after some work had been done on the Panaca, the original discovery ledge, and on the Mammoth.

Pahranagat district was next organized, in 1865, hundreds of locations made, and one million feet of ground sold to W. H. Raymond for eastern capitalists. The legislature having created the county of Lincoln, Governor Blasdel and suite proceeded to Pahranagat to complete the organization. On the way, having taken a roundabout course through Death valley, and become involved in barren wastes without food or water, they narrowly escaped destruc-

tion. As it was, one life was lost, and much suffering endured by the party. The governor found that there was not the number of legal voters required in the county, which after all this trouble was not organized until the following year. Its original boundaries were twice changed, in March 1867, when a strip ten miles wide was ceded to Nye on the west, and in 1875, when it received some territory from Nye on the north. The county seat was first decreed to be at Crystal Springs, but in 1867 was changed to Hiko in the same district, and ultimately to Pioche.

This town was situated on a spur of the Ely mountains, and faced north. It was first settled by Joseph Grange and E. M. Chubard, who in 1868 erected a small furnace for the reduction of ore, but failing in their expectations, abandoned the location. In 1869 the Meadow valley district was reorganized and named Ely district, in honor of John H. Ely, who with W. H. Raymond, placed a five-stamp quartz mill, rented from a New York company, in Meadow valley, at the site of Bullionville, the nearest point where sufficient water could be obtained. A company consisting of P. McCannon, L. Lacour, and A. M. Bush laid out the town in the same year, which was surveyed by E. L. Mason, a civil engineer, and named by Mrs Carmichael Williamson after F. L. A. Pioche of San Francisco, who owned largely in the mines. In 1870–1 it was the most active town in Nevada, and consequently infested by the criminal element, which ever followed in the wake of honest enterprise in the mining districts. On the 15th of September, 1871, it was ravaged by fire, and $500,000 worth of property destroyed. An explosion of three hundred pounds of blasting powder killed thirteen men, and wounded forty-seven others. But the town was quickly rebuilt in a more substantial manner, only to lose another $50,000 by the same terrible agency in May 1872. On the 22d of August, 1873, a rain flood caused a loss of $10,000, and in 1876 a fire again

destroyed $40,000 worth of property. Pioche reached the height of its prosperity in 1872–3, when the population was estimated at six thousand, and there were one hundred and ten stamps crushing ore in the district, with a narrow-gauge railroad to Bullionville, to carry ore to the mills. Bullionville itself had a population of five hundred, but it declined when, on the completion of the water-works, Pioche was liberally supplied with water, and the mills were removed to that place. A revival began in 1880, when new smelting and concentrating works were erected at Bullionville to work the tailings deposited by the mills. The nearest railroad station where goods are received or bullion shipped is Milford, on the Utah Southern, which renders Lincoln county a dependency of Chicago chiefly, though some trade is carried on with San Francisco. After producing $20,000,000 of bullion, the Ely district was almost deserted, Pioche having not more than eight hundred inhabitants in 1880. The Pahranagat, Colorado, Freyburg, Pennsylvania, Silver Springs, Silver King, Groom, St Thomas, Timber Mountain, Pah Ute, Wheeler, Southeastern, and Yellow Pine districts all contain good mines, which may yet be developed. Pahranagat, which means watermelon, has been the most noted of these, but is at present nearly deserted.[19]

The population of the county in 1884 was 2,200, an increase of four hundred over 1883, and the assessed valuation of real and personal property $488,004. The affairs of the county have been extravagantly managed, and the indebtedness in 1880 was $300,000. Of the several towns, nearly all of which are mining

[19] *Hiko Silver Mining Company's Rept*, 1866, 1–22, 34–6; *The Miner*, i. 27; *Quincy Union*, June 23, 1866. There are several valleys which with irrigation would produce good crops. Meadow Springs, Ash, Clover, Eagle, Dry Muddy, Rose, and Pahranagat valleys are all susceptible of cultivation. The best farmers are Mormons, who have several times been recalled by the church, when their improvements passed into other hands. About 1880 they commenced to return and take up land, which is a promise of an increase in agriculture. The soil and climate in the valley of Muddy creek, a tributary of Rio Virgen, are adapted to cotton raising. William Anderson in 1873 had

centres, one which is not a mining town is Callville, founded by Anson Call and a few associates from Utah, at the head of navigation on the Colorado river, in 1864. It is not a lovely situation, being among the barren sand-hills of this desolate region, with nothing to recommend it except its importance as a place of transfer and storage whenever navigation shall be permanently established on the Colorado. There are men who see evidences of a prehistoric race, possessing many of the arts of scientific civilization, bordering on the Colorado, and having large cities, canals, aqueducts, and highways, and who understood mining. As faith is given each one of us we will believe. As with the footprints of a man of giant proportions in the sandstone quarry at the Carson state prison, more is suggested than proved.[20]

The towns and settlements not described in Lincoln county are Bristol, Bunkerville, Camp El Dorado, Clover Valley, Cottonwood, Dutch Flat, Eagle Valley, Farmington, Flag Spring, Freyburg Mines, Hillside, Homer, Lake Valley, Las Vegas, Logan, Long Valley, Lyonsville, Mayflower, Mesquit, Midey Valley, Montezuma, Overton, Panaca, Pahrock, Patterson, Potosí, Royal City, Silver City, St Joseph, St Thomas, Tem Piute, West Point.

Elko county, created March 5, 1869, was cut off from Lander, and comprises, besides a large extent of

10 acres, and Mr Carter 20 acres in this staple, which grows and yields well. At Washington, Utah, is a cotton factory. *Pioche Record; Carson Appeal*, July 22, 1873.

[20] A man who has labored to improve Lincoln county is Eugene Howell, a member of the 11th session of the Nevada legislature, elected in 1882 on the democratic ticket. He was the originator of a petition to congress to appropriate money for the improvement of the Colorado river. The matter was not acted upon by congress, and Gov. Adams vetoed a bill introduced in the Nev. legislature by Howell and passed, to appoint a commissioner to gather statistics on the subject to be presented to congress. The navigation of the Colorado would be a great boon to the mineral and agricultural regions bordering on it. Howell was the democratic nominee for state senator in 1884, but was defeated. In 1886 he declined the nomination of state comptroller. As a mining man Howell has been connected with firms in Bristol, in the Pahranagat district, and the White Pine district. He was born in Eureka, Plumas co., Cal., on March 21, 1858, and was educated for a practical metallurgist, although he has been engaged in merchandising in Bristol.

mineral land, a larger amount of good agricultural and grazing land than any other county in Nevada, 16,124 acres being under cultivation in 1880, or five hundred more than Douglas, the most productive county of the west tier. It should be borne in mind that farming in Nevada has no other object than the local supply, on account of the enormous railroad tariff, which places an embargo upon grain growing for distant markets. The different policy of the Northern Pacific has encouraged the cultivation of the grain lands of Idaho, Oregon, and Washington, while in Nevada the management of the Central Pacific actually prohibits it. For this reason a large proportion of cultivable territory lies idle, and what is cultivated is not made to produce as it might. The average product of farms in Elko county is 30 bushels of wheat, 35 of barley, 60 of oats, and 100 of potatoes to the acre. Elko county raised in 1880 of wheat 30,000, of barley 150,000, of oats 370, of potatoes 370,000 bushels, and of hay 50,000 tons were cured. The county contained upon its ranges 70,520 cattle, 17,200 horses, 4,150 mules, 10,000 sheep, and 1,400 hogs. In 1884 it had 3 flouring-mills, and made 5,470 barrels of flour. It had 460 miles of irrigating ditches, 21 miles of mining ditches, 9 quartz-mills, and 2 smelting-furnaces. There were crushed in 1884, 5,124 tons of quartz and smelted 1,412 tons. The population was over 6,000, and the county upon a good financial basis. Like all the other counties, it is divided into valleys with a general north and south trend, excepting the Humboldt, which is not an agricultural valley. Its mines of argentiferous galena and other metals are found in the ranges separating the valleys, and are numerous. There are no less than 26 mining districts in the county, of which Kingsley district, discovered in 1862, in the Antelope range, by Felix O'Neil, is the oldest. A furnace for smelting ore was erected here. The Tuscarora district, organized in July 1867, lies 45 miles north of Carlin on

the headwaters of the Owyhee river, and is the next in point of time. It was discovered by the Beard brothers, who worked the placer diggings for gold. The quartz is free milling, and carries gold near the surface, which diminishes as depth iso btained. The Grand Prize mine is down 600 feet, and the Independence has a tunnel 1,500 feet in length. There are 500 miners in this district. Island Mountain district. 75 miles north of Elko, was discovered in 1873 by E. Penrod, one of the original owners of the Ophir mine on the Comstock. It is worked chiefly for the gold in the placers, and is supplied with water from a canal 10 miles in length, constructed by Penrod.

Carlin is the oldest town in the county, having been settled in July, 1868, by J. A. Palmer, and soon after by S. Pierce, C. Boyen, and James Clark. A town sprang up with the completion of the Humboldt division of the Central Pacific railroad, and the location of the company's round-house and shops. Elko, the county-seat, was first settled by George F. Paddleford in December 1868. In the following year it became the point of disembarkation for White Pine and Tuscarora mines.[21]

The towns and settlements not before mentioned in Elko county are Antelope Station, Aurora, Arthur, Blythe City, Bradley, Brown, Bruno, Buel, Bullion, Cedar, Cloverdale, Columbia, Coral Hill, Cornucopia, Deeth, Dolly Varden, Elaine, Excelsior, Fair Play, Falcon, Fort Halleck, Friend's Station, Golconda, Gerald, Good Hope, Heenans, Hicks District, Highland, Hoolon, Huntington, Independence, Island Mountain, Kinsley's Springs, Lamoille, Lamoille Valley, Lone Mountain, Loray, McPeters, Marshall Station, Moleen, Montello, Moors, Mountain City, Nat-

[21] A town was laid off by William T. Ballou, *Ballou's Adv.*, MS., 24, and had a rapid growth. In 1885 it had a population of 800 taxable property to the amount of $341,400, a daily and weekly newspaper, the state university, a good common school building, a church, several lodges of different societies, a brick jail, mineral soap factory, flouring mill, water company, and other useful institutions. It sustained a loss of about $100,000 by fires.

chez, North Ruby, Osino, Otego, Owyhee, Peko, Pequop, Robber's Roost, Ruby Valley, Salmon City, Shoemakers, Stickney Town, Tacoma, Toano, Toll Gate, Tulasco, Tuscarora, William, and Wyoming.[22]

White Pine county which was created out of Lander, April, 1869, consists of a succession of valleys between high ranges, Diamond range on the west being tipped with snow. In the autumn of 1865 a party of prospectors from Austin being attracted to the region east of this range by the view of mountains covered with white pine timber, discovered some mines of silver, lead, and copper, and organized the district of White Pine October 10th of that year. Robert Morrill and Thomas J. Murphy were prominent in these proceedings. The first discovery was in the region near the present town of Hamilton, others following in its neighborhood. The succeeding year Murphy and Crawford went to Philadelphia with ores from mines in White Pine district, and formed the Monte Cristo Mining company, which sent out a superintendent in 1867, who put up a mill and proceed to work the ores. In the autumn, after snow had fallen on the mountains, an Indian, for some trifling favor bestowed by A. J. Leathers, the blacksmith of the original company, gave him a piece of ore which being melted produced a button of silver. He was induced to show the place from which he had brought the specimen, which proved to be the Hidden Treasure mine from which Treasure Hill near Hamil-

[22] An important man at Tuscarora was Americus Vespuccius Lancaster, born in Belfast, Me, Sept. 5, 1835. He came to the Pacific coast in 1855, and after mining in various localities in Cal. and British Columbia, visiting Central America, and his former home in Me., where he married, he returned to this coast, and in 1867 settled at Tuscarora, then a new place, where he took contracts to supply wood and ties to the C. P. R. R., and with the proceeds set up in the grocery business, and also bought gold dust of the miners, making a profit which enabled him in a few years to improve some valuable mining property. The Young America and Young America south were located and patented by Lancaster and others, and the town of Tuscorora is on their ground. He owned in the Navajo and North Belle Isle, both of which produced well; and also greatly enlarged his mercaatile interests. In 1880 he removed to Alameda, Cal., to give his children the advantages which his liberal means enable him to bestow.

ton took its name. The Hidden Treasure was located January 3, 1868, by Leathers, Murphy, and Marchand, and sold in January 1860 for $200,000, to G. E. Roberts & Co. Soon after the discovery of the Hidden Treasure, T. E. Eberhardt of Austin, discovered the famous chloride deposit on Treasure hill, which was known as the Eberhardt mine, although in making locations with some friends the richest portion did not fall to him. The Eberhardt mine was disposed of in 1868 to a company which took several tons of the ore to Austin for reduction, where it was found to yield from $450 to $27,000 per ton. Ore working $3,000 was constantly taken from the Eberhardt, Keystone, and Blue Belle mines, which was banked up for smelting, when furnaces should be erected. On the 25th of September the Defiance mine produced in one day ore that would yield $40,000 worth of bullion, and had $75,000 in sight. These prodigies of wealth created the greatest fever of excitement known since the discovery of the Comstock. Thousands of men hastened to White Pine, rich and poor alike, and the prospector's pick was heard in all directions, while every cañon of the bare and rugged mountains about Treasure Hill had its sides adorned with miners' cabins, hanging like bird cages from its rocky sides. The excitement culminated in the winter and spring of 1868–9. A question in mining law was raised which was never before brought up, and arose out of the discovery that the Eberhardt group of mines were not upon any ledge which could be measured off and its extensions taken up, but were a single horizontal deposit, the chloride layers being separated by layers of limestone, and bounded by walls like a vault. These deposits have since become familiar in Colorado and are called contact, or blanket lodes. Supposing that this arrangement of ore must continue downward to the depth of other silver mines, a movement was made to compel those in possession, after working out one deposit, to allow another claim-

ant to take the next under it, and so on. The movement, however, did not prevail, and the Chloride Flat group of mines was suffered to remain in the hands of its fortunate owners, who sold or worked them as seemed best. Suits at law grew out of the peculiar formation after it was discovered that there had been different locations made, by croppings, on what proved to be the same body of ore, that is, not divided by any wall. One of these cases, brought in the courts of Lander county to which the district then belonged, was among the causes célèbres of that country. The bank of California made haste to secure the management as in the Comstock mines, purchasing several claims, but it never obtained the controlling interest. In the autumn of 1869 the mines of White Pine were producing monthly about $500,000 in bullion. The rich deposit which set the world agog proved not to be a deep one. Some millions of dollars were taken out, but at the depth of 100 feet the body of almost pure silver was exhausted. The Eberhardt was purchased in connection with the Aurora mine by an English company, by which it was worked with energy and varying fortune. A shaft was put down 1,400 feet, and over a mile of tunnelling made into the heart of the mountain. There were about twenty-four mining districts in White Pine county which were sufficiently tested to prove the value of the mines, which were of silver, gold, lead, copper, and other metals. In most of the districts wood and water could be obtained with little difficulty.

Agriculture was neglected for want of transportation, more than 2,500 acres being under cultivation in 1885. There were in the county in 1884 of stock-cattle 3,000, cows 2,000, calves 900, sheep 10,000, lambs 8,000, hogs 400, horses 1,200, and mules 150. The amount of good farming land was estimated at 12,000 acres. Of grazing land, much of which, with irrigation, would produce crops, there are 4,776,160 acres; of timbered land, 500,000 acres, and of min-

eral land, about the same amount. The population of the county was 2,500, and its assessed valuation $864,870.

Hamilton, the county seat of White Pine county, is situated on the northern slope of Treasure Hill, near the foot. Its altitude is 7,977 feet above the sea level, and the site commanding. It was laid off for a town by W. H. Hamilton, Henry Kelly, and E. Goben, in May 1868. Previous to this, and while only a rendezvous for prospectors, who dwelt in turf-houses quite as often as anything, it was called Cave City, but since received the name of Hamilton. Such was the rush of population in 1868–9 that houses could not be provided for the 10,000 inhabitants, but canvas was made to do duty for wood and brick. Hamilton was incorporated in 1869, and disincorporated in 1875. A brick court-house and jail was erected in 1870 at a cost of $50,000. A water company was formed which supplied Hamilton and Treasure hill with water brought from Illapah springs, in Momoke Hill, three miles east of Hamilton, where 2,000,000 gallons of water per day flow out of the rock. Steam pumping-works had to be used to force the water two miles through a 12-inch pipe and lift it to a reservoir 1,000 feet high. This cost $380,000, and the original company sold to the Eberhardt and Aurora Mining companies in 1878. In 1873 a fire destroyed $600,000 worth of property at Hamilton, this devastation having been caused by the owner of a cigar store who set fire to his premises to get the insurance, having first turned off the water to disable the fire company. In Applegarth's Cañon, at the foot of Treasure hill, on the south side, is Eberhardt, with 100 inhabitants. On the western slope, near the top, and often above the clouds that overhang Hamilton, is Treasure City. It had 6,000 inhabitants in 1869, and 50 in 1885. Shermantown, situated at the mouth of a cañon dividing Treasure Hill from White Pine Mountain, five miles south of and at a

much lower altitude than Hamilton, was the seat of two saw-mills, five quartz-mills, and four furnaces in 1868–9, and had 1,000 inhabitants. It was incorporated in 1870, and had a newspaper of its own, but is to-day deserted by all but a single family. Swansea, three-fourths of a mile north of Shermantown, had two quartz-mills and smelters, and several hundred people, of whom none remain. Such was the rise and decline of White Pine district, the most remarkable of any in eastern Nevada.

Cherry creek became the principal town in White Pine county. It was situated at the mouth of Cherry Creek cañon, on the eastern slope of the Eagan range, at an elevation of 6,300 feet. It owes its rise to the mines of that district, which were discovered in 1872. Ward is another mining town whose growth began in 1876. It is 62 miles south-east of Hamilton. Both towns support newspapers of their own. The settlements of White Pine county not above named are Aurum, Centreville, Clayton, Cooper, Diamond, Eagan, Ely, Glencoe, Hendrie's Mill, Hunter, Indian Queen, Kingston, Lehman, Maryland, Mineral City, Mosier, Newark hill, Osceola, Pianum, Picotillo, Piuma, Queen's Station, Rubyville, Schellbourne, Shoenbars, Simpson, Tiermont, Warner, West Ely, and White Pine City.

Eureka county, created out of Lander March 1, 1873, owes its separate existence to its mineral resources. These began to be known immediately after the settlement of Reese river, which formed a base of operations and supplies. The district was located on Mt Tenabo, the highest elevation of the Cortez mountains, thirty miles south-east of Beowawe, or Gravelly ford, where one of the largest mineral-bearing belts ever found in Nevada was discovered. The formation consists of granite and limestone.

A dike of quartzite 500 feet in width was named 'The Nevada Giant,' and excited great expectations. This mineral belt was subsequently developed

and its promised wealth realized, under the ownership of Simeon Wenban,[23] one of the original discoverers. It appears 3,000 feet above the valley, and stretches its enormous body diagonally down the mountain in plain view for about 19,000 feet, the south end dipping down and disappearing in the valley below. The district has proved one of the most important in the state.

The first mines were located in the granite on what was called 'Bullion Hill'; an eight-stamp mill was erected in 1864 by the Cortez Company for the purpose of reducing the ores found in the granite formation, and was operated by this company until 1867, when it was purchased by Wenban, who increased the capacity to ten stamps, and continued to operate it on ore taken from his mines located in the limestone formation, of which there were many, the most prominent being the Arctic, Idaho, Garrison, and St Louis. These mines have proved of great value.

In 1886 this mill was superseded by works to reduce ores by the leaching process, having a capacity of about fifty tons per day, erected under the personal supervision of Wenban. In the granite formation the veins running through the quartz were found to be rich but narrow. The whole mineral zone was productive, but it was in the limestone that Wenban found his great wealth. The ores required roasting before amalgamating, and carried both gold and silver. Wood and water were brought a distance of eight miles. Eureka district, discovered in 1864, produced great wealth, which increased the population of Lander county, and caused a division of the same.

[23] Mr Wenban was born in England in the parish of Hawkhurst, county Kent, May 18, 1824, and was the son of a wheelwright. In 1828 his parents immigrated to the U. S., residing in Utica, N. Y., and later in Cleveland, Ohio. In 1854 he came to the Pacific coast, mining for a while in Cal., but removing to Nevada in 1862. In 1863 he made one of a prospecting party which discovered the Cortés district, in which he owns about thirty mines. Mr Wenban has done everything to prove the wealth of that region, and in doing it has made himself a millionaire several times over, and without practising any selfish greed to the injury of his neighbors. His character stands as deservedly high as his success has been deservedly great.

The town of Eureka, which was founded in 1869 by W. W. McCoy and Alonzo Monroe was made the county seat.[24]

Eureka town, nearly 7,000 feet above the sea, is situated at the head of a cañon four miles long and 200 yards wide, from the sides of which parallel lines of steep hills rise one above the other to a height of from 500 to 1,200 feet, from whose crests numerous smaller cañons run down to the main one. Where this gorge spreads out among the lesser hills and ravines at the top the town site was located. It rapidly acquired population. A line of stages from Austin to Hamilton passed through it, and a post office was established in 1870. In the same year the town obtained direct connection with the Central Pacific railroad by Ennor and Woodruff's stages from Hamilton to Palisade. A fast freight line to Palisade was established in 1871, and in 1874 the Eureka and Palisade railroad was begun, which was completed the following year. With its completion Eureka became the centre of freight and passenger traffic for a large area of country. By a steady growth the population had increased to 5,000 in 1880. Stone quarries adjacent to the town furnished superior material for building, the public edifices as well as residences being partly constructed of this material. Brick was also much used in building. In 1879 a court house costing $53,000 was erected. There were two daily papers, two banks, and good schools. All the ores of this district were brought to Eureka for reduction in its sixteen furnaces. They carried from 15 to 60 per cent of lead, and sufficient iron and silica to obviate the necessity for importing foreign flux. The yield of Eureka district for 1879, was $10,000,000, and the total yield for the seven years, including 1879, was $20,000.000. The town of Eureka has been three times visited by

[24] This section has been thought of sufficient importance to justify the publication by Molinelli & Co. of a bound volume of 109 pages entitled *Eureka and its Resources*, 1879.

fire, the first, in 1872, causing the organization of a fire department; the second, in 1878, which destroyed $1,000,000 worth of property; and the third in 1880. A cloud burst in July 1874 destroyed considerable property, with the loss of seventeen lives. From these disasters the community recovered with the vigor imparted by conscious resources. Ruby Hill, two and one half miles west of Eureka, in 1880 had a population of 2,165. It was the residence of about 900 miners, who had a miners' union, and supported a newspaper, churches, schools, a theatre, and other popular institutions. Palisade, the northern terminus of the Eureka and Palisade railroad, had 200 inhabitants. It was furnished with water from the mountains to the north. The railroad company's shops were located here for manufacturing cars.

Although specifically a mining county, Eureka is self-supporting, and might be made productive of agricultural wealth to a much greater extent. The amount of land enclosed in 1885 was 27,940 acres, of which 9,255 were in hay, grain and vegetables. It had 18 miles of irrigating ditches. The average yield of wheat was 40 bushels to the acre. It raised, in 1884, 10,000 tons of hay, made 15,000 pounds of cheese, 50,000 pounds of butter, 55,335 gallons of beer, and sheared 74,000 pounds of wool. Its live stock was 2,425 horses, 466 mules, 7,577 stock cattle, 12,400 sheep, 366 cows, 210 hogs. The valuation placed upon real and personal property was $3,099,429. The product of the mines in bullion was $1,647,289, the net yield being set down at $218,286. Charcoal burning was carried on to a considerable extent. In 1879 the mine superintendents at Eureka rebelled at paying 30 cents a bushel for this indispensable article, and fixed the price at 27 cents. The Charcoal Burners' association immediately declared war, refused to permit any to be delivered at the smelters, and took possession of the town of Eureka, threatening destruction to their enemies, the mine

managers. Governor Kinkead was informed by telegraph of the danger to the public peace, and "a sufficient force of the second brigade of the state militia to insure a restoration of order" was authorized to be called out. On the 18th of August, Deputy-sheriff J. B. Simpson attempted to arrest some persons belonging to a coal camp at Fish creek, thirty miles from Eureka. Five coal burners were killed, and six wounded severely, in resisting arrest. Much excitement followed; but the coroner's jury brought in a verdict of justifiable homicide. Little doubt existed that the charcoal burners had suffered injustice at the hands of the contractors who delivered coal at the smelters, and made their measurements to meet their own interests. Added to this, a reduction in price brought on the riot which culminated so sadly in what is known as the Fish Creek war. The price of charcoal was reduced subsequently to 22 cents. In 1884, 165,000 bushels were burned. The nut pine wood, from which it was produced, yielded 28 bushels to a cord. The towns and settlements not above named are Allison, Alpha, Antelope, Beowawe, Blackburn, Boulder, Bullion, Cedar, Cluro, Colman, Cortés, Corwin, Devil's Gate, Diamond, Evans, Garden Pass, Goodwin, McLeod, Mineral Hill, Newtown, Oak, Pine Station, Pleasant Valley, Shipley, Shoshone, Silverado, Spring, Springville, Sulphur Spring Station, Summit, Vanderbilt, and Willards.

To sum up the condition of the state in 1883–6, it ranked third in the production of gold and silver, coming next after California and Colorado. It produced in twenty years about $600,000,000 of the precious metals. There was in the state $27,625,257 in real and personal property, at the assessor's valuation, distributed among 62,000 inhabitants. The state sold of its land grants 85,000 acres, showing the prospective increase of farming. It had been rather the custom to disparage Nevada, because with only

inhabitants enough to make one small city, were they all gathered together, it did not go on producing at the rate of $600,000,000 in twenty years from the mines, in addition to its other products; but the subject was coming to be better understood, and in every ordinary sense the state is yet only in its infancy. Oregon had in 1860 about the same number of inhabitants that Nevada had in 1880, and raised of the different cereals 1,820,278 against Nevada's crop in 1880 of 782,519 bushels; but Oregon was preëminently an agricultural state, and her wheat fields stood in the place of Nevada's mines; and while it is impossible that the latter should ever compete with the former in grain raising, it is also improbable that Oregon should ever show much more wealth per capita than it does at present, which is, at assessors' valuation, $402, while in Nevada at the same valuation it is $444, notwithstanding the wastefulness which attends mining in new countries, and which for the future must be overcome.

Of manufactures in Nevada there is not much to be said. The assessors' reports for 1884, from which two counties must be subtracted as not sending in any abstracts, and others of which are visibly imperfect, give 18 grist-mills, making 22,270 barrels of flour, besides which they ground 7,000 bushels of corn, and 22,000 of barley; 121 quartz-mills, crushing 349,688 tons of quartz; 24 smelting furnaces, reducing 64,076 tons of ore; 8 saw-mills and 3 planing-mills; 8 borax factories, reducing 1,460 tons of the salt; and 25 breweries, manufacturing 246,354 gallons of beer. The Nevada foundry, established at Johntown near Silver City in 1862 by Mead, McCone, and Tascar, formerly of Placerville, was the pioneer iron works of Nevada. The firm removed to Silver City in 1864, where they erected a stone building at a cost of $125,000, employing from seventy-five to one hundred men in the foundry afterwards. The establishment was burned in 1872, when McCone, having purchased

the entire interest, again removed to Virginia City, where he bought out the Fulton foundry, erected in 1863 by Thomas R. Jones. There was cast at this foundry, December 11, 1880, a fly-wheel centre for the Yellow Jacket hoisting works weighing 44,500 pounds, the largest casting hitherto made on the Pacific coast. It was here that the first engine and pump made in Nevada were constructed for the Bullion company in 1864. In 1862 Oliver Hyde started the Pioneer foundry at Gold Hill, and in 1864 another was opened at the same place by Greely, called the Gold Hill foundry, which cast the iron flag-staff erected on Mount Davidson in 1878. It was eighty feet high, made in three tubular sections, and replaced a wooden mast erected in 1863. The Pioneer cast the first Nevada cannon, an eight-pounder, in 1864. In 1869 Mead established the Union foundry, and in 1878 Frazer & Cummings established the Virginia foundry, which was removed to Reno in 1880.[25]

The first iron foundry of eastern Nevada was erected at Bullionville, in February 1873, for the railroad company. Iron works were opened at Eureka in 1880. The figure eight does not by any means represent the number of saw-mills in Nevada, although it appears upon so authentic a document as the assessor's report to the surveyor-general. White Pine county alone had five in 1884, and other counties in proportion to their timber and population. But the manufacture of lumber is carried on to a greater extent in Washoe than in any other, and in this business that modern invention, a wood and lumber flume, plays an important part. As I have before mentioned, the flume is V-shaped, wherein lies its great conducting power. Flumes of a box shape were common

[25] John Kewes in 1876 started a brass foundry at Virginia City, which suspended after about a year. Machinists received $6 per day in these foundries, blacksmiths $6.50, pattern makers $5.50, and other workmen $3.50 and $4. *Kelly's Nev. Dir.*, 1862, 174; *Dayton Lyon County Sentinel*, July 16 and Aug. 13, 1864; *Gold Hill News*, March 21, 1865; *Virginia City Chronicle*, Feb. 6, 1878; *Reno Gazette*, Dec. 14, 1880; *Id.*, Jan. 31, 1883.

enough, and had been used, to float timber down the mountains in California, but the wood lodged, and caused waste and destruction; the V form allowed it to move swiftly without obstruction. The first flume for transporting wood in Nevada was projected in 1865, to run from the west Carson river, in Alpine county, California, to Empire City, in Ormsby county, Nevada, thirty-two and a half miles, the fall being nine hundred and seventy-six feet. Among those who contemplated this scheme was J. W. Haines, who adopted the V-shaped flume, and on being satisfied of its advantages patented it, in September 1870. At that time there were about twenty-five miles of lumber flumes in the state, which increased as their economical value became known. In 1872 J. W. Haines sued William Sharon for an infringement of patent; but he was beaten in court on its being shown that certain persons, for economical reasons, had used flumes constructed similarly, though without having any idea of the superlative merit of this form over the box flume.[26]

In 1874, several other companies having been formed in the mean time, the bonanza firm, for themselves and other mining operators on the Comstock, having by their agent surveyed and purchased twelve thousand acres of the finest timbered land on the summits of the Sierra, formed the Pacific Wood, Lum-

[26] James W. Haines was born in Stanstead, Canada, near the Vermont line, on the 17th of Aug., 1826, his father being a Vermonter of English descent, and his grandfather a revolutionary soldier. In 1833 they left Canada for Ashtabula county, Ohio, where they lived upon a farm. When he was 20 years of age he began to follow the lakes, and remained in that service for about three years, when news of the gold found in Cal. brought him to this coast with a company from Ohio. After a brief experience of mining he opened a restaurant in Sac., and made considerable money; went into merchandising with Z. Lake, also from Ohio, and later with A. J. Webster. During the squatter riots he was on the squatter side of the quarrel, and was arrested and sent to the prison brig, but was soon released. Having made about $20,000, he returned home and married, but on revisiting Cal. found times somewhat changed. Cholera carried off his wife and numerous friends in 1852. His partner sold out to him and he took another. In 1854, during the excitement caused by the know-nothing party in politics, he was elected marshal of Sac. by that party. In 1857 he purchased an interest in a hay rancho of 8,000 acres, his partner being Alonzo Cheaney. In 1859 he

ber and Flume company, whose name explains its purpose. At a great outlay of labor and capital the machinery for a steam saw-mill was transported to the middle fork of Evans creek, half way to the summit, where it was set up, and began making the lumber to be used in the flume. Another mill, two miles further up the mountains, was erected immediately after the first. The flume was made V-shaped, of twenty-four-inch plank two inches in thickness, and had a capacity of five hundred cords of fire-wood, or 500,000 feet of lumber, daily. To gain a uniform grade it was necessary to build it on a trestle-work and stringers the whole distance. To make it strong enough to support heavy timber, it was braced longitudinally and across, the supports set in mud-sills. It was fifteen miles in length when opened, terminating in the Truckee meadows at Huffaker's, and the water supply came from Hunter creek, being dammed up in reservoirs. Great as was the expense, the outlay was soon returned in savings and profits. It was estimated that in twenty years $80,000,000 worth of timber had been taken from the forests on Lake Tahoe and Truckee river, and that the supply remaining in the basins of the Truckee and its tributaries was 5,000,000,000 feet, after having cut 40,000,000 annually for ten years. It will be seen from this that the lumber manufacture of the treeless state is, after all, a very important one. The total length of wood flumes in Douglas, Ormsby, and Washoe counties is

sold his store, and again visited the east. On returning he found great excitement prevailing concerning silver, and everybody going to Nevada. He followed with fat cattle and sheep for the miners, and through this business became interested in the young state, finally purchasing a rancho of 800 acres in what is now Douglas co. He was elected a member of the first and second constitutional conventions. In 1870 he was elected to the state senate, and was chosen presidential elector for Grant. He was also appointed by Grant to receive the C. P. railroad on its completion, together with W. T. Sherman of S. F. and F. A. Tritle of Nevada. Gov. Bradley appointed him commissioner to the centennial exposition at Phila, and he was a second time elected to the state senate. His influence has always been used in securing the best interests of the people of Nevada. A man of strong individuality and great activity. His landed interests in Nevada and California are large.

over eighty miles; the lumber transported in 1879 33,300,000 feet, and the wood 171,000 cords. Large tracts of timber land have been purchased by capitalists, and the tendency is toward moneyed men owning and controlling those two great natural resources, timber and water, in addition to a monopoly of grazing and desert lands.

There is, perhaps, no section of the union in which agricultural development is so largely dependent on irrigation as the state of Nevada. Though in the report of the state surveyor-general for 1888 30,000 acres were classed as agricultural land, with the exception of a narrow strip on the banks of the larger watercourses, its entire surface is practically unavailable for tillage without other moisture than is supplied by the rainfall. With a water area of more than 1,000,000 acres, and with at least 10,000,000 acres of irrigable land, little, as yet, has been accomplished in this direction, except in the Carson and Humboldt valleys. Within recent years, however, numerous projects have been considered, among which is a tunnel through the eastern slope of the Sierra, starting from a point near Genoa, and tapping Lake Tahoe, whereby an immense volume of water would be furnished, not only for irrigating vast sections of the country, but for manufacturing and other purposes.

In 1888 the sum of $100,000 was appropriated by the state legislature for a hydrographic survey, and a state board of reclamation and internal improvement appointed, of which Senator Evan Williams was made chairman, the remaining members of the board being senators Bradley, Blakeslee, and Springmeyer.

Artesian wells have been successful in some localities and have failed in others, though in the great valleys the conditions are such that the existence of vast subterranean basins is assured beyond a peradventure, for to these valleys there are no outlets, and

the greater portion of the vast streams of water that flow from the mountains sinks below the surface. In 1872 a bill was introduced in Congress by Kendall, of Nevada, to authorize the sinking of wells on the public domain, with a view to the reclamation of desert lands. Congress subsequently offered a grant of one hundred and sixty acres to every person who obtained a flowing well, which stimulated experiment in this direction. The cost of sinking wells to a great depth has varied from three or four dollars to twenty, according to the nature of the rock to be penetrated. The Nevada legislature in 1879 enacted a law providing for a bounty of two dollars per foot for sinking a flowing well in any part of the state below a depth of five hundred feet. Persons who at the passage of the act had already sunk three hundred feet were included in the bounty. Congress was also asked to make liberal donations of arable land to such persons.

The social condition of Nevada has undergone all those transitions for which mining communities are noted, and in which recklessness and crime are more conspicuous than honor and virtue. Not because miners are worse than other men, or because the criminal classes outnumber the law and order class, but as the shadow of that small satellite, the moon, being nearer, obscures at times the broad face of the sun, so a little evil ofttimes obscures much good. The non-productive, labor-shirking leeches of society swarm where they expect to draw rich blood. The prospector, on the contrary, is a serious-minded man, willing to toil over the mountains and through the rugged cañons, where nature hides her treasures, and it is he who has developed Nevada, and not the stock-gamblers, faro-dealers, lawyers, and whisky-sellers. From 1846 to 1880 there were over four hundred homicides. Comparatively few were downright murders for rob-

bery, but many were from hasty quarrels over mining or land claims, and were from the excitement caused by intoxicating drink and mingling in the heterogeneous crowds of new towns where there were no comfortable homes.

The Chinese were never welcomed to Nevada, and were discriminated against in the laws and the constitution of the state, their employment being also prohibited by the charters of the railroads constructed within the state after 1871. They were first introduced in 1858, to work on the ditch which Orson Hyde began and J. H. Rose completed, to take water from the Carson river to use in mining at the mouth of Gold cañon. Once in the country they could not be expelled. In 1859 they were working in the mines of Walker river and other localities, but were never tolerated on the Comstock, where the miners' union took care of the question. They were employed in building the Virginia and Truckee railroad, whose franchise was granted before restrictive laws were passed, and also by the Central Pacific, in grading its road-bed, a kind of work which Americans by common consent have usually left to foreign laborers. But when other industries were approached, the race prejudice showed itself; yet in vain, for in spite of miners' unions, legislative enactments, and popular feeling, the scarcity of house-servants compelled their employment in that capacity, as well as in that of laundrymen, farm-hands, and wood-choppers. Nor was it possible to prevent them from working in the mines where there was no organization against them. An anti-Chinese society was formed in Virginia City in 1879, and further legislation was had against employing them, and yet in 1882 they held their ground in spite of leagues, had begun to engage in quartz mining, and were applying to purchase state lands.

I have already referred to the manner in which the state supported a common school system, by paying interest on a large loan from the school fund derived

from the sale of the school lands. The common-school laws of Nevada are enlightened and liberal, and a certain amount of education is compulsory. The total number of public schools in the state in 1880 was 195; total number of districts, 109; average monthly pay of male teachers, $100, of female teachers, $77; whole number of primary schools 81, of intermediate 11, unclassified 81, grammar schools 19, high schools 3. The average rate of county school tax on $100 was $33\frac{3}{4}$ cents. There was also a number of private schools, with a total attendance of about 1,000 pupils, prominent among them being the seminary established at Reno in 1876, mainly through the efforts of Bishop Whitaker, of the episcopal church. The state university, originally located at Elko, and in 1886 removed to Reno, had two years later 115 students in attendance, with a corps of zealous and efficient teachers, and included a business department, a normal school, and schools of liberal arts, agriculture, mechanic arts, and mining. Under judicious management its land grant of 90,000 acres, together with state appropriations, furnished ample funds for its support. In connection with it was the agricultural experiment station, for which, as in other states and territories, $15,000 was appropriated by the general government. The appropriation for an agricultural college was diverted, with the consent of Congress, to found a college of mining and kindred sciences.

After the Mormons, the pioneer of religion in Nevada was Jesse L. Bennett, a methodist, who preached in Carson valley in 1859. In that year a methodist society was organized at Genoa by A. L. Bateman, and another at Carson by Bennett, who also preached the first sermon ever delivered in Virginia City, on C street, in 1861. When the collection was taken up, the humble itinerant was surprised to find he had nearly a hatful of gold and silver coins. Soon after Samuel B. Rooney was appointed to preach regularly at Virginia City, and Bennett was stationed at Washoe.

Rooney built a small wooden church at Virginia, on the corner of Taylor and D streets, costing only $2,000. In 1862 C. V. Anthony, his successor, erected a brick edifice costing $45,000, which was dedicated February 14, 1864, and paid for by John C. Fall and Ex-governor Blasdel. A parsonage was also erected, at a cost of $2,000. Nevada had been made a district by the California conference in 1861, N. E. Peck presiding elder; and in 1864 it was erected into an independent conference, whose first annual session was held at Virginia in September 1865, and its sixteenth in September 1880. In July 1871 a high wind unroofed the methodist church at Virginia, and blew down one of the walls. Before repairs were begun, a fire completed the destruction, and a frame building, costing $8,000, was substituted by T. H. McGarth; but on Christmas eve, 1872, another wind wrought $3,000 damage, and in the great fire of 1875 this building was entirely consumed. Finally, in 1876, a frame church, costing $20,000, was erected on the old site. A society was organized among the negroes of Virginia in 1873, under the jurisdiction of the African methodist conference, which in June 1875 completed a small church, only to have it destroyed in the great fire of October.

The second methodist church in Nevada was erected at Dayton in 1863 by J. N. Maddox. An incendiary fire destroyed the building in 1876. In 1863 a church and parsonage were erected at Washoe by McGarth, who preached there for two years. The building was donated to the school trustees about 1873. The methodist church at Gold Hill was erected in 1865 by A. F. Hitchcock, and was a small wooden building. On the 11th of April, 1873, Valentine Rightmyer, pastor of this church, died of lingering starvation, having a small salary, a large family, and too much pride to reveal his extreme want, a sacrifice all the more cruel and needless in a community where plenty and liberality were the rule. The methodist church

at Austin was built by the management of J. L. Trefen in a peculiar manner. When mining shares were subscribed, as they often were, he accepted them gratefully, and pooling the stock organized a methodist mining company, of which he became agent, selling the claims in the east, and realizing $250,000 on paper. Out of this amount a brick church was erected, with a fine organ and a commodious parsonage, costing $35,000. But the shares had been sold on installments, and the mining furore had subsided, so that no further collections could be made, leaving the concern $6,000 in debt. The church was sold to the county for a court-house, but subsequently redeemed, the society clearing itself from debt. The methodists of Carson City had no church edifice till 1867, when, on September 8th, Bishop Thompson of Ohio dedicated a stone structure which had cost $10,000, and which had been built chiefly by the exertions, and not a little by the personal labor of, Warren Nims. In 1874 the building was repaired and improved. The only methodist house of worship at White Pine was the broker's hall at Treasure City, where episcopal service were first held, which building was purchased for a meeting house in 1872, but subsequently abandoned. No other church has supplanted it. Winnemucca had a frame church, built by George B. Hinckle about 1873; Unionville a frame church, built by L. Ewing; and Reno a frame church, erected in 1870 by A. R. Ricker. Eureka had a church and parsonage, erected by John A. Gray in 1875, which were destroyed in the fire of 1879. Being partially rebuilt soon afterward, the church was again burned in another conflagration in 1880. Another edifice was erected, under the charge of J. T. Ladd, which was dedicated April 17, 1881. At Ruby Hill the methodist society erected a church in 1876, completing and paying for it before any preacher had come among them. Their first pastor was R. A. Ricker. Mason valley has had a small frame church and a parsonage since

1880; the former the result of the exertions of Mr Ladd. Methodist societies were established in Tuscarora and Elko. The membership of the methodist church in 1880 was 470, with 13 preachers, and the value of church property $67,300. Losses by fire aggregate $59,600, and abandoned property in deserted mining camps $6,500. These figures do not represent all that has been spent in church property, which is $160,500.

The first catholic church edifice in Nevada was erected at Genoa in 1860 by Father Gallagher, on King street. It was blown down in 1862, and another erected in its place. In 1861 the first religious services were held in Virginia City, by Mr Smeathman, an episcopal clergyman, and in the following year Franklin S. Rising, of New York, began a mission for his church in Nevada, which was followed by a visit from the bishop of the north-west territories, Talbot of Indiana, who held services at Aurora October 4, 1863, and organized a parish with William H. Stoy as its pastor, who was not able long to keep his restless flock together. St Paul's episcopal church at Virginia City was consecrated by Bisop Talbot on this visit, and received as its rector Ozi William Whitaker, afterwards bishop. St John's church was erected at Gold Hill in 1864, and occupied December 18th. It was taken charge of in 1865 by H. D. Lathrop of Ohio, and dedicated October 13, 1867, by Bishop Kip of California. An episcopal church was erected at Silver City in 1874–5 by W. R. Jenvey. Trinity church, Carson, was erected in 1868, and consecrated June 19, 1870, by Bishop Whitaker, George B. Allen rector. A parish was organized at Dayton December 26, 1863, under the name of church of the ascension. Bishop Talbot held services at Austin in 1863, and Marcus Lane of Michigan ministered there in 1868; but the parish of St George was not organized until 1873, with Christopher S. Stephenson in charge, who was succeeded by S. C. Blackiston, of

Colorado. The church of St George at Austin, built of brick, was the gift of Allen A. Curtis, superintendent of the Manhattan mine. The bell was presented by John A. Paxton and N. S. Gage, and the organ by James S. Porteous. The cost of the church and rectory was $17,000. The first episcopal services in White Pine district were held in Broker's hall, Treasure City, in the morning of June 10, 1869, and in a justice's court room at Hamilton, on the evening of the same day, by Bishop Whitaker. In September St Luke's parish was organized at Hamilton, with Samuel P. Kelly, of Rhode Island, rector. A small wooden church was erected and consecrated July 14, 1872. Bishop Whitaker visited Pioche September 13, 1870, preaching in a drinking saloon to a large congregation. A year afterward H. L. Badger of Ohio, commenced a mission at that place. The town had just been destroyed by fire, and services were held at private residences until July 21, 1872, when a small frame church and rectory were completed. Eureka also received a visit from the bishop of Nevada September 28, 1870, who held services in a canvas restaurant at nine o'clock in the evening, owing to a delay caused by an accident to the coach conveying him. During the following winter, Mr Kelly, of Hamilton, preached occasionally. In May, 1871, St James parish was organized, and the corner stone of the church laid by the bishop. A rectory was completed that year, and occupied by W. Henderson; but the church, which was built of stone, was not consecrated until July 28, 1872. In February 1873 the parish of Trinity church was organized, and services held by the bishop in the court house for three years. In the meantime, William Lucas of Ohio was installed as rector, and a church edifice completed June 8, 1878. The first episcopal services were held at Belmont in 1872 by Mr Kelly, S. B. Moore of Pittsburgh taking charge of St Stephen's parish the following year, which was incorporated

February 16, 1874, and a neat wooden church erected. It was consecrated in 1875 by Daniel Flack, of Rochester, New York. The cost of the episcopal churches of Nevada has been about $140,000.

The first catholic church building at Genoa, as I have said, was blown down in 1862, not being entirely completed at the time. Patrick Manogue then took charge of Virginia parish, and erected a better one, which was consecrated to St Mary of the mountains. The passionists in 1862–3 erected a frame church between Virginia and Gold Hill, which was afterward removed to Gold Hill; but being too small for the congregation, Father O'Reilly in 1864 erected a larger one. A catholic church was erected in Austin in 1864 by Father Monteverde; and at Hamilton in 1868–9 by Father Phelan. The church erected at Virginia City by Father Gallagher in 1860 being unsuited to the population of 1868, a brick church costing $65,000 was erected in that year, by Father Manogue, who was appointed vicar-general of the diocese of Grass Valley, which included the state of Nevada. In 1870 Father Grace built the church of St Teresa at Carson. In 1871 a church was erected at Pioche by Father Scanlan, and in 1872 at Belmont by Father Monteverde, who also built the frame church of St Brendan, at Eureka in 1871, which was replaced three years afterward by a brick church, erected by Father Hynes. In 1871, also, Father Merrill built the first catholic church at Reno. The great fire of 1875 at Virginia City destroyed the church erected by Manogue, who in 1877 replaced it by another, costing only a little less than the first, and beautifully decorated in the interior. The Reno church having been consumed in the fire of 1879, was rebuilt in an improved form. Up to 1885, the catholics expended about $250,000 in churches and charitable institutions.

The new school branch of the presbyterian church is the one which took root in Nevada. As early as

the spring of 1861 W. W. Brier, exploring agent of the assembly's committee of home missions, visiting Nevada, held a meeting at Carson in the stone school house, and organized a society. Subscriptions to the amount of $5,000 were obtained for a church edifice, and A. F. White of California removed to Carson the same year. The building was begun in 1862, and dedicated May 1864, Mr White officiating, assisted by Nims of the methodist church, and W. C. Pond of California. The presbyterian society of Virginia City was organized September 21, 1862, by Mr Brier, and in December D. H. Palmer of New York took charge of it. No church building was erected before 1867, when a neat edifice costing $4,700 was dedicated July 7. It was built with money obtained by a successful deal in mining stock purchased with the church funds, one of the few examples of stock gambling by a religious society, as such. The trustees purchased four lots on C street, and erected stores for rent on either side of the meeting house, the rental of which left but little to be supplied toward the support of a minister. This property escaped the fire of 1875. The membership at Virginia City is 105. The Gold Hill presbyterian society was organized Nov. 1, 1863, and W. W. Macomber was the minister in charge, though the first sermon was preached by Frederic Buell. This society never erected a church. A presbyterian society was organized at Austin January 3, 1864, at the court house by L. P. Webber. No church was ever built, and the society was assigned to the Sacramento presbytery. On the 26th of March, 1870, John Brown, of Glasgow, Scotland, organized a society at Elko with only seven members, and the Central Pacific company presenting it with four lots, money was raised to erect a small church, an organ being presented by Henry Ward Beecher. The presbyterians of Eureka organized with six members in August 1873, and W. C. McDougal was their first pastor, under whose charge a

church was erected. J. P. Egbert organized the society of presbyterians at Pioche in January 1873, with twelve members. It never had a meeting house, and in 1879 it was taken off the roll of churches. The total membership of the presbyterian church in Nevada is less than 200, and the value of their church property $15,000.

The first congregational church of Reno was organized February 19, 1871, by the society which was formed a month earlier. A. F. Hitchcock was elected pastor. A building was erected in which the society of odd fellows had their hall, and consecrated to religious services.

The Cumberland presbyterians formed a church in 1878 at Winnemucca, but after two or three years dissolved the society. For two or three years also, 1874–5, the Welsh miners held services in their native language at Miners' Union hall in Virginia City. The Christian church also had its representatives at Virginia in 1873.

The baptists first organized at Virginia in 1863 with a membership chiefly of colored people, Satchell pastor. The church was dissolved in 1866. Another society called the tabernacle baptist church was formed in 1865, McLafferty pastor, which held its services in the court-house. In June 1873 C. L. Fisher of California preached in any public hall obtainable, until the middle of December, when the first baptist church of Virginia was organized. In April 1874 ground was purchased on C street, and a house of worship finished in July. In 1875 Fisher organized a church at Reno, in the opera-house. In the following January he built a modest meeting-house, which was first occupied on the 7th of May. This church was destroyed in the fire of 1879, and a larger one erected. The total value of baptist church property in Nevada in 1880 was $5,000. A bequest of $20,000 was received by the American Church Missionary Society, for Nevada, from Miss Sarah Burr of

New York, who died March 1, 1882, to be applied to the support of struggling churches. The Bible society of California had an agent in Nevada until 1872, when the Storey County Bible society was formed, which was merged in the Nevada Bible society October 19, 1873, at its organization. The parent society in New York presented the Nevada offshoot with $2,000 worth of bibles in many different languages, and H. Richardson acted as agent in their distribution. At the west Shoshone reservation there was a school and some missionary work attempted, but without important results. The baptist church had control of the Indian missions in Nevada, though the catholics labored among the Washoes and Pah Utes off the reservations.

Benevolent societies have always found ready support in Nevada. In charitable work every religious denomination took part, and the world's people most of all, the money being chiefly contributed by the non-sectarian public. Among the first organized efforts at benevolence was the formation of the St Vincent de Paul society in 1863 by the catholic citizens of Virginia City, which numbered 500 members, and was organized by Manogue. Its charities were extended to all, irrespective of religious prejudices. The Nevada orphan asylum, St Mary's hospital, St Mary's school for girls, and St Vincent's school for boys were charitable institutions under the care of the sisters of charity, and founded in 1864 by Manogue. The grounds for the hospital were a gift from Mrs John W. Mackay, who, with her husband, was foremost in every good work for many years. The Jewish population were notably benevolent among their own race, and contributed liberally to many pu' lic charities. A society was organized by them at Reno, April 23, 1878, called the Chebra B'rith Sholom, for religious and benevolent work, but their property was burned in the fire of that year, and the society dissolved. On the 10th of August, 1879, the Reno

Hebrew Benevolent society was formed, with twenty-one members, for the same purposes. It owned a cemetery near the city. In February 1881 the Nevada Benevolent association filed papers of incorporation, the object of which was to give public entertainments of a musical and scientific character, to sell tickets to such entertainments, and to purchase hold, and distribute among the ticket-holders certain prizes in real estate or other property, to raise a fund to be devoted to charitable purposes, particularly the care of the insane; and the legislature was induced to pass a special act in aid of the enterprise, permitting the association to give five entertainments. But the constitution of Nevada distinctly forbids lotteries, and the supreme court deciding the law to be constitutional the association abandoned its purposes.

The first lodge of free-masons was established by a dispensation of the grand lodge of California, February 3, 1862, and chartered May 15th of the same year. In January 1865 the grand lodge of Nevada was organized, and Carson City Lodge No. 154 became Carson Lodge No. 1 under the new jurisdiction. Washoe Lodge No. 2 also derived its authority to organize from the California Grand Lodge July 25, 1862, and chartered May 14, 1863. Virginia Lodge No. 3 received a dispensation January 15, 1863, and was chartered May 14th following. All these lodges were prosperous and dispensed many thousands of dollars in charity. But in the great fire of 1875 Virginia Lodge No. 3 lost its temple, and thereupon it was resolved to hold a lodge upon the top of Mount Davidson, with all the pomp and ceremonies of the order, which unique intent was carried out in September, when a large number of visitors were present. The jewels of the officers, made of Ophir bullion, had been recovered from the ashes of their former lodge, and though injured, were worn on this occasion. Soon the society was refurnished and redomiciliated.[27]

[27] Amity Lodge No. 4 of Silver City; Silver Star Lodge No. 5 of Gold Hill; Esmeralda Lodge No. 6 of Aurora; Escurial Lodge No. 7 of Virginia

A state library was provided for by the first territorial legislature, which prescribed a fee of ten dollars from every person receiving a license to practice law, the money to go toward purchasing books for the territory. After the state was admitted an act was passed requiring each officer commissioned, except commissioners of deeds and notaries public, to pay

City; Lander Lodge No. 8 of Austin; and Valley Lodge No. 9 of Dayton, all received their dispensations and charters from California in 1863 and 1864. Austin Lodge No. 10 (1865) of Austin; Oasis Lodge No. 11 (1867) of Belmont; Douglas Lodge No. 12 (1868) of Genoa; Reno Lodge No. 13 (1869) of Reno; St John's Lodge No. 13, colored, (1875) of Carson; White Pine Lodge No. 14 (1869) of Hamilton; Elko Lodge No. 15 (1871) of Elko; Eureka Lodge No. 16 (1872) of Eureka; Humboldt Lodge No. 17 (1871) of Unionville; St John Lodge No. 18 (1871) of Pioche; Winnemucca Lodge No. 19 (1874) of Winnemucca; Palisade Lodge No. 20 (1876) of Palisade; Tuscarora Lodge No. 21 (1878) of Tuscarora; and Hope Lodge U. D. (1880) of Mason valley, all derived their charters from the Nevada grand lodge, except No. 13, which is working under the jurisdiction of the sovereign grand lodge of California. A masonic association was formed at Ward in 1876, which never asked for a dispensation. On the 16th of January, 1865, the grand lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Nevada was organized at Virginia City. On the 25th of January, 1866, some masons of Salt Lake City petitioned the Nevada grand lodge for authority to institute Mount Moriah Lodge in that place. Three chapters of the eastern star order have been established in Nevada, to which women are admitted. There are several chapters of masons under different names, a general grand chapter, and several commanderies of knights templar in the state. The order has dispensed about $75,000 in charities; owns $110,813 in property; and has lost by fires $50,000.

Lodges of Odd Fellows were organized in the following order: Wildey Lodge No. 1, Gold Hill, April 1, 1862; Silver City Lodge No. 2, April 14. 1862; Mount Davidson Lodge No. 3, Virginia City, April 22, 1862; Carson Lodge No. 4, Carson City, April 25, 1862; Dayton Lodge No. 5, June 2, 1863; Esmeralda Lodge No. 6, Aurora, September 16, 1863; Nevada Lodge No. 7, Virginia City, January 15, 1864; Washoe Lodge No. 8, Washoe City, January 18, 1864; Austin Lodge No. 9, Austin, January 23, 1864; Virginia Lodge No. 10, Virginia, May 18, 1865; Alpha Lodge No. 11, Austin, March 14, 1867 (disincorporated); Olive Branch Lodge No. 12, Virginia, April 4, 1867; Parker Lodge, No. 13, Gold Hill, October 8, 1868; Truckee Lodge No. 14, Reno, October 28, 1868; Genoa Lodge No. 15, Genoa, December 25, 1868; Humboldt Lodge No. 16, Winnemucca, August 29, 1869; Hamilton Lodge No. 17, Hamilton, April 26, 1870; Elko Lodge No. 18, Elko, October 19, 1870; Reno Lodge No. 19, Reno, May 18, 1871; Capital Lodge No. 20, Carson, July 28, 1871; Buena Vista Lodge No. 21, Unionville, October 26, 1871; Eureka Lodge No. 22, March 14, 1872; Pioche Lodge No. 23, September 10, 1872; Belmont Lodge No. 24, March 5, 1873; Paradise Lodge No. 25, Paradise valley, October 17, 1873; Palisade Lodge No. 26, Palisade, April 13, 1874; Mountain Lodge No. 27, Eureka, May 11, 1875; Tybo Lodge No. 28, Tybo, April 17, 1877; Cornucopia Lodge No. 29, Cornucopia, May 31, 1877; Tuscarora Lodge No. 30, Tuscarora, June 7, 1878; Battle Mountain Lodge No. 31, Battle Mountain, March 19, 1879. At Grantsville and Cherry Creek there are odd fellows' associations for the relief of the order, which will be chartered in the future. The first ten lodges were formed under the jurisdiction of California, but on the 21st of January, 1867, the grand lodge

five dollars to the library fund; and all fines and forfeitures for non-compliance with the law were devoted to the same purpose. The number of bound books in the state library in 1878 was 9,498; of unbound books, 663; and the number of newspapers on file, 15. A library was organized at Wadsworth in 1879 by the locomotive engineers. A circulating library was opened at Eureka in 1872. A literary and scientific society existed at Gold Hill as early as 1865, and encouragement was also given to the attainment of knowledge, especially of the sciences. The Nevada state medical society was formed in April, 1878, as a branch of the national American medical association. Twenty-four physicians were enrolled at the organization, the number increasing to 38 in1 880.

of Nevada was organized at Virginia City. There were in 1885 ten encampments in the state, the first six deriving their organization from the grand encampment of California, the 7th from the sovereign grand lodge, and three from the grand lodge of Nevada, organized December 28, 1874, at Carson. Two Rebekah degree lodges were instituted—the Colfax Lodge at Virginia City, and Esther Lodge of Austin.

The Knights of Pythias order had 12 lodges in 1885: Nevada Lodge No. 1, Virginia City, organized March 23, 1873, by authority of the supreme chancellor, H. C. Berry of Chicago; Damon Lodge No. 2, Carson City, July 18, 1873; Mystic Lodge No. 3, Gold Hill, Nov. 24, 1874; Carson Lodge No. 4, Carson City, December 20, 1873; Humboldt Lodge No. 5, Genoa, March 1, 1874; Lincoln Lodge No. 6, Virginia City, March 29, 1874; Beatific Lodge No. 7, Eureka, September 22, 1874; Amity Lodge No. 8, Reno, January 31, 1875; Toiyabe Lodge No. 9, Austin, November 9, 1875; Argenta Lodge No. 10, Battle Mountain, July 20, 1876; Triumph Lodge No. 11, Virginia City, October 20, 1879; Lyon Lodge No. 12, Dayton, October 15, 1880. A grand lodge was organized at Carson City March 31, 1874.

The ancient order of United Workmen, ancient order of Hibernians, independent order of Red Men, independent order of Foresters, Caledonian club, Virginia Turnverein, and Grand Army of the Republic, all have their organizations.

The Miners' Union was organized at Virginia City June 6, 1863, with R. D. Ferguson president, W. C. Bateman vice-president, and B. J. Shay secretary. The Gold Hill branch was organized August 6, 1864, with William Woodburn president. Woodburn was afterward member of congress. The union has a library, established December 28, 1877. Its first board of directors was composed of William H. Parker, B. Colgan, T. P. Roberts, Joseph Josephs, John F. McDonald. Secretary and librarian, B. Colgan. The library building was erected in 1876, and took the place of the miners' union hall, which was destroyed by the fire of 1875. There were set apart a chess-room and dancing-hall, and a public hall used by several societies, namely, the mechanics' union, ancient order of Hibernians, knights of the Red Branch, and Montgomery guards. The library contained in 1880, 2,200 books, worth $6,000, and the building and ground were worth $15,000 more. It was free to members of the union, but a fee of fifty cents a month was charged other persons using the books. Ruby Hill also had a miners' union.

The legislature in 1861 appropriated $500 for the purpose of collecting and sending specimens of ores from Nevada to the world's fair at London. A commissioner was also authorized to be appointed by the governor to represent Nevada at the Paris exposition in 1867. The legislature of 1875 appropriated $20,000 to constitute a centennial fund, for the purpose of erecting a quartz-mill at the Philadelphia exposition in 1876, and to exhibit mineralogical specimens thereat. At the Paris exposition of 1878 there was displayed one of the largest and most interesting collections of minerals ever exhibited, the display having been made possible by the liberality of J. W. Mackay. As early as 1866 the legislature provided for the maintenance of a school of mining, and created the office of state mineralogist. The law was repealed in 1877, and it was made the duty of the superintendent of public instruction to be ex officio curator of the state museum of mineralogical, geological, and other specimens which had been collected during eleven years, and which, 2,000 in number. were kept at Carson.[28]

[28] Nevada was not far behind the other Pacific states in her pioneer organizations. The society of Pacific Coast Pioneers, formed at Virginia City June 22, 1872, admits 3 classes; those who were residents of the coast prior to January 1, 1851, their male descendants in the direct line, and honorary members. Their hall, cabinet of minerals, and library were consumed in the conflagration of 1875. The money loss was $20,000; but the value of what could not be replaced was incalculable. They had later a building costing $22,000, and were collecting another cabinet and library. The society of Reese River Pioneers was organized June 11, 1873, composed of males who resided in Reese river mining district prior to December 31, 1864, the object being to collect and preserve the early history of the district, and perpetuate the memory of their dead comrades.

I have mentioned elsewhere some of the earlier newspapers of Nevada. The number of journals of all kinds published, for a greater or less time, shows great intellectual activity, and a liberal disposition on the part of the people. Without repeating the former list, I will give, so far as I am able, by counties, the newspaper history of the state. The politics is indicated, where known, by the letters r. and d.; daily and weekly by d. and w.

DOUGLAS COUNTY.

First Issued.	Name.	Name of Founder.	Discontinued.
1865, Sept. 5.	Nevada Republican, w.	J. H. Hill, r.	1865, Oct.
1865, Oct. 7.	Douglas Co. Banner, w.	Richard Wheeler, r.	1866, Jan.
1875, Feb. 20.	Carson Valley News, w.	A. C. Pratt, r.	1860, July 16.
1880, July 23.	Genoa Wkly Courier, w.	Boynton Carlisle, r.	
1880, April.	Genoa Journal, w.	J. H. Cradlebaugh, d.	1881, Jan. 1.

ELKO COUNTY

1869, May	Elko Independent, d.	E. D. Kelley and G. G. Berry, d.	
1870, June 5	Elko Chronicle, s-w.	W. B. Taylor and T. I. Butler, r.	1870, Dec.
1875, Sept. 11	Elko Weekly Post	E. A. Littlefield & C. C. Powning, r.	1881, April.
1877, March 10.	Tuscarora Times, w.	E. A. Littlefield, r.	
1877, May	Tuscarora Mining Review, s-w.	C. C. S. Wright	1878, Jan. 1.
1878, Jan. 1	Tuscarora Times-Review (consolid'td), d.	Dennis Fairchild & Wright	

ESMERALDA COUNTY

1862, May 10.	Esmeralda Star, w.	E. A. Sherman & Co.	1864, March.
1864, March 21.	Esmeralda Daily Union.	J. W. Avard, r.	1868, Oct.
1863, April	Aurora Times, d. & w.	R. E. Draper and R. Glenn, d.	1865, April.
1877, Oct. 13.	Esmeralda Herald, w.	Frank Kenyon, r.	
1873, Aug.	Borax Miner, w.	Wm. W. Barnes, d.	1877.
1877	Belleville Times	Mark W. Musgrove.	1878, July.
1880, June 5	Candelaria True Fissure, w.	J. M. Dormer.	
1881, Sept. 1	Oasis (Hawthorne), w.	O. E. Jones.	

EUREKA COUNTY

1870, July 16.	Eureka Sentinel, d.	A. Skillman & Co., d.	1885, May.
1878, Jan. 1.	Eureka Dy Republican.	J. C. Ragsdale	1878, June 24.
1878, June 25.	Eureka Daily Leader	F. E. Canfield & F. E. Fisk, r.	
1880, April 26	Ruby Hill W. Mining News.	James E. Anderson.	

HUMBOLDT COUNTY.

1863, May 2	Unionville Humboldt Register, w.	W. J. Forbes & C. L. Perkins, ind.	1869, May.
1869, Oct. 30	Winnemucca Humboldt Register, w.	E. D. Kelly, M. S. Bonnifield, d.	1876, Dec.
1868	Winnemucca Argent.	Jno. &. Jo. Wasson, r.	1868, Nov.
1870, March	Unionville Silver State, w. & d.	H. A. Waldo, d.	
1869, Aug. 18	Winnemucca, Humboldt National.	J. A. Booth, d.	1869.
1879, May 10	Paradise Reporter	H. Warren, d.	1880, Nov.

LANDER COUNTY.

First Issued.	Name.	Name of Founder.	Discontinued.
1863, May 16.	Reese River Reveille, s-w.	W. C. Phillips, r.	
1873, Dec. 26	Battle Mtn Measure for Measure.	W. J. Forbes	1875, Oct.
1877, May 19.	Battle Mtn Messenger.	M. W. Musgrove, r.	
1881, Aug	Battle Mtn Free Press.		
1881, Nov. 23.	Lewis Weekly Herald.		

LINCOLN COUNTY.

1870, Sept. 17.	Pioche Ely Record, s. w.	W. H. Pitchford & Co.	
1872. Sept. 17.	Pioche Daily Record.	Pat. Holland, d.	
1872, Sept	Pioche Review, d.	F. Kenyon & W. B. Taylor, r.	1872, Nov.
1874, Dec. 15.	Pioche Journal	O. K. Westcott & Frank Wyatt.	1876, May 3.

LYON COUNTY.

1864, April 16.	Como Sentinel, w.....	H. L. Weston & T. W. Abraham, r.	1864, July.
1864, July 9...	Dayton Lyon County Sentinel, w.	Abraham, Cooper & Paine.	1866.
1874, July....	Lyon Co. Times, t-w....	Frank Kenyon.....	
1876, March 10.	Silver City D. Mg Reptr.	Reporter Company..	1876.
1875, July....	Sutro Independent	A Sutro and T. S. Picott.	1880, Nov.

NYE COUNTY.

1864, June 25..	Ione Nye Co. News, w.	J. E. Eckley & H. De Groot, r.	1867, May.
1864, Sept.....	Ione Advertiser, w.....	John Booth, d.....	1864, Nov.
1867, March 30.	Silver Bend Reporter, w	O. L. C. Fairchild & Co., ind.	1868, July.
1868, June 6...	Belmont Mountain Champion, w.	W. F. Myres, r....	1869.
1874, Feb. 11..	Belmont Courier, w....	A. Cassamayou & J. Booth, ind.	
1886, May....	Tybo Sun, w.....	J. C. Ragsdale.....	1879, Nov.
1878, Dec.....	Grantsville Sun, w.....	D. L. Sayer, ind.....	1879, June.
1880.....	Grantsville Bonanza....	A. Maute and S. Donald, ind.	

ORMSBY COUNTY (see *ubi supra*).

STOREY COUNTY (see *ubi supra*).

1863, July 7...	Virginia Evg Bulletin, d.	H. P. Taylor & Co., r.	1864, May.
1863. Aug. 10..	Dy Democratic Standard	E. O. Hatch and J. F. Linthicum.	1863, Oct.
1863	The Occidental.....	Thomas Fitch.....	1863, May.
1863, Oct. 12..	Gold Hill Daily News..	Philip Lynch and J. H. Mandall.	
1864, March 31.	Nevada Pioneer, s-w.... Virginia Constitution..	J. F. Hahnlen, d.....	1864, Oct.
1864, July 3....	Washoe D. Evg Herald	Thos. Fitch and H. C. Bennett, r.	1864, July 27.
1864, Oct. 28...	Nev. Staats Zeitung, w.	H. M. Bien, r.....	1864.

STOREY COUNTY (continued).

First Issued.	Name.	Name of Founder.	Discontinued.
1865, April 17..	Two O'Clock News.....	John P. Morrison....	1865.
1866, Oct. 16...	Deutsch Union.....	J. F. Hahlen.....	1866.
1872, Oct. 8...	Virginia Evg Chronicle.	E. F. Bean and John G. Ginn, d	
1876, Sept.....	Comstock D. Record....	W. Frank Stewart...	1876, Sept.
188	Virginia Footlight		

WASHOE COUNTY.

1862, Oct. 18...	Washoe Times, w.....	G. W. Derickson, r...	1863, Dec. 12.
1863, Dec. 12...	Old Pah Ute.....	John K. Lovejoy, r..	1864, Apr 16.
1864, April 16..	Daily Old Piute.....	Wilson & Gregory....	1865, Jan. 8.
1865, Jan. 8....	Washoe Weekly Times..	De Lashmutt & Co....	1865, Nov. 20.
1878, Aug. 5...	Reno Daily Record.....	H. A. Waldo & Co...	1878, Nov. 1.
1870, Nov. 23..	Nevada State Journal, d. & w.	J. G. Law & Co., r.	
1876, March 28.	Reno Evening Gazette..	J. F. Alexander, r.	
1881, March ...	The Plaindealer.....	M. H. Hogan, ind.	

WHITE PINE COUNTY.

1868, Dec. 26..	White Pine News (Treasure City).	W. H. Pitchford & B. W. Simpson.	1870, Jan.
1870, Jan.....	White Pine News (Hamilton).	W. J. Forbes, r.....1878, Nov.	
1869, Feb.....	Inland Empire (Hamilton).	James J. Ayres, r...1870, Nov.	
1869, Dec.....	Evening Telegram (Hamilton).	Pat. Holland. r.....1870.	
1869, March ...Shermantown Reporter..		McElwain & Allen...1870, May.	
1872, July.....Schell Creek Prospect...		Forbes & Pitchford...1873, Jan.	
1876, Oct.....Ward Miner.....		Mark W. Musgrove..1877, April.	
1877, April 19..The Ward Reflex, w....		R. W. Simpson, ind.	
1878, Jan. 1....Cherry Crk Independent.		B. M. Barney, ind.. .1878, March.	
1881, Jan.....	Cherry Creek White Pine News.	W. R. Forrest, W. L. Davis.	
Spirit of the West (Ward).			
Union (Ward).			
Watchman (Ward).			

The histories of all these newspapers, which, by their itinerant habits, well illustrate the restless vitality of a mining population, as well as their varying fortunes, would be a history of the state from a political and financial point of view, and would contain a great deal of the most interesting biography of the country; but it would form a volume of itself. I have in my collection files of all the more important journals; for several of which I am indebted to O. R. Leonard and James Crawford of Carson.

Reference has been made in this chapter to the following works: *Ten Years in Nevada*, 1870–80, by Mrs M. M. Mathews, which is a narrative of family life, and speaks of Nevada incidentally, but none the less truthfully for that. *The Two Americas* by Sir Rose Lambert Price, Bart, illustrated, 1877, is a book of travel in South and North America, superficial in observation, and of trifling interest. *The Mormons and the Silver Mines* by J. Bonwick, 1872, another hasty book by an English tourist, the most noticeable feature of which is the credulity of the author as to the fallibility of everything un-English. The chapter on Nevada silver mines is the best part of the book. *The Woman in Battle. A Narrative of the Exploits, Adventures, and Travels of Madam Loretta Janetta Velasquez, otherwise known as Lieutenant Harry L. Buford of the confederate army, edited by C. J. Worthington*, The title explains the nature of this book. It is only to be added that after her adventures as a spy the subject of the narrative married a miner in Austin, Nevada, and offers some slight remarks upon life in that and other western towns. *Resources and Prospects of America, Ascertained during a Visit to the United States in the Autumn of 1865*, by Sir S. Morton Peto, Bart, 1866, is a book of nearly 400 pages, containing some facts and some absurdities. What shall we say of a man supposed to be in his senses who visits Nevada and writes thus: 'This district is said to have beeu actually untraversed before 1859. In the spring of that year it was explored by Mr Horace Grecley, and in the month of September following by a party of young men from Illinois.' This party was probably the young man with his associates, to whom Horace said 'Go west.' *Westward by Rail; the New Route to the East*, by W. F. Rae, 1870, is another book by an English tourist, this time a very good-natured one. Thirty-three pages are devoted to sights and incidents along the line of the Central Pacific. *All the Western States and Territories from the Alleghanies to the Pacific, and from the Lakes to the Gulf*, by John W. Barber and Henry Howe, 1867, is a history from their earliest times, with pioneer incidents, biographical sketches, and geographical description, illustrated. Twelve pages are devoted to Nevada, and the brief sketch is in general correct. Barber's work is worthily done where he deals with territory within his reach, and is an excellent epitomized history. *Exploration*

Mineralogique Des Régions Mexicaines, suive De Notes Archéologiques et Ethnographiques, par M. E. Guillemin Tarayre, etc., 1869, is a careful report on these subjects to the minister of public instruction at Paris. Nevada is merely touched upon in the work, a chapter being given to the Indian tribes, and a few pages to the geography and mineralogy of the state. Also *Pacific Coast Mining Review*, 1878–9; *Hayne*, in *King's Survey*, iii. 316, 394, 409, 423; Grote in *Hayden's Geological Survey*, vi. no. 2, 255–77; *Overland Monthly*, March 1869, 273–80; *Cadwalader Guide, etc.; Williams' Pac Tourist*, 175, 205–7; *Safford's Narr.*, MS., 31–2; *Thornton's Oregon and California*, i. 170–88; ii. 100–20; Beckwith, in *Pac R. R. Report*, ii. 25–39, 62, 68, 88–9; *Reise Durch die felsenebirge*, 130–9; notes of travel through Nevada; *Galaxy* (mag.), xxi. April 1876; *Galveston News*, Dec. 1, 1884; Brackett, in *Western Monthly*, 239; *Wheelock's Guide to Reese River; Austin Directory*, 1866, 26–40; *New Mexico Scraps*, 58–60; *Directory Pacific Coast*, 1871–3, 343–76; *Blatchly's Rept on Mineral Resources of Reese River*, 5–6, 35, 48; *Harper's Mag.*, June 1866, 27–8, 34; *De Groot's Report on the Mineral Deposits and Other Properties of the Nevada Consolidated Borax Company; Fox's Mason Valley Settlement*, MS., 1; *National Almanac*, 1864, 452; *Message of Governor Adams*, 1885; *Meteorological Observations*, made at Carson observatory, 1883–4; *Adventures in the Far West and Life Among the Mormons*, by Mrs C. V. Waite, 1882, describes among other things the society of Carson City, 262–71; *Greeley's Overland Journey*, 270–80; *Life and Labor in the Far, Far West*, by W. Henry Barneby, is 'notes of a tour in the western states, British Columbia, Manitoba, and the north-west territory,' with glances at Nevada. The writer of the last named work is English, and an industrious observer of wayside scenes and local customs. The book is good of its kind. *From Wisconsin to California and Return*, by James Ross and George Gary. *A Comprehensive View of our Country and its Resources*, by James D. McCabe, Jr, 1876, gives a brief outline of the history of the nation and each of the states separately, with descriptive matter and present resources. *From the Orient to the Occident*, or *L. Boyer's Trip Across the Rocky Mountains in April 1877*, is the title of a book of 145 pages describing what was seen upon the journey. A few pages are given to Fair & Mackay's lumber flume. *Crofutt's Overland Tourist* is a travellers' guide book, and gives a brief history of each station on the railroad, and also of other points of interest in the state. *White Pine, its Geographical Location, Topography, Geological Formation, Mining Laws, Mineral Resources, Towns, etc.*, by Albert S. Evans, 1869, is a pamphlet of 49 pages, which keeps the promise of its title page better than many a more pretentious book. *Six Months in California*, by J. G. Player Frowd, an English traveller, is a pleasant account of a summer jaunt, and is devoted chiefly to California, but contains a chapter on the mines of Nevada, with here and there a bit of description worth reading. *From the Atlantic to the Pacific Overland* is a series of letters by Demas Barnes describing the journey, and also the ocean voyage home by the isthmus of Panamá. A dozen pages are given to mining in Nevada out of 135 in all. *Ten Thousand Miles of Travel, Sport, and Adventure*, by F. French Townshend, capt 2d Life Guards, is a running account of what the writer saw and heard in his sea and land travel, with some hunting on the plains, and some remarks upon mining in Nevada. *Adventures in the Apache Country; A Tour Through Arizona and Sonora, with Notes on the Silver Regions of Nevada*, deals with the descriptive and historical in a clear and very readable style. Fifty-three pages are given to the southern portion of Nevada. *Reports of the State Controller of Nevada, Attorney-general of Nevada, State Treasurer of Nevada, and Secretary of State of Nevada*, for 1884.

CHAPTER XI.

PROGRESS OF EVENTS.

1881–1888.

FINANCES—REDUCTION OF EXPENSES—PUBLIC BUILDINGS—STATE PRISON WAR—STATE UNIVERSITY—PUBLIC CHARITIES—EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS—PROPOSED ANNEXATION OF SOUTHERN IDAHO—MINING—RAILROADS—POLITICS.

FOLLOWING the excitement of the bonanza period, and the struggle in congress over the silver question, was a period of quiet adjustment to existing conditions. Nevada had begun its career under those circumstances which foster a spirit of recklessness in expenditure, and had for some time been making endeavors to bring the cost of county and state government down to a level of reasonable economy. Only one defalcation of importance had occurred to stain the records of the state—that of the treasurer, Eben Rhoades, in 1869, when $106,432.58 of the state's money were feloniously converted to his use. The bonded state debt in 1872 amounted tto $500,000, bearing fifteen per cent interest per annum, then nearly due, with very little in the treasury to meet it.

To remedy this unfortunate condition of affairs the legislature of 1871 had passed a law authorizing the state to borrow $280,000, and to issue its bonds therefor, payable in 1881, with interest at ten per cent per annum. A loan of $160,000 was negotiated in April 1871, and a further loan of $120,000 at nine and a half per cent, payable in 1882. In 1875 the legislature authorized the purchase and cancellation of these

bonds, and $119,600 were so cancelled at that time. The state moneys were also applied to the purchase of United States and California state bonds, the interest on which was devoted, with the principal, to extinguishing the debt of Nevada. But there was also what was known as the territorial debt amounting to $380,000, which the legislature of 1871 provided for in a manner similar to that adopted for the state debt, by borrowing and issuing bonds at nine and a half cents interest, and payable in 1887. United States bonds to the amount of $100,000 were also purchased toward the extinguishment of this debt during the years previous to 1878. With a view to the cancellation of the territorial debt, which congress had repeatedly been asked to assume,[1] the legislature of 1877 passed a state law authorizing the application to this purpose of the assets of the territorial interest and sinking fund, the bonds belonging to the state school fund, and $50,000 from the general fund.

This law contemplated the issuance by the state to the school fund of an irreducible bond, bearing five per cent interest per annum, for the sum of $380,000, which was considered to be the best application of the assets in the state school fund that could be made in the interest of the public schools. But the holders of the territorial bonds refused at that time to accept this exchange. The debt, however, was virtually extinguished, as the means were in hand to pay the bonds whenever surrendered.

There was in Nevada at this time a singular disproportion of revenue to expenses, notwithstanding the refusal of the bonanza mine-owners to pay taxes according to law, there being in 1879 a surplus "far beyond the wants of the state,"[2] besides the mining

[1] The legislature of 1867 endeavored to have congress assume this indebtedness. *Nev. Laws*, 1867–83; and again in 1869 memorialized to the same effect. *Id.* 1869; 293. These claims were still unsettled in 1887, but were then under consideration, and have since been paid.

[2] *Governor Bradley's Message to the Legislature* 1879 *p.* 6.

tax due amounting to $290,275.95, and a penalty for refusal to pay off $101,596.57, for which suits were pending in the state courts,[3] and the territorial debt due from congress, and notwithstanding the legislature of 1875 had reduced the tax for all state purposes from a dollar and twenty-five cents on every $100 to ninety cents, which reduction amounted to half a million in the four years following. Clearly, taxes were inordinate when the state treasury was overflowing. However, the valuation of real and personal property fell off between 1873 and 1878 from $26,466,505 to $21,342,663. This simply showed that other resources of the state had been neglected to give undue attention to mining, and also that mining property was not taxed as it should have been. The state had produced an annual average of $25,000,000 in bullion ever since its admission, doing more to help resume specie payment after the war than many of the older states, and had asked and received less in appropriations than any other commonwealths, maintaining also a clean record as to its public trusts. Nothing was wanting but a little time to bring mining to a legitimate basis, and to develop the agricultural and other resources of the state. In 1882 the valuation had again risen to $27,000,000. Yet, a bill was before congress in that year to abolish the state of Nevada and attach the territory to California! It was quite the fashion in some quarters, after the failure of the bonanza mines, to disparage the battle-born member of the republic,[4] which had so speedily relieved the government by its support; but this fashion proceeded solely from the spleen common to humanity when any prodigal gift once enjoyed is withheld.

Senator W. W. Hobart of Eureka county introduced a bill, which passed the legislature in 1881, reducing the public expenses about $26,000 annually,

[3] These taxes were finally paid according to the decsion of the supreme court.

first by diminishing the number of legislators from seventy-five to sixty, and secondly by reducing the salaries of the state officers.[4] The pay of the latter having been adjusted to the cost of living in the early territorial and flush mining times, and to the expectation that the state would become populous and wealthy, could very properly be made to conform to later conditions without an exhibition of parsimony. With a view to reforms, the legislature of 1883 submitted to the people the question of calling a convention to revise the constitution, but the proposition was negatived, and Hobart's bill took its place.[5]

At the close of 1888 the finances of Nevada were in a sound condition. It had between $600,000 and $700,000 in cash in the treasury, and $600,000 in United States bonds. The school funds, chiefly invested in United States and Nevada state bonds, amounted to $1,250,000. The revenue was still considerably in excess of expenses. The state owed little except its debt to the school fund, which there was money in the treasury to meet, and which amounted to about $400,000, of which $380,000 was in the form of a five per cent irreducible bond, the interest on which was payable semi-annually, and the remainder in forty-five $1,000 bonds at four per cent. This conversion of the school fund into a fund for the support of the state was found to be beneficial to both. It at least prevented speculations in the school fund which were carried on to a considerable extent in another of the Pacific States. All that the state owed in 1885 was due to this fund which was irredeemable, as well as irreducible, and the interest alone applicable for educational purposes.

Public buildings in Nevada have kept pace with

[4] Says Gov. Adams: 'We find a system of state government much too cumbersome for our present wants, and requiring an annual expenditure entirely out of proportion to our taxable resources.' *Biennial Message*, 1886.

[5] The salaries of sup. judges were reduced from $7,000 to $5,000; governor's salary from $6,000 to $5,000; secretary's salary from $3,600 to $3,000; treasurer's the same, and smaller salaries in proportion. The mileage of the legislators was reduced from 40 to 25 cents. The law went into effect in 1883. *Gov. Message*, 1885; *Treas. Rept*, 1884.

the general progress of the state. The United States branch mint erected at Carson was founded September 25, 1866, and its machinery put in motion November 1, 1869. It is a handsome structure, built of sandstone, with a front of 90 feet, and two and a half stories high.[6] In January 1869 the legislature appropriated $100,000 to erect a capitol of sandstone, the corner-stone of which was laid on the 9th of June, 1870.[7] The state prison was also located at Carson, where a stone quarry marked by the footprints of primeval man furnished the material for its construction. Curry was the owner of the land, of whom the legislature purchased the site, and was the first warden appointed before the purchase, while the property was under a lease. The state in 1864 paid $80,000 for twenty acres with the buildings and appurtenances as they then existed. In 1867 the buildings were destroyed by fire, together with the records. The stone for the new prison was quarried by the convicts, and over $72,000 was spent in its erection, besides the labor and material on hand.[8] But in 1873 the political exigencies of the democratic party in the state, and the wishes of the inhabitants of Washoe county, caused the legislature to assume that there was a suf-

[6] The block of granite contributed by Nevada to the national monument expressed the temper of the people. It was a simple slab 2x3 feet and 6 inches in thickness, with a raised panel highly polished, inscribed: 'All for our country,' the letters being lined with gold and arranged in a semicirele, with the date 1881 beneath. Across the face is the word Nevada in letters 4 inches in height of native silver set in the stone.

[7] *Nev. Laws*, 1869, 73–5. Contract awarded to Peter Cavanaugh for $84,000, to be completed in Jan. 1871.

[8] *Nev. Jour. Sen.*, 1869, 181–6. *Id.*, 1879, 103–4. In 1870 a number of prisoners attempted to escape, and several persons were wounded. A still more serious uprising took place in 1871, in which Lieut.-gov. Denver and 4 guards were seriously wounded, F. M. Isaacs, guard, and Matthew Pixley, a prominent citizen, killed, and 29 of the most desperate characters escaped. The militia were called out. After that, in 1873, there was what was known as the state prison war, when Denver, who was warden, refused to surrender the prison to his successor, P. C. Hyman. Gov. Bradley called out the militia in this instance, also, and 60 armed men under Maj.-gen. Van Bokkelen, with one piece of artillery, were ordered to place the new incumbent in possession, even at the cost of life. Denver then surrendered. In 1877 there was a third attempt at escape, made by 8 men employed in a shoe factory, which had been added to the prison, in which one convict was killed, and the deputy warden, captain of the guard, and one prisoner wounded. An attempt was made to burn the prison in Aug. 1879, which was detected.

ficiently urgent need for more room for prisoners to justify the expenditure necessary to the project, and an act was passed providing for a new prison at Reno. For this purpose a state building fund was created. Into this fund the law transferred any surplus remaining in the state capitol fund, and a tax of one-eighth of one per cent. was levied for its special use, the first $100,000 so obtained to be devoted to the purchase of the necessary lands and the erection of buildings to accomodate not less than 300 prisoners.

The labor of the prisoners was to be utilized in the prosecution of the work. The commissioners proceeded to purchase 200 acres of land on the Truckee river, at Reno in a good location for mills and machinery, the foundations were laid, and the walls erected. But notwithstanding the better financial condition of the state subsequently, no further progress has been made. In 1888, convicts were accommodated in the old prison at Carson which proved sufficiently large under a different administration, and it was discovered that while undoubtedly the site at Reno was an excellent one, there was some doubt about the advisability of bringing prison labor in competition with wage workers, as they must be at Reno. And as nothing occurred to determine the question, the subject remains in abeyance. But in the meantime an asylum for the insane was erected at Reno; and the mentally afflicted were recalled from California hospitals and provided for at home.

Nevada received from the general government the usual grant of seventy-two sections of land to aid in establishing a state university, and 90,000 acres for the maintenance of a college of agriculture and mechanic arts. In the case of the latter grant the appropriation was converted with the consent of congress to the maintenance of a mining college.[9] The university was located at Elko, remote from the ex-

[9] *Nev. Jour. Sen.*, 1869, app. no. 1, p. 20; no. 8, p. 12-14, 43-9.

isting centres of population, and was for a long time no more than a preparatory school or academy. The citizens of Elko in order to secure the university offered to erect a brick edifice with accommodations for one hundred pupils as the initial foundation of the state colleges. A school was first opened there in 1874, and taught for four years by D. R. Sessions, A. M. and B. A. of Princeton college. With but meagre appropriations by the state, the university languished until 1887, when, it having been removed to Reno, a more eligible locality, the legislature appropriated $30,000 for its support, and started it upon a more useful career.

Congress had been liberal to Nevada in the matter of land grants. The school lands amounted to 3,925,000, acres, of which the state had sold previous to the 16th of June, 1880, 16,967 acres. By relinquishing to the United States all the remaining 16th and 36th sections, many of which were not agricultural, the state secured the privilege of selecting 2,000,000 acres of any unappropriated non-mineral lands, to be disposed of under such laws and regulations as the legislature should prescribe.[10] The grants besides those above mentioned were 500,000 acres for internal improvements, 12,800 for public buildings, and 12,800 for a penitentiary.

The state made provision for public charities, erecting an orphanage[11] at Carson in 1869. In 1873 Geo. H. Morrison was the author of assembly bill 29, which greatly enlarged the usefulness of the institution, since which time it has been one of the best charities on the Pacific coast.[12] There is an asylum for

[10] *Surveyor-general's Rept*, 1884, 31.

[11] *Nev. Jour. Assem.*, 1866, 247-9; *Nev. Jour. Sen.*, 1873, app. no. 9, 10; *Reno State Journal*, Jan. 27, 1877; *Gold Hill News*, April 13, 1881; *White Pine News*, Dec. 24, 1881; *Eureka Leader*, April 9, 1881.

[12] Morrison was born in Calais Maine, Nov. 8, 1845. He came to Nevada in 1864; was assessor of Virginia City in 1866; represented Storey county in the state legislature in 1873; was chief clerk of the assembly in 1883; married Mary E. Howard of Boston in 1870. In 1889 he was elected director of the Bancroft-Whitney law publishing co., and director and secretary of the History company. He rendered me valuable aid in gathering data for my historical work.

the insane at Reno. Until 1882 insane patients were sent to California asylums at the expense of the state; but the legislature at length appropriated $80,000 to found a proper sanitarium for brain-sick members of the body politic, and in 1881 was laid the corner-stone of the Nevada asylum. The deaf, dumb, and blind were sent to California institutions for instruction, the number of such unfortunates in Nevada's population not justifying the expenditure of a large sum for state schools.[13]

A favorite idea with Senator Stewart was the annexation of southern Idaho, with its mines and population. There were better ways of obtaining population, as the neighboring territories and youthful states with boards of trade and immigration bureaux have reminded him, than by any arbitrary proceedings. In anticipation of a possible consolidation, perhaps, and remembering that a large number of the citizens of southern Idaho were Mormons in faith, the Nevada legislature of 1877, by a joint concurrent resolution, amended the constitution so as to exclude from the privilege of electors any bigamist or polygamist, or any person who belonged to or affiliated with any order or organization inconsistent with or hostile to the government of the state or of the United States, or which sanctioned or tolerated bigamy or polygamy. This was turning the cold shoulder to Idaho, which half inclined to come into the arrangement with Nevada for the sake of achieving statehood. If the Mormons of Idaho saved that long-tried territory from being deprived of its individual existence, they served it better than they knew, and left the burden of increasing Nevada's strength and honors where it properly belonged.

The legislature of 1887 took a step in the right direction when it enacted laws encouraging the sink-

[13] *Nev. Jour. Sen.*, 1869, app. no. 8; *Carson Appeal*, Feb. 21, 1881; *White Pine News*, June 24, 1882; *Elko Independent*, June 14, 1882; *Eureka Sentinel*, July 4, 1882; *Reno Gazette*, July 1, 1882; *Nev. Statutes*, 1869, 103; *Nev. Sen. Jour.*, 1877, app. no. 7, 23–4, and no. 12, 8.

ing of artesian wells, and the storage of water from the snow-fall of winter. For the soil only awaited a sufficiency of moisture to change its condition from one of sterility to that of fertility, as had been done in the state of Colorado and the territory of Wyoming. Another important bill looked to the mining interests of the state by authorizing the appointment of a board of commissioners to hear and consider testimony as to the most economical and best methods of treating and reducing ores of gold and silver found and reduced in the state thereafter. Rewards were authorized to be paid out of the general state fund for the most economical method, and the most successful method, separately, economy taking the first prize.

Mining, although causing less excitement than in the early history of the state, was by no means on the decline as an industry. The amount of bullion returned for taxation in 1887 was $7,000,000, which did not represent more than half the actual output, but even at the assessor's figures this sum divided among a population of 60,000, which was the census of 1880, would give every inhabitant $116 from mining alone. New discoveries were frequently made, the country never having been thoroughly prospected; hence the law of 1887 to stimulate this industry and reduce it to a scientific basis.[14]

Nothing in the history of Nevada ever gave greater satisfaction than the passage of the interstate commerce bill of congress, compelling the railroads to cease discrimination against the owners of short-haul freight, compelling a merchant at Battle Mountain, for instance, to pay a higher rate from New York than the San Francisco merchant whose goods

[14] A new concentrating process was employed in the Reese river district with great success in 1887. It was invented by Hanchett and applied by Hanchett and Whipple to the dump of mills in that district, making a saving of $6,000,000 from ore that without this method would be wasted, the former mills reducing no ores assaying less than $40 per ton, while the tailings thus discarded often held $30, of which the concentrator saved 80 per cent.

were carried for two days' time farther west. This heavy tax upon the people of the state, dependent entirely upon railroad transportation, was sufficient of itself to prevent the undertaking of various enterprises which would otherwise have been set on foot for the development of the state's resources, and the relief felt and expressed at the passage of the relief bill of congress was universal.

Railroads, the great want of this state, as of every other in this era of rapid movement, were now thrice welcome. Fortunately for Nevada, 1887 was a year of great activity in railroads, which were spying out new lines in all directions, anticipating the growth which they were, more than any other agency, to promote.[15] Such was the business on the Central Pacific in this year that blockades of freight were frequent, more cars being loaded for the west than the company had locomotives to move. There was the same condition on the other transcontinental roads, showing that with the half dozen eastern roads to the Pacific there was room for more. Naturally, Nevada looked to have her hopes gratified, when the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy company—"the old reliable," as it was fondly named by the expectant Wyoming and Nevada people, had surveying parties in the field who actually had made more than one reconnoissance over the Sierra into California She had hope also of the Utah Central, which was understood to have a stake in California. And the finger of prophecy pointed besides to the Northwestern which was hesitating at a point in Wyoming whether to go northwest to Oregon, or west to California. The year of 1888 went by, however, and no definite measures were

[15] The legislature of 1887 enacted a law providing that narrow gauge roads should be assessed at $6,000 per mile, and standard gauge $10,000 per mile. This settled the question for the assessors who had been taking such property at the valuation of the owners; but a better law would have been to assess them at their actual value, and tax them at as low a figure as the public interest required.

taken by any company to parallel the Central Pacific through Nevada. Neither was there much mileage added to the local railways, for until interoceanic roads should parcel out the great area of the state between them, there would be little use for merely local lines.

But whatever drawback there may have been to the progress of the silver state, which I have or have not pointed out, its honor has never been assailed; its representatives in the national legislature have been men of mark; its people loyal to the American idea of progressive government. The republican legislature of 1887[16] elected William M. Stewart to succeed James G. Fair in the United States senate, making him the colleague of John P. Jones, both strong on the silver question in which the state had so great an interest, and on which the best financial talent in the country still remained at variance. By their united efforts, joined with those of Teller of Colorado, and a few other friends of bi-metalism, the demonetization of silver was prevented. Stewart also effected some important changes in the mining laws of congress, desirable from the standpoint of the miner.[17]

At the general election of 1886 William Woodburn was elected to succeed himself in congress. C. C.

[16] The republican majority in the senate in 1887 was 8; in the assembly 22.

[17] As the law was amended, the amount of work necessary to hold a placer claim was reduced to $50 per annum, and the amount of land which might be included in a patent to 160 acres. It fixed the hour of noon on the 1st day of August as the commencement and close of the year for annual work, instead of midnight on the 31st of Dec., darkness and cold having proven favorable to perjury. Relocations by the same persons were forbidden, thus preventing the fraudulent practice of making a new location on the same ground to avoid doing the amount of work required by law. Right of way was reserved through or over any mining claim for roads, ditches, tunnels, canals, or cuts, the damages occasioned to be assessed and paid in the manner provided by statute for the condemnation of private property for public use in the states and territories in which the mines are situated. No person should acquire in any manner more than one mining claim on the same vein. This restriction was meant to be in the original law, which was so worded, however, that it was often construed otherwise. Other minor changes made the mining law clearer and stronger in the interest of the actual miner.

Stevenson,[18] who for many years had been closely identified with the political history of Nevada as senator, as chairman of numberless committees, and as a leader of the republican party, was elected governor after a sharp but friendly contest with J. W. Adams,[19] not

[18] Charles C. Stevenson is a native of Ontario co., N. Y., whence in 1830, being then four years of age, he went with his parents to Canada, a few years afterward removing to Michigan. In 1859 he joined a party bound for Pike peak, but on account of discouraging reports decided to push on to Nevada, and was one of the first to arrive on the Comstock. At this date, July, 1859, Virginia City—then called Ophir—consisted of a single tent and a brushwood saloon, while Gold Hill contained one log-house and two miners' cabins. After mining for a time at the latter point with fair success, he purchased in 1861 a half interest in the first quartz-mill erected in Nevada, known as the Coover and Stevenson mill, and has ever since been engaged in mining and milling. In 1867, and again in 1869 and 1873, he was a member of the state senate, serving also in the first of these years on the state central committee. In 1872 he was elected a delegate to the national convention at Philadelphia, and in 1875 a member of the board of regents of the state university. It was largely through his efforts as governor and *ex officio* one of the regents that this institution was afterward placed on a solid foundation. Through his instrumentality an appropriation of $20,000 was secured for the proper representation of the state at the centennial exhibition, and as chairman of the board and superintendent of the department he gave his services free of charge, returning to the state treasury $1,000 of the appropriation. In 1880 and also in 1884 he was chosen a delegate to the national convention at Chicago, in the latter year being appointed chairman. For a number of years, as chairman of the Storey county and state central committees, he was one of the most active workers in the interests of his party. As chairman of the Nevada silver convention, held at Carson City in 1885, and of the Nevada silver association, he rendered good service to the state. By the latter thousands of documents were published and distributed in all parts of the union, advocating the free coinage and restoration of silver to its former standard. As president of the state agricultural society, which office he held for several years, he devoted his time and means to the farming and stock-raising interests of Nevada, introducing at his own expense the best grades of blooded Jersey cattle. Governor Stevenson is widely esteemed, not only as a ruler and statesman, but also as one of the most public-spirited men in his adopted state.

[19] Gov. Adams was born in Vermont, Aug. 6, 1835; came to California in 1852, and to Nevada in 1864; was married in 1878 to Miss Emma E. Lee; was among the early Comstock pioneers, coming there from Mariposa co., Cal., and engaged in the various phases of mining industry until elected lieut-gov. in 1874. A keen active politician, yet a thoroughly clean, honest citizen. For eight years lieutenant-governor and president of the senate, during which period he was in the most intimate relations with Gov. Bradley, as adviser, and on many important occasions the chief executive, in fact; also, during his own four years of gubernatorial control, he was, at all points, the actual servant of the people. In all matters of an economic nature, especially as a member of various boards, having in charge the disbursement of the state funds, he looked exclusively to the best interests of the people, regarding their affairs as a sacred trust in his hands, and hence ignoring every distracting consideration of partisan feeling or personal affiliation. He served the state faithfully and with honor. His friends are numerous and as intense in their regard for him as he has shown himself in his loyalty to them, but in this his fourth candidacy it was found, as is true

a single unkind word or act marring the friendship which had long existed between the rival candidates; H. C. Davis was chosen lieutenant-governor; J. M. Dormer secretary of state; George Tufly treasurer; J. F. Hallock comptroller; J. F. Alexander attorney-general, and W. C. Dovey superintendent of public instruction. O. R. Leonard was chief justice of the supreme court, and C. H. Belknap and Thomas P. Hawley associate justices. In this placidly prosperous condition I leave the silver commonwealth, whose greatness, although it makes haste slowly, is marching forward to meet and crown her none the less surely.

in the experience of all men of his positive character and uncompromising temper, his enemies had become sufficiently numerous to defeat him by a small majority. Mrs Adams, a most refined and worthy lady, was in every sense the ornament of the Governor's mansion, and continues to occupy a warm place in the esteem and affections of the best men and women of the silver state.

Philetus Everts, a native of New York, born 1830, came to Cal. in 1852, where he engaged in various branches of business until 1869, when he went to White Pine and engaged in merchandising at Hamilton. Mr Everts took an active interest in the welfare of the town, and in the affairs of the Eureka and Palisade railway, of which he was superintendent. He was also a large owner in the Eureka Lumber company. His health failing, Mr Everts disposed of his interests in Nevada, and after a trip to Europe went to Oakland, Cal., to live, where he built a business block on Broadway. Mr Everts has large interests elsewhere. He is a man of sterling character, and is highly respected by all who know him.

HISTORY OF COLORADO.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.

MOUNTAIN SYSTEM—PRIMEVAL WATERS—UPHEAVAL, EVAPORATION AND GLACIAL ACTION—DRY RIVERS—FLORA AND FAUNA—PRIMITIVE MAN—CAÑONS AND RIVER SYSTEMS—SERIES OF PARKS—CLIMATE—SOIL—FORESTS—GEOLOGICAL FORMATIONS—MINERALS AND METALS—GOLD AND SILVER—COAL AND IRON—PRECIOUS STONES—LAND AND WATER ELEVATIONS.

IN the gradual upheaval of the continent from a deep sea submersion, the great Sierra Madre, or mother range, of old Mexico first divided the waters, and presented a wall to the ocean on the west side. The San Juan range of Colorado is an extension of the Sierra Madre, and the oldest land in this part of the continent. Then at intervals far apart rose the Sangre de Cristo range, the Mojada or Greenhorn range, and lastly the Colorado, called the Front range because it is first seen from the east; and northeast from this the shorter upheavals of Wind river and the Black hills, each, as it lies nearer or farther from the main Rocky range, being more or less recent.

The longer slope and greater accessibility of the mountains on their eastern acclivity has come from the gradual wash and spreading out of the detritus of these elevations in comparatively shallow water, while yet the ocean thundered at the western base of the mother range. The salt waters enclosed by the barrier of the Rocky mountains, and subdivided afterward by the later upheavals into lesser seas, were carried off through the cañons which their own mighty force, aided by other activities of nature, and

by some of her weaknesses, opened for them. For uncounted ages the fresh water of the land flowed into the inland seas, and purged them of their saline flavor, washing the salts and alkalies into the bed of the ocean on the west, where after the emergence of the Sierra Nevada, and the elevation of the intervening mountains of the great basin, they largely remained, having no outlet. Gradual elevation and evaporation, with glacial action, completed the general shaping of the country. Subsequent elemental and volcanic action has left it with four parallel mountain ranges, from which shoot up 132 peaks, ranging from 12,000 to 14,500 feet above sea level, and from 9,000 to 10,000 feet above the general level of the state, with many lesser ones; with large elevated valleys called parks, walled about with majestic heights, covered with luxuriant grasses, threaded by streams of the purest water, beautified by lakes, and dotted with groups of trees; with narrow, fertile valleys skirting numerous small rivers, fringed with cottonwood and willow; with nobler rivers rushing through rents in the solid mountains thousands of feet in depth, and decorated by time and weather, with carvings such as no human agency could ever have designed, their wild imagery softened by blended tones of color in harmony with the blue sky, the purple-gray shadows, and the clinging moss and herbage; with forests of pine, fir, spruce, aspen, and other trees, covering the mountain sides up to a height of 10,000 or 12,000 feet; with wastes of sand at the western base of the Snowy range, or main chain, and arid mesas in the southeast, where everything is stunted except the enormous cacti; with grassy plains sloping to the east, made gay with an indigenous flora, and other grassy slopes extending to the mountains toward the west, each with its own distinctive features. It is, above all, a mountain country; and with all its streams, which are numerous, it is a dry one. In the summer many of its seeming water-courses are merely arroyos—dry creek beds;

others contain some water flowing in channels cut twenty or more feet down through yellow clay to a bed of shale; and still others run through cañons, with narrow bottoms supporting rich grass, and willow, thorn, cherry, currant, and plum trees. Sloping up from these may be a stretch of rolling country covered sparsely with low, spreading cedars; or a table-land, with colonies of prairie-dogs scattered over it, and moving about upon it herds of wild horses, buffaloes, deer, and antelopes. Up in the mountains are meadows, having in their midst beaver-dams overgrown with aspens, and little brooks trickling from them. Several other fur-bearing animals are here, also. In still other localities are fine trout streams, and game about them is abundant, elks, mountain sheep, bears, lynxes, wolves, panthers, pumas, wild-cats, grouse, pheasants, ptarmigans, and birds of various kinds having their habitat there.

But these were not the first inhabitants of these mountains. In the bed of one of the ancient seas west of the San Juan mountains, before mentioned, in a deposit three thousand feet thick, now hardened into rock, are the fossil skeletons of the first vertebrates of the American continent, species until recently unknown to science. As their bones are very numerous, being scattered over three thousand square miles, it is safe to conclude that Colorado supported a vast amount of animal life at that period when the rivers now dry washed down their remains to that ancient receptacle.

Here, too, about the shores of this primeval lake, which was encircled by upturned ridges of white gypsum and sandstone of various colors, yellow, vermilion, gray, and blood red, on sharp ridges, with precipitous sides, sometimes hundreds of feet high, dwelt the first men who inhabited this region of whom there is any trace. Their dwellings were of unhewn stones, cemented with a mortar containing a large portion of volcanic ashes. Their form was oval, like a bee-hive,

and they enclosed usually a cedar stump, the use of which is purely conjectural. So numerous were these dwellings, that the population must have been dense which occupied them; yet all were in these inaccessible situations. About them were scattered a few domestic implements, including large water-jars sunk in the ground, and some arrow-heads. But as no water can now be found within twenty-five miles of the cliff-dwellings, a long time must have elapsed to account for the change of climate which has taken place. Why this ancient people found it necessary or desirable to dwell on the top or in the face of the cliffs is unanswerable, unless we accept the almost incredible theory that, like the lake-dwellings of Switzerland, these houses were erected when the water of the now dried-up lake reached up to them. This belief might go far to account for the great number of bones of animals found in the lake bed, for they must have subsisted upon animal food. The few human bones found have been fossilized, which is in itself evidence of the long period of time since they were clothed in flesh.

I should be afraid to say this primitive race were capable of comparing the beauties of the great cañons over which modern Coloradans grow enthusiastic; or that they would understand what to-day is meant by Garden of the Gods, the place being conspicuous for the absence of both garden and gods; yet more striking, perhaps, than the Olympic mount, as here we have, if the imagination be strong enough, sandstone columns sculptured by the elements into the similitude of giant human forms, divinely tall if not divinely fair. Of the eight or more principal cañons which were opened for the waters in the infancy of this early world, the most wonderful and beautiful are west of the main range; and Black cañon, on Gunnison river, which is a branch of Grand river, itself a branch of the great stream of the west, with the longest and deepest cañon in the world, is the grand-

est of them all. So many aspects has it that any mood may be satisfied in regarding its varied features. The walls have an average width of three hundred feet, the rock being stratified, and continuing for miles. In places it rises one, two, or three thousand feet, with level summits, surmounted by a second wall of prodigious height. The level of the Gunnison river at Mountain creek, above the cañon, is 7,200 feet above the sea, that of the mesa on the north side 8,000, the wall of the cañon here being 1,600 feet, and a little lower, on the opposite side, 1,900. Still further down, the wall rises 3,000 feet, the lower 1,800 being of gneiss rock. The elevation of the mesa at this point is 9,800 feet. But these figures represent only height and depth; they convey no impression of the gorge itself, which sometimes narrows down to the width of the river, and is all gloom and grandeur, and again broadens out into a park, with waterfalls dashing down its inclosing walls, needles of highly-colored sandstone pointing skyward, trees growing out of the clefts in the palisades, huge rocks grouped fantastically about, curious plants sheltering in their shadows, and the brilliant, strong river darting down in swift green chutes between the spume-flecked boulders, dancing in creamy eddies, struggling to tumble headlong down some sparkling cataract, making the prismatic air resound with the soft tinkle as of merry laughter. Again, it surges along in half shadows, rushing as if blinded against massive abutments, to be dashed into spray, gliding thereafter more smoothly, as if rebuked for its previous haste, but always full of light, life, and motion. The grandeur, beauty, and variety of the views in Black cañon make doubly interesting the reflection that through this channel poured the waters of that great primal sea which once spread over western Colorado. A rival to it is the cañon of the Uncompahgre, in the same division of the state; and on the eastern slope are

those of Boulder, Clear, and Cheyenne creeks, and the Platte and Arkansas rivers.

The western slope is drained entirely, excepting some small streams falling into the San Luis lakes, by the affluents of the Rio Colorado of the west. All of the principal of these, except the main river and some of the branches of Green river, have their sources in the Rocky ranges, in the state of Colorado, most of them in the Park, the Saguache, the Elk, or the San Juan mountains. The Grand river rises in the Middle park, and after receiving the tributaries that drain Egeria park, and the northern slopes of the Elk mountains, cuts its way in mighty cañons through the plateaus of western Colorado, while its two chief affluents, the Gunnison and Rio Dolores, with their branches, drain all the western slopes lying between latitude 37° 30′ and 39° north. In the extreme southwest the Rio San Juan and its tributaries perform this office for a large extent of country.

On the east side of the great divide, the South Platte river, with about forty tributaries, rises well up among the peaks of the Front, or Colorado, range, and flowing north-northeast and easterly, drains a large extent of country, while the North Platte, rising in the Park range, drains the whole of tke North park toward the north. The eastern slope of Colorado is watered and drained by the royal river Arkansas, with its sixty or more tributaries, some of which are of considerable volume. It heads in the high region of the Saguache range, interlacing with springs of the Grand river, quite as the Columbia and the Missouri rise near each other farther north. Republican river, an affluent of the Kansas, itself having four tributaries, flows northeast down the long descent to its union with the main stream, near its junction with the Missouri, and in the south the Rio Grande del Norte, starting from the summits of the same range which feeds the Gunnison branch of Grand river on the opposite side, flows toward the

gulf of Mexico. Such is the river system of Colorado.

The series of high valleys, to which in Colorado are given the name of parks, and of which I have spoken, are of various dimensions. North park has a diameter of thirty miles, and an elevation of 8,500 feet. Middle park has a length of sixty-five miles by a breadth of forty-five, with an altitude of 8,000 feet. South park is but little less in size, and is 842 feet more elevated than its neighbor. San Luis park, still further south, is nearly as large as all the other three just named, and has an altitude of 7,500 feet. In it are the San Luis lakes. These elevated valleys are separated from each other, and surrounded by the several mountain chains, and their spurs or cross-ranges, except San Luis, which is opened toward the east. Through them course the tributary streams which feed the great rivers. Egeria, Estes, Animas, and Huerfano parks are small valleys of great beauty, at a general elevation of 8,000 feet.

What, then, shall be said of this country so grandly organic and so interesting in its cosmical history? That it illustrates the condition of the lower valleys and plains when they shall be as old as these oldest lands in America? For with all its numerous streams as I have said, Colorado is a dry country. The air has little humidity in it. The summer heat of the plains is excessive by day, but owing to the altitude the nights, even in midsummer, are cool. The summer mean temperature ranges from 64.6° to 69.2°, and the winter mean from 31.3° to 32.8°. The maximum heat of summer ranges from 93° to 99°, with from six to thirty days above 90°; and the minimum of winter from 3° to 12°, with from six to ten days when the mercury is below zero; which gives an extreme range for the year from 96° to 110°; and the rainfall averages 18.84 inches. With a surface composed of mountains and plains, ranging in altitude from

about 3,000 to more than 14,000 feet above the level of the sea, Colorado possesses many varieties of climate. The sharp extremes of heat and cold are perceptible to the senses only in a limited degree, on account of the large preponderance of sunny days and the dryness and tonic properties of the atmosphere, which is at once healthful, bracing, and exhilarating. The winter is the season of greatest charm, for then the bright sunshine gives balminess to the air, while in the blue dome of the sky is no cloud to stain its purity.

From the small amount of moisture distributed over the surface, and the great general elevation, it is natural that the agricultural area should be limited, and that only by a good system of irrigation could the soil be made to produce food enough to supply a dense population. Yet the soil is exceedingly rich with its mineral constituents of plants, and also deep, and must yield, when supplied with water, large and fine crops of cereals. On the eastern slopes of the state, in the parks, and west of the mother range, are grazing lands for countless herds of herbivorous animals. By and by all this will be changed; the herds will give way to the superior demands of the soil, a way meanwhile having been found to overcome the sterility of nature.

The effect of climate is visible in the forests of Colorado, which cover perhaps a tenth part of the area. The trees are not majestically tall and straight, like those of the more northern and western regions, but squat and branching, and of no great size. Neither are they in any great variety, but they will serve for fuel and lumber as well as the trees of many of the trans-Missouri states.

To find out where the natural wealth of this wonderful and beautiful country is hidden we must search beneath the soil and break open the rocks. The geology of the plains is cretaceous, or post-cretaceous, with the exception of areas of tertiary formation in the northern portion and on the Arkansas divide. At the base of the mountain the strata are turned

up, forming hog-backs in which the cretaceous and Jura trias are exposed, coal being found in the latter. All this is very simple; but in the mountains all the formations known are represented, and the arrangement is complex. The Front, most of the Park, all of the Mojada, and part of the Sangre de Cristo ranges are of granite and allied metamorphic rocks. The southern portion of the Sangre de Cristo is carboniferous, with here and there an intruded volcanic rock. The San Juan mountains are volcanic, with an area of quartzite peaks in their midst, and flanking the range on the south is an area of carboniferous and cretaceous rocks, while the Elk mountains are a medley of volcanic peaks thrown up among the silurian and carboniferous, flanked by cretaceous areas.

The North and Middle parks rest upon the tertiary formation, through which have been thrust up mountains of volcanic rock, while South park is an indescribable jumble, and San Luis is of recent formation. Volcanic rock overlies the high plateau on White river, in the western part of the state, beneath which may be found every formation down to the tertiary. Still further west and north the plateaux are tertiary. The Uintah mountains, which project into the state, consist of cretaceous, Jura trias, carboniferous, and silurian. In some places small groups of igneous upheavals have been pushed up through the sedimentary rocks. South of the San Juan mountains a large tertiary area is enclosed by cretaceous beds. And so on. Granite, gneiss, and sandstone might be said to be country rock, with impure limestone, slates, shales, and trachyte. It would seem hopeless to search for treasure with so confusing a stone guide-book to take our directions from. The younger world in Colorado has been resentfully pushed aside and overflowed by the older in so rude and violent a manner that much labor must be expended in fitting together again the dislocated strata and reading the story they should

teach. First by accident, and afterward by search, the clue was discovered which led to the knowledge of the mineral wealth of this portion of the Rocky mountains, for so long a time unsuspected.

The minerals of Colorado were not easy to come at. Gold, which was found in gneiss principally, existed in many refractory combinations, with sulphur and iron, with copper and sulphur, with zinc, tellurium, and other metals and minerals. If it were free milling it contained silver, and sometimes lead. In the trachyte mines of the south-west there was a chloridized combination of gold, silver, iron, maganese and gray copper. Silver, which was found in both gneissic and granite rocks, was chiefly in the form of a compound sulphuret of silver and lead called argentiferous galena, but existed also in combinations with carbonates of lead, carbonates and sulphurets of copper, zinc, tellurides of gold, nickel, iron, copper, manganese, antimony, arsenic, and sometimes in the form of a chloride, or as horn silver.

Nor was there any rule of nature known to mineralogists which applied to the situation of mines in Colorado, and old traditions were entirely at fault. Gold, which had always been found in placers washed down from the mountain veins, or in fissure veins of granite, or at the deepest, silurian rocks, filled with fragments of quartz or conglomerate, among which grains of gold were mingled, or deposited by water, was here found in metamorphic rocks, and also in the tertiary.

Silver, too, was equally eccentric in its situations. One of its remarkable deposits, found in the Leadville region, was in horizontal flat veins, from a few inches to a foot in thickness, separated from each other by layers of barren rock of a depth of a few hundred feet—blanket lodes they are called. They extended quite through lofty heights, cropping out on either side; but whether they were so deposited

or were formed in the rocks, which by some convulsion of the mountains were split open and turned over, is still conjectural. Almost equally surprising was it to find silver in trachyte rocks, or enveloping pebbles and bowlders like a crust, or still more remarkable, in fine threads or wires. These were problems for the scientists, as the modes of extracting the metals from their matrices was for the practical metallurgist.

The trend of the fissure veins in Colorado is north-east and south-west. They have in general clearly defined walls, some of them remarkably smooth and regular, and correspond in direction with the cleavage of the eruptive rocks, and with the dikes which extend long distances across the plains. There is another cleavage of the metamorphic rocks in a south-east and north-west direction, which was made at an earlier period than the cleavage of the eruptive rocks, as is shown by the eruptive material overlying the metamorphic in large areas, a combination of facts which seems to fix the age of the deposit of the ores in fissures at a date more recent than the cleavage of the metamorphic rock. In a few instances short veins are found running east and west, or north and south; but though sometimes rich, they soon pinch out.

Coal in immense quantities has been formed in Colorado. It is of several geologic eras, some of it merely lignite, some beds petroleum-bearing, and in the western portion of the state anthracite in large areas. Iron is placed in juxtaposition, as also limestone, hydraulic lime, and a variety of rocks used in building or manufacturing. Of the different crystals of quartz which are scattered liberally over the country the varieties are numerous, though none more valuable than carnelian, chalcedony, onyx, jasper, sardonyx, chrysoparse, and trope, rose-quartz, black-quartz, moss-agate, and aventurine.

After all, nothing interests many of us like the mountains, which will always draw men from the

ends of the earth that they may climb as near to heaven as may be by their rocky stairs. Take a position on Gray's peak—there are really two of them shooting up from a single base in the midst of a wilderness of mountains—which is won by ascending from the plains to the timber-belt, then following the course of rapidly descending creeks to where no trees can grow, but scant grass and lowly flowering plants have the zone to themselves; higher still to the belt of starving mosses; and yet higher among great blocks of loose, broken rock with patches of snow between them, and chilly springs in their shadows; and then to the windy pinnacle above the snow!

The view begins nowhere and ends nowhere. It is infinite. Mountains beyond mountains, unbounded plains belittled to look like parks, the great South park like a pleasure ground, range after range westward, silvered with the lingering snow, although it is August—for we must not attempt the high peaks before the summer heat has done its utmost to modify the climate at their altitude. Among the more western mountains stand some covered with almost perpetual snow, and one which fixes the eye on account of the snow-field having taken the form of a cross, that symbol of life eternal alike among pagan and Christian philosophers, and which could have found no more fitting place to be displayed than on these everlasting hills. Yet here more than almost anywhere are the evidences of change which we call decay, the proof that eternity is but a comparative term. Gorge and ledge, shattered cliff, and weird shapes in stone, furrows cut by avalanches, torrents hurrying down from the melting snow-drifts, washing earth and gravel into the basins below, generations of forest fallen like slain warriors on a hard fought field. all point to a continual transformation, and show that the most heaven-inspiring heights are destined to lower their proud heads before time and the elements, that the grandeur of the past and the present is constantly

passing away. Lower, this consciousness becomes less oppressive, until it is lost in the enjoyment of what the decay of the higher zone has done for the lower. Tiny parks, gem-like lakes, green groves, beds of flowers, miniature presentments of the grander valleys, forests, and lakes still farther down.

In a general way one mountain is like another; yet they have their differences, dependent upon the kind of rock of which they are formed, its hardness, friableness, stratification, color, and condition of upheaval. The variety of rocks and their singular displacement gives a corresponding variety to the mountain scenery. In one place is a cluster of low cones, broken down and rounded, so grouped as to resemble the rim of a mighty peak broken roughly off; in another an almost smooth round top, and in its immediate neighborhood a needle-like peak. The other features of each are likely to correspond somewhat to the character of the summits, which are approached either by circuitous trails, by long slope after slope, or by wild ravines leading from bench to bench, but everywhere grand and impressive scenery meets the eye. Many are the passes by which the mother range may be crossed, but only seven are below 10,000 feet, five are over 12,000, and one is 13,000 feet above sea-level. Some of the high mountains to which names have been given, none of which are less than 14,000 feet high, are Blanca, Harvard, Massive, Gray's, Rosalie, Torrey, Elbert, La Plata, Lincoln, Buckskin, Wilson, Long's, Quandary, Antero, James, Shavano, Uncompahgre, Crestones, Princeton, Bross, Holy Cross, Baldy, Sneffles, Pike's, Castle, Yale, San Luis, Red Cloud, Wetterhorn, Simpson, Æolus, Ouray, Stewart, Maroon, and Cameron. Of those over 13,000 feet which have received names, Handie lacks but three feet of belonging to the first class, then Capital, Horseshoe, Snowmass, Grizzly, Pigeon, Blaine, Frustrum, Pyramid, White Rock, Hague, R. G. Pyramid, Silver Heels, Hunchback, Rowter, Homestake, Ojo, Spanish

Peaks, Guyot, Trinchara, Kendall, Buffalo, Arapahoe, and Dunn. The nomenclature of these peaks betrays its unromantic, unscientific, undescriptive, and often commonplace origin, the accident of a mineral discovery by prospectors frequently giving the appellative; for the precious metals lie far up among the eruptive rocks, and the gnomes of these lofty peaks are often the Smiths and the Joneses.

The lakes of Colorado, with the exception of the San Luis group, lie from eight to eleven thousand feet above sea, and may therefore be reckoned a part of the mountain scenery. At the foot of the Saguache range, near the source of the Arkansas, are the Twin lakes, one three and a half miles by two and a half in extent, the other one third as large, and both furnishing delicious trout, while the surrounding mountains abound in game. Not far distant, at the foot of Mount Massive, set in terraces of the mountain, surrounded by gently sloping shores, is a group of silvery sheets of purest water, which pass under the collective and inappropriate name of Evergreen lakes, one lake being five hundred feet above the principal group, of which it is a feeder, and the lower and larger single lake occupying a terrace to itself. None are large, this one being but about fifty acres in extent, but all are highly picturesque, with clear water which lets the speckled trout be plainly seen. The middle terrace furnishes some rare mineral springs, the water of which bubbles sparklingly out of the earth around the lake, adding to the other attractions of the place. The view overlooks the valley of the Arkansas river, with clumps of trees upon its banks contrasting with the bright mineral stains upon its banks, while above all towers the background of ever-present mountains.

On the west side of Front range, in the edge of Middle park, occupying the trough of a glacier basin, is Grand lake, in the immediate shadow of Roundtop mountain, which, with other high peaks, guards its solitudes. It is three miles long by two in breadth,

and hundreds of feet in depth. On its dark face are mirrored the surrounding mountains and the clouds that crown them. Down from the gorges sweep windy currents which would make navigation dangerous. So awe-inspiring is it that the Indians fear to approach, leaving it to our irreverent race to violate the God-like loneliness of the place.

Chicago lakes, the highest yet discovered, being 11,500 feet above the sea, are near the headwaters of Chicago creek, on the eastern flank of the Rocky or mother range. They are two in number, and, like Grand lake, surrounded by peaks, and of unknown depth, but are of small area. Their origin was undoubtedly the same. San Luis lake, in the lower and more extensive San Luis park, is the only large body of water in Colorado, and has the additional peculiarity of being without any outlet, although receiving the water of sixteen tributaries. It is situated in the middle of the park, and extends sixty miles north and south. About its borders are vast deposits of peat. Stories are told of a subterranean lake in Colorado, ten acres in extent, covered with eighteen inches of soil, which has a corn-field on it; and if one digs a hole, and drops a hook and line, a fish without eyes or scales, but otherwise resembling a perch, is caught. In a country so abounding in minerals, springs with medical qualities, both hot and cold, should be looked for, and here, indeed, we find them. They are of all ingredients and proportions, and with the invigorating air of the mountains make the state a vast sanitarium.

Time was when, if you believed travellers' tales, the great American desert stretched up to the foot of the Stony mountains, and all was unfruitful and forbidding. How, little by little, this obloquy was removed, and Colorado made known to the world in its true and very different character, it is my pleasant task to relate.

CHAPTER II.

DISCOVERY AND OCCUPATION.

1541–1853.

WHAT CORONADO FAILED TO DO—ESCALANTE'S EXPEDITION—SPANISH AND FRENCH OCCUPATION—PIKE'S AND LONG'S EXPEDITIONS—EARLY GOLD DISCOVERIES—ADVENTURES OF THE WILLIAMS PARTY—SANTA FÉ TRAIL—TRAPPERS AND TRADERS—FORTS—THE BENTS, VASQUEZ, ST VRAIN, AND OTHERS—EL PUEBLO—LA JUNTA—IMMIGRATION—FRÉMONT'S EFFORTS—THE MORMONS AT PUEBLO—MILITARY EXPEDITIONS—GOVERNMENT SURVEYS BY GUNNISON, HAYDEN, WHEELER, AND KING.

PROBABLY the inquisitive and not well-behaved followers of Coronado, in their marches from New Mexico in search of Quivira, did not set foot within the present limits of Colorado. If they did, they have left no record of their explorations, and no sign of them remains; and though they affirm having found structures similar to the ruins which exist in southern Colorado, they found them in what is now New Mexico. The expedition of the Spanish captain, in 1541, at the instance of a native of fabled Quivira, brought him possibly across the extreme southeast corner of the state; but since the guides complained that in his march he went too far east, it is hardly probable. Changing his course, he found Quivira, an Indian village not different from those we may see to-day, in latitude 40°, but far out on the plains, among the northern tributaries of the Arkansas. A few persons, priests and their attendants, remained with the Indians; some of them in time returned to Mexico, and some died by the hands of their converts. Many narrators, who have hastily glanced over an account

given by some previous writer as careless as themselves, state confidently that Coronado was the first European in Colorado, and so he would have been had he been there at all.[1]

About the middle of the eighteenth century considerable interest was manifested by the authorities of New Mexico in the country to the north of Santa Fé, and Cachupin, who was governor for a long time in the last half of the century, set on foot one or more expeditions, the object of which was to ascertain the true character and value of the minerals to be found in what is now known as the San Juan country. After these came the expedition of Juan María Rivera in 1761, which was prosecuted as far as the Gunnison river. He was accompanied by Don Joaquin Lain, Gregorio Sandoval, Pedro Mora, and others. There is no doubt that a number of expiditions, of only local importance, were made into what is now Colorado, both east and west of the continental divide. About fourteen years after Rivera's tour, Padre Junípero Serra, president of the California missions, urged the ecclesiastics of New Mexico to undertake the exploration of a route from Santa Fé to the coast of upper California. With this object in view, Padre Francisco Silvestre Velez Escalante, ministro doctrinero of Zuñi, and Padre Atanacio Dominguez, visitador comisario of New Mexico, organized an expedition in 1776, which consisted, besides themselves, of Pedro Cisneros, alcalde mayor of Zuñi, Bernardo Miera y Pacheco, capitan miliciano of Santa Fé, Don Joaquin Lain, who having accompanied Rivera, was official guide of this expedition, and

[1] Greenhow, who is usually well informed, says Quivira was probably the region about the headwaters of the Arkansas and Platte rivers, but Coronado's route would not have brought him so far west and north. *Or. and Cal.*, 63. Some of the Spanish writers have committed serious blunders in geography, making the sea visible from Quivira. See *Hist. North Mex. States.* Inman, *Stories of the Santa Fé Trail*, 11–59, has an account of Coronado's march, and gives his course quite correctly. This is a well written and captivating series of legends and tales of the great historic highway of the plains, by Henry Inman of Kansas, 1881.

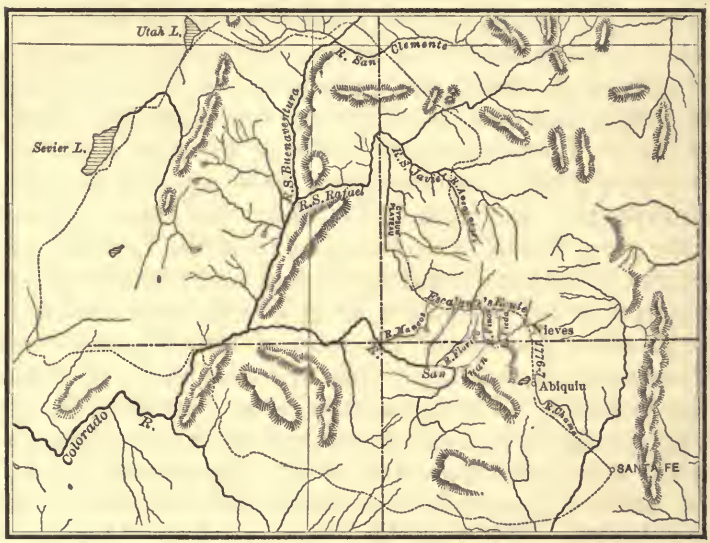
five soldiers, Lorenzo Oliveras, Lucrecio Muñiz, Andrés Muñiz, Juan de Aguilar, and Simon Lucero.

They set out from Santa Fé July 29th, and proceeded to Abiquiú on the Rio Chama, from whence they took a north course to the Rio San Juan, reaching it three leagues below the junction of the Navajo August 5th. The place of contact was called Neustra Señora las Nieves, and, although not the first place named in Colorado, as we shall see, is the first whose date is unquestioned. From Nieves they took a course north-west, across the several affluents of the San Juan, which lay between them and the Rio de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, the names of which have been retained to the present as Piedra Parada, Pinos, Florida, and Las Animas. The eastern section of the La Plata range was called by Escalante Sierra de la Grulla. The La Plata river he called the San Joaquin, and in the cañon, says his narrative, were the mines sought for by Cachupin's explorers, and which gave the name to the mountains, supposed to contain silver.

Escalante's descriptions of the country passed over avoid dwelling upon the exceeding roughness of this region, dwelling rather upon the beauty and fertility of the small valleys, the grandeur of the forests of pine which grew upon the high benches and mountain sides, and the abundance of water, even that which fell from the clouds, of which he complained a little. At the Rio Mancos, or San Lázaro, he again heard reports of mines. At the Rio Dolores he beheld ruined habitations high up in the south bank. On this river he met with some difficulty in travelling, being sometimes at a distance from the stream, and at other times apparently confined to its cañon. The stations or camps along the Dolores were named Asuncion, Agua Tapada, Cañon Agua Escondida, Miera Labarinto (in honor of the capitan), and Ancon San Bernardo. At the latter place he found some Utes, from whom he obtained a guide; and observing

three paralyzed women of the tribe at the junction of a small stream with the Dolores, he named it the Paraliticas. It was at this point, or near it, that he left the cañon of the river, and came out in Gypsum valley, or Cajon del Yeso, still so called. Climbing upon a mesa, he travelled six leagues north-east to the next station, San Bernabé. Six leagues north from this point brought him, through a cañon, to the San Miguel, or, as he called it, Rio San Pedro. Encamping at stations on the north side named San Luis, San Felipe (where were traces of Rivera's passage), Fuenta de la Guia, and passing through the cañada Honda, which was doubtless the Uncompahgre park, to Ojo de Lain (named in honor of the official guide), he reached the Uncompahgre river, spelled by him Ancapagari, and named Rio San Francisco. Escalante gives the distance travelled from the San Miguel to the Uncompahgre as twenty-four and a half leagues, which is proof conclusive, if any other than descriptions were needed, of his long detour through the Uncompahgre country. His first station beyond was San Agustin. The distance from the crossing of the Uncompahgre, in a north-east course, was ten leagues to the Gunnison river, which he said was called by the natives Tomichi, but which was called by him San Javier. His probable crossing of the Gunnison was near the junction of the south and north forks. To this region Rivera's explorations had reached, and farther down a cross had been cut in the rock of the river bank. Four leagues up the Gunnison, in a north-east direction, he came to a stream, which he named Santa Rosa; and proceeded further, in the same course, to Rio Santa Mónica, which corresponds to the north branch of the north fork of the Gunnison. Following the direction of this stream, he came to the Rio San Antonia Mártir, which is the Divide creek of the present. Even the two buttes, known as the North and South Mam, are named San Silvestre (after Escalante himself), and Nebuncari. The

Mam creek of the present day was at that time called Santa Rosalía. Near here he forded the San Rafael or Grand river, the course of the travellers seeming to lead over Book cliffs, and thence north-west to White river, called by them San Clemente, where they arrived September 9th, about at the point where it crosses the boundary of Utah, having spent a little more than two months on the journey, and travelled



ESCALANTE'S ROUTE.

from the Dolores 86½ leagues. In two places on his route Escalante mentioned other roads, and especially that there was a shorter way from the Gunnison to the Grand river than the one he was taking. He crossed this road near the stream he called Santa Rosalía. Beyond White river he found hills of loose slate, passed through a long cañon, on the wall of which were painted three shields and a spear, and two warriors in combat; saw veins of metal, and found buffalo trails, from which he named this defile Arroyo del Cíbolo. At Green river he found a group

of six large cottonwood trees, and one lone tree. On one of these Lain carved his name and the date, 1776, with a cross above and below. The company returned from Utah by a more southern route, and the Spanish trail was established not far north of the 37th parallel in Colorado, crossing southern Utah, and thence southwest to Los Angeles. A trail to Salt Lake was, however, established at a later period, which crossed the boundary of Colorado and Utah on the south side of Rio Dolores, which was surveyed as late as 1857 by Captain J. N. Macomb for the United States Government.[2]

In the beginning of the seventeenth century France claimed the sovereignty of the country, and during that period several expeditions were undertaken toward the Spanish frontier, a not very clearly defined boundary.[3] The most important of these was conducted by Monsieur La Salle, who first having in 1682 explored the Mississippi from the Illinois region to the gulf of Mexico, and named the region contiguous Louisiana, in 1685 took formal possession of Texas, and founded a colony or two near the gulf, on the Guadalupe and Colorado rivers. But La Salle was assassinated, and the only effect of his settlement was to carry the western boundary of Louisiana as far west as these rivers.[4] In the mean time the country west of the Mississippi had again changed hands, Spain claiming it from 1762 to 1800, when it was retroceded to France, and sold by the first Napoleon to the United States three years afterward. Still the boundary was unsettled, and in 1806 an arrangement was entered into between the Spanish and American authorities that the former should not cross the Sabine, nor the latter approach to it. To prevent collisions,

[2] *Dominguez and Escalante, Diario y derrotero para descubrir el camino desde Santa Fé á Monterey.* In *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, 2d ser., i. 375-558. See also *Hist. Utah*, this series.

[3] Among these few are mentioned one by Col Wood in 1654, and another by Capt. Bolt in 1670; but they were productive of nothing in particular.

[4] *U. S. Laws and Docs*, 1817, 5.

orders were given not to survey the public lands west of the meridian of Natchitoches, or Red river.

But the curiosity of the new proprietors of Louisiana concerning the regions toward the Rocky mountains could not be restrained; and President Jefferson, also desiring to know something of them, encouraged exploration. It happened that Zebulon Montgomery Pike, son of Zebulon Pike of New Jersey, an officer in the revolutionary army, who at the age of twenty had been appointed an ensign in his father's company, and was a lieutenant at twenty-six, was serving under General Wilkinson in the west, at the time when Lewis and Clarke were fitting out their expedition to the head waters of the Missouri and Columbia in 1804.

General Wilkinson, whose military duties included keeping peace with the Indians, thought to serve his country and gratify the president by sending young Pike to explore the upper Mississippi, under the pretence of communicating with Indian tribes in that region. To this end, in August 1805, a keel-boat seventy feet long, manned by a crew of one sergeant, two corporals, and seventeen privates, under Lieutenant Pike, left St Louis to discover the source of the Mississippi, being provisioned for four months. He had started late for such an undertaking, encountering many difficulties, and performing the last part of the journey with sledges drawn by his men. On the last of January 1806 he reached the utmost source of the great river, arriving at a fort of the Northwest Fur company, by whose officers he was generously entertained. He returned to St Louis about the last of April.

General Wilkinson had meanwhile found cause for another expedition, having on his hands some rescued captives of the Kaw nation, who lived on the Osage river, a southern branch of the Kansas, and whom he had promised to restore to their people. On this errand, possibly, Pike set out July 15th, after a brief rest at home with his family.

His party consisted of one lieutenant, one surgeon, one sergeant, two corporals, sixteen privates, and an interpreter, besides fifty-one Indians of all ages, and both sexes. He ascended the Missouri in two boats, taking six weeks to this part of the journey, which brought him to the Osage river. Here he landed his expedition, purchased horses, loaded them with provisions and presents, and set out north-westward across the plains, delivering his Indian wards to their people as previously agreed upon. Having performed this part of his duty, he entered upon the more interesting one of exploration. Crossing the country to the Arkansas river he ascended that stream, finding the plains black with buffaloes. At two o'clock on the afternoon of the 15th of November he first discerned a small blue cloud, which being viewed with a spy-glass he perceived to be a mountain. A half hour later the range came into view, and his men gave "three cheers for the Mexican mountains."

It was already too late in the autumn for mountain travel, but Pike knew nothing of fear or discouragement. Pressing eagerly forward for yet another week, he at length reached the most eastern ridge of the Colorado range, thinking to come to the base of the peak which bears his name; but finding, when with great toil and suffering from struggling through snow that he was still distant fifteen miles from this mountain, he relinquished the attempt, his men being without proper clothing, and having quite worn out their stockings. Before beginning the ascent Pike had established a depot at or near the mouth of Fontaine-qui-Bouille, where he left most of his party; thence he moved camp nearer to the foot of the Sangre de Cristo range, about where Cañon city now stands. The cold was severe, and many of the men were frost-bitten. Leaving these in camp he began exploring for a river by which he might return to the Mississippi, it having been specially charged upon him to discover if possible the sources of the Red river.

Coming to the South park by the present route from Cañon City, he called the first stream he reached the Platte, in which curiously enough he was correct; but in his wanderings striking the head of Grand river, he believed it to be the Yellowstone. Other errors were entered on his chart, given in chapter XV of my *Arizona and New Mexico.* The geography of the west was very vague as yet; and toiling about in the mountains with the mercury below zero was but a poor way to improve it.

But in the South park he made a discovery that white men and Indians had been there before him, and that recently. Not wishing to fall into the hands of Mexicans or Indians, he retreated toward the south, and became entangled among the cañons of the upper portion of the Arkansas river, but finally reached camp with only one horse able to travel. After a little rest he again set out, this time on foot, in search of Red river, and crossing the Arkansas, violated the terms of the recent arrangement by entering Mexican territory. Marching up the Wet Mountain valley, leaving disabled men by the way in improvised shelters, he moved straight to and up the Sangre de Cristo range, and from its summits looked down on San Luis park and the Rio Grande del Norte, which he believed to be the Red river. Greatly rejoiced, he descended to the valley, erected a fortified camp, and sent back a detachment of his little party to pick up the stragglers.

Not long did he enjoy his dreams of success. The Mexican authorities had been on the lookout for his expedition, which had become known to them, and a few days after completing the above arrangements he was politely arrested by a squad of Mexican soldiers, and persuaded to accompany them to Santa Fé, El Paso, and subsequently to Chihuahua, more than a year being consumed in this courteously managed captivity, during which the most valuable portion of

his papers were lost, and his command scattered. They were finally returned to the United States through Texas.

One thing pertinent to the subsequent history of Colorado, Lieutenant Pike discovered during his detention in New Mexico. An American, James Pursley, of Bairdstown, Kentucky,[5] whom he met there, showed him lumps of gold brought by himself from the South park; and he learned that the traces of white men and Indians seen by him, and which had turned him southward, related to gold discoveries in that region.[6] In 1807 Pike was permitted to return home, and in the second year of the war of 1812 was killed at the assault on Toronto, after having been previously promoted to the rank of brigadier-general.[7] The peak which bears his name was measured by him, on the base of a mile, and on the presumption that the plains were 8,000 feet above sea-level. He made the height of the mountain to be 18,581 whereas it is really but 14,147. Most early explorers exaggerated the height of mountains, whether purposely or not.

[5] Pursley went up the Platte in 1803 or 1804, and was conducted by Indians to Santa Fé. A French creole, La Lande, took some goods up the Platte in 1804 for his employer, Morrison, a merchant of Kaskaskia; but he took the goods to Santa Fé, and established himself in business, where he remained. *Barber's Hist. West. States*, 549.

[6] W. B. Vickers, in *Hayden's Great West*, 98, says there is no evidence to show that there were any settlers in Colorado previous to 1843, or any knowledge of the treasures hidden in the soil or rocks at that time. This is a hasty conclusion. The Spanish-Mexicans would conceal as much as possible any such knowledge from Americans; but it existed. The American referred to above discovered the gold on the head of the Platte while a captive in the hands of the Indians; and he assured Pike he had been frequently solicited to go and show a detachment of Mexican cavalry where to find it, but refused. It was probably this detachment which had just left the park when Pike arrived in it. Appendix to *An Account of an Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi, and Through the Western Part of Louisiana, etc;, in the Years 1805, 1806, and 1807*; *Philadelphia, 1810.* I have seen it stated that old deserted shafts had been found in southern Colorado, together with some copper vessels, the writer attributing these evidences of mining to the ancients who inhabited the ruined cities and the cliffs; but these people used only stone implements, and clearly knew nothing of mining. The prospect holes were undoubtedly made by the Mexicans about the beginning of the century.

[7] *James Parton*, in *The Discoverer of Pike's Peak*, MS., 7, an abridgement of Parton's account of Pike's expeditions. See also *Denver Rocky Mountain Herald*, Aug. 21, 1875.

Probably the cold had something to do with the reported altitude of Pike's peak.[8]

No further official explorations of the country at the base of the Rocky mountains were ordered until after the treaty of the 22d of February, 1819, by which the boundary between the possessions of Spain and the United States was definitely settled,[9] giving to the latter the northern two thirds of the present state of Colorado, with all the country north of the Arkansas river. Immediately after the confirmation of the Florida treaty, Secretary-of-war Calhoun ordered an expedition more complete in equipment than any which had preceded it, comprising besides military officers a number of men of science. The company, commanded by Major Stephen H. Long, left Pittsburgh May 30, 1819, and proceeded by a steam-vessel, constructed especially for the purpose, to St Louis, and thence by land travel to Council Bluffs, on the Missouri, where they wintered. In the following June, Long explored the Platte valley to the junction of the north and south forks, where he took the di-

[8] From the original *Pike's Expedition*—for a biographical notice of which see my *History of the Northwest Coast*—come scores of accounts which follow, such as is found in the *Colorado Gazetteer* for 1871. This book, which contains besides a brief history of the state, a comprehensive account of its mining, agricultural, commercial, manufacturing interests, and climate, will be frequently referred to for statistics on these subjects. Notice of Pike's expedition is found in *Thomas B. Corbett's Colorado Directory of Mines*, 1879, p. 34. This also is an important book of reference, containing a description of the mines and mills, and the mining corporations. *The Northwest*, by Samuel J. Parker, son of Samuel Parker, explorer and missionary to the Oregon country in 1835, is a manuscript history of the north-west country, compiled partly from the father's writings and partly from the accounts of other explorers. It is, like the other missionary writings, very bitter against the fur companies. A writer in *Harper's Magazine*, xli. 372, gives a good brief account of Pike's expeditions.

[9] *U. S. Laws and Treaties, 1815–21*, vi. 614–29. This boundary, which was changed by conquest and purchase, subsequently gave the U. S. the Florida territory east of the Mississippi. West of the Mississippi the line began at the mouth of the Sabine river, continuing north along the west bank of that stream to the 32d degree of north latitude, thence due north to the Red river, which it followed up to the degree of longitude 23 west from Washington, running thence due north again to the Arkansas river, which it followed to its source in latitude 42° north, and thence it was drawn westward on that parallel to the 'South sea.' It will be seen that this boundary supposed the Arkansas river to be two degrees longer than it really was, and left the actual boundary from central Colorado northward to the 42° still in doubt.

rection of the southern branch, which brought him to the South park by a route different from that of Pike's. The high peak first seen by Lieutenant Pike received the name of E. James, botanist of the expedition,[10] he being the first man known to have reached a summit of the Colorado mountains. He also measured it, and made it almost as much too low as Pike had made it too high.[11] Long descended the valley of the Arkansas to the Mississippi, having gained much valuable geographical information of the country explored. But his account was not one pleasing to the secretary of war, or to the government. He represented the whole country drained by the Missouri, Arkansas, Platte, and their tributaries as unfit for cultivation, and uninhabitable in consequence. He found all between the 39th and 49th parallels, and for five hundred miles east of the Rocky mountains, a desert of sand and stones, whereupon this region was represented on maps as the Great American desert. The report of Long was a stumbling-block in the way of the advocates of the American claim to Oregon in congress for many years, for no sooner did an advocate of that claim open his mouth than he was reminded of Major Long's scientific observations and explorations, and asked what value could attach to a desert. This impression was to some extent the key which kept Colorado a locked treasure-house until Oregon and California had both been settled, and proved to be rich agricultural countries, even where they had appeared as much deserts as Colorado.

It should be borne in mind that small parties of adventurers, like Pursley, had already penetrated the Rocky mountains in advance of either of the above-

[10] The name of Pike has been retained, but to James and Long were given peaks elsewhere. For Long's note on the subject see *Long's Exped. Rocky Mountains*, ii. 45. Another peak has been named after Lieut Graham of Long's party, and the hot springs on the Arkansas after Captain Bell. *Col. Gazetteer*, 21; *Frémont's Explor. Exped.*, 30.

[11] James called Pike's peak 11,500 feet high. Frémont in 1843, made it 14,300. Its present received measurement was made in 1862 by Parry, whose careful examination of the country entitles his work to credit.

named expeditions,[12] and that previous to that of Long's, a number of traders had established posts on

[12] See *Hist. Northwest Coast*, this series. A little work by David H. Coyner, first published in 1847, and republished in Cincinnati in 1859, called *The Lost Trappers*, gives a particular account of the wanderinge of a company of 20 men who left St Louis in 1807, intending to cross the Rocky mountains. The leader was Ezekiel Williams, and this was the first overland expedition to the Pacific of the kind ever undertaken. It proceeded to the Mandan village under the guidance of a chief of that tribe, Big White, who had accompanied Lewis and Clarke to Washington, and was returning to Fort Mandan. From this point Williams's party proceeded by land to the mouth of the Yellowstone, up which they travelled looking for beavers. Soon after finding a locality where beavers were plenty in the streams and buffaloes upon the plains, a hunting party of ten men went out, but were set upon by Indians, whom they believed to be Blackfoot, and five of them slain, the other five escaping to camp. The company at once set off again southward until they fell in with the Crows, by whom they were so well treated that a man named Rose, who had joined the party at St Louis, but whose character as an outlaw was not known to Williams, determined to remain among them, and did so until 1823, being the first white man who had a residence in the Yellowstone country. He returned as guide to Fitzpatrick and Sublette, and afterward joined the American Fur company, but was ever one of those unprincipled men who gave to the trappers the unsavory character dwelt upon by the Parkers. Williams' party, now reduced to 14 members, proceeded in a direction toward the South pass, and when upon the headwaters of the north Platte were attacked by Crows and sustained another loss of five men. In the first attack one Indian had been killed; in this fight, for which the company were prepared by the the theft of their horses, twenty or more of their enemies were killed. The party now reduced to ten, their horses being gone, hastened on foot out of the vicinity of the battle-ground, caching their furs and such things as they could not carry on a long march, and moved southward, wandering about until spring, when they found themselves on the sources of the south Platte, and of course in Colorado. One after another of them were cut off by the Comanches until only three remained, Williams, James Workman, and Samuel Spencer, who determined to return to St Louis if they could. But as often happens, misfortune had made them not only reckless, but at enmity with one another; and the three wanderers separated, Williams journeying down the Arkansas, which he mistook for Red river, in a canoe, and by travelling at night arrived safely among the Kansas, who directed him to Fort Cooper, on the Missouri. Here he found an Indian trader of the U. S., C. Cibley, about to pay the Indians their annunities, and who first compelled the Kansas to return to Williams several packages of furs they had stolen from him after his departure from their village. In the following year, 1809, Williams returned to the mountains with a party and recovered the furs cached by his company on the Platte. Workman and Spencer in the meantime had made their way to the Arkansas, which they also mistook for the Red river, and in following which toward its source they discovered the trail of Pike's party of the year before, who had cut in the rocks the name of Red river, which confirmed them in their error. Hoping to find that its headwaters were in a range by crossing which they would find themselves at Santa Fé in New Mexico, they followed up this stream, coming in sight of Pike's peak, which they said seemed so high 'that a cloud could not pass between its top and the sky.' They became entangled among the mountains and cañons of Colorado, passing many weeks in endeavoring to find the sources of the Rio Grande Del Norte, but coming instead to the Rio Colorado, which they followed—believing it would take them to Santa Fé—until they came to a crossing and a plain trail, which they resolved to follow. Meeting a Mexi-

the Arkansas and other rivers,[13] forerunners of the more powerful fur companies. A profitable trade was also carried on between the merchants of St Louis and the inhabitants of New Mexico, of which all of Colorado south of the Arkansas river was a part. The Indians on the Santa Fé route—the Comanches of the plains—gave traders and travellers much trouble; and in 1823 the government ordered an escort, commanded by Captain Riley, to meet the Santa Fé train, and conduct it to the Missouri frontier.[14] He advanced to the crossing of the Arkansas, and conducted it to Independence, the eastern terminus of the Santa Fé trail, the first military expedition by United States troops west of the Missouri and north of Texas. Four years afterward Fort Leaven-

can caravan bound to Los Angeles, California, two days afterward, they joined it, and the following spring returned with it to Santa Fé, where they remained trading for 15 years. When Workman and Spencer set out to descend the Colorado it was by canoe. From the description given by them to the author of the *Lost Trappers*, I think they were upon the Gunnison branch of the Colorado, and that it was the black cañon which interrupted their navigation. The crossing of the Spanish trail could not have been far from the present crossing of the Salt Lake road. At all events, they were the first Americans to float upon the waters of this stream, or, so far as I have discovered, to cross the Rocky mountains south of Lewis and Clarke's pass.

[13] Manuel Lisa, a Mexican, enjoyed a monopoly of the Indian trade west of the Missouri at the beginning of the century under a grant of the Mexican government. Peter Choteau, a rival trader and U. S. agent for the Osages, managed to separate a part of that nation from their adherence to Lisa, and established a post among them on the Verdigris branch of the Arkansas in 1808. It was, however, removed in 1813, and it was not for ten years afterward that a regular fur trade to the Rocky mountains was begun.

[14] This was in consequence of the capture of the previous year's train from Santa Fé, commanded by Capt. Means, who, with several of his men, was killed. Coyner relates that in 1823 the Mexican government, having banished several citizens of importance for alleged treasonable designs, permitted them to go to the U. S. with the annual Santa Fé train, and sent as an escort a company of 60 men, Mexicans and Pueblo Indians, under Capt. Viscarro, who was to conduct the exiles along the road until he met Capt. Riley. When near the Cimarron river, 60 miles from the crossing of the Arkansas, he was attacked, and 8 or 10 of his command killed. Viscarro himself is accused of cowardice. The Pueblos and two Americans named Barnes and Wallace fought and pursued the Comanches, inflicting severe loss upon them. The company hoping to meet Riley at the Arkansas, yet fearing that he might be gone, sent a detachment, consisting of the Pueblos, Wallace, Barnes, and Workman, to overtake him. They found he had moved away from the river, but overtook him in two days' travel, and detained him until the train came up, after which they were under the protection of American troops, and Viscarro with his depleted force turned back to Santa Fé. *Coyner's Lost Trappers*, 170–86.

worth was established on the west bank of the Missouri, twenty miles above the mouth of the Kansas river, and near enough to the Santa Fé trail to afford protection to travellers. For many years this was the initial point of expeditions west and northwestward, as all books of travel show. In 1829 Major Riley, with four companies, escorted a caravan as far as Bent's fort, on the Arkansas. Captain Wharton was on the trail in 1834, and Captain Cook in 1843.

The establishment of a fort in the Indian country did not precede but followed the adventures of private individuals and associations in the public territory of the United States, to which I have already referred. Among those who followed their pursuits in Colorado were the Bents, St Vrain, Vasquez, Bridger, Carson, Lupton, Pfeiffer, Nugent, Pattie, Baker, Beckwourth, Sarpy, Wiggins, the Gerrys, Chabonard, and others. Bonneville's company of trappers and explorers passed through the Arkansas country in 1834.[15]

[15] See *Victor's River of the West*, 157, and *Hist. Northwest Coast*, this series. It is difficult to give satisfactory accounts of men who lead a wandering life in an unsettled country. Only scraps of information are preserved, whose authenticity may well be questioned. From the best information obtainable the following biographies have been gathered: James P. Beckwourth was born in Virginia of a negro slave mother and an Irish overseer. His white blood impelled him to run away from servitude in or about 1817, and he joined a caravan going to New Mexico. Some years afterward he was in the service of Louis Vasquez in Colorado, and subsequently so ingratiated himself with the Crows that they made him head chief, an office in which he used to give the American Fur company much trouble. Later in life he severed his connection with savagery, and became interpreter and guide to government expeditions. He resided for a time in a valley of the Sierra Nevada, but being implicated in certain transactions which attracted the notice of the vigilants, fled and went to Missouri. When the migration to Colorado was at its height in 1859, he proceeded to Denver, and was taken into partnership with Vasquez and his nephew. Being tired of trade, he went to live on a farm, and took a Mexican wife; but fell out with her, and finally relapsed into his former mode of savage life, dying about 1867. *Montana Post*, Feb. 23, 1867, Bridger, Carson, Pattie, and others have been frequently spoken of in other volumes of this series. The last named came to the mountains of Colorado in 1824 with a company of 120 men. He was a youth at the time. The company fell apart, and drifted in various directions through New Mexico and Arizona. Pattie and a few companions descended the Colorado, and reached the coast at San Diego, naked and starving. They were arrested by the Mexican authorities and imprisoned, suffering much; but Pattie, on account of his knowledge of the Spanish language, was employed as an interpreter, and escaped back to the states. James Baker came out, probably with Bridger, and roved about in the mountains until he finally settled on Clear creek, four miles north of Denver, I do not

No forts of importance were erected within the present limits of Colorado before 1832, when the Bent brothers erected Fort William on the north branch of the Arkansas river, eighty miles northeast from Taos, and one hundred and sixty from the mountains.[16] They traded with the Mexicans and the Co-

know exactly at what date; but he is recognized as the first American settler in Colorado. He had an Indian wife and half-caste children grown to manhood in 1859. The occupation of the country displeased him, and he left Clear creek for the mountains of Idaho, where he ended his days. O. P. Wiggins, a Canadian, formerly a servant of the Hudson's Bay Co., came to Colorado in 1834, and was employed by the American Fur Co., and stationed at Fort St John. He became a wealthy citizen of Colorado. Peter A. Sarpey was one of the French families of St Louis. He had one trading-post in Colorado, and another at Bellevue in Nebraska; a small, wiry, mercurial-dispositioned man, who lived among savages simply to make money, which furthered no enterprises and purchased no pleasures such as a man of good family should value. Col Ceran St Vrain began trading to New Mexico in 1824, working up into American territory a few years later, where he built a fort named after himself. He died at Mora in New Mexico, in October 1870, to which country he returned on the decline of the fur trade. Godfrey and Elbridge Gerry were lineal descendants of Gov. Elbridge Gerry, one of the signers of the declaration of independence. They came to the Rocky Mountains while quite young men, and spent their lives on the frontier. After settlement began, Godfrey built an adobe residence on the Platte, and kept a station of the Overland Stage Co. During the Indian disturbance of 1864 his station was besieged—it went by the name of Fort Wicked—for days by a large force of the savages, who endeavored to fire the buildings. With no help but his own family he successfully resisted all their attempts to reduce his fort, and killed many of the besiegers. The Indians also conspired to capture Elbridge Gerry and his large band of horses, but his Indian wife having discovered the plot, informed him of it, and he, too, saved his life and property. These brothers were among the earliest settlers in Colorado. *Byers' Hist. Col.*, MS., 61–8. Elbridge Gerry died in 1876. Kit Carson, Bill Williams, Pfeiffer, the Autobeas brothers, John Paisel, and Roubideau were all noted mountaineers. Carson rendered himself a second time famous during the civil war. He died at Fort Lyon in June 1868. *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, June 3, 1868. Williams was killed by the Utes in south-western Colorado in 1850. *Folsom* (Cal.) *Telegraph*, Oct. 28, 1871. And so died many a brave man. But none who went to the mountains in those early times were better known than the Bent family of St Louis. There were six brothers, John, Charles, William, Robert, George and Silas. Robert and George died in 1841. Charles was the first American governor of New Mexico, and was killed in the massacre at Taos in March 1847. Silas, the youngest, was a member of the expedition to Japan under Perry, and made a report to the Geographical Society of New York concerning the warm current from the Japan sea, which touches the coast of North America. The other brothers were fur traders, and William was subsequently government freighter. He died May 19, 1869, the last of the original firm. *Colorado Paper*, in *Montana Democrat*, June 17, 1869; *Arkansas Val. Hist.*, 830.

[16] It is related, and is probably true, that Maurice, a French trader from Detroit, built a fortification on Adobe creek in Arkansas valley in 1830, which would give him precedence in point of time. He collected a Mexican settlement, and erected 13 adobe cabins around a square or plaza, in Mexi-

manches, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Utes. Fort William, after which the other trading-posts were modelled, consisted of an enclosure 150 by 100 feet in extent, surrounded by an adobe wall seven feet thick and eighteen feet high. At the north-west and south-east corners stood bastions ten feet in diameter and thirty feet high, with openings for cannon and small arms. A partition wall divided the interior, two-thirds of which was devoted to the necessary shops, storehouses, and dwellings, the remaining third being a corral in which the horses and mules were secured from theft at night. In the east wall was a large gate, with heavy plank doors, opened only on certain occasions. Adjoining the wall on the west was a wagon-house, made to shelter a dozen or more large wagons used in conveying goods from and peltries to St Louis. The tops of the houses were flat and gravelled, and served for a promenade in the evenings, like the house-tops of Egypt. There were about sixty persons employed in the affairs at Fort William, and many were the dangers they incurred and adventures they encountered;[17] for the region was the common ground of several of the most warlike tribes of the plains. Here, too, at different times were entertained travellers of every description and rank for a period of more than twenty years. In 1852 Bent blew up Fort William and moved his goods down the

can fashion, one of which was used as a church. In 1838 the Sioux and Arapahoes attacked the place, and were fought by the Utes, whose assistance had been sought. The battle was a bloody one, resulting in the victory of the Utes. This Mexican settlement was not entirely broken up until 1846. *Arkansas Val. Hist.*, 545–6. Among those earliest in the service of the fur companies were Bill Williams, John Smith, a young man of good education from Philadelphia, Ben. Ryder, C. de Bray, Metcalfe, and William Bransford, who later lived in Las Animas county.

[17] *Farnham's Travels in the Great Western Prairies*, 35. The author of this book was at Fort William in 1839, and wrote accurately of what he saw. He says: 'In the months of June, August, and September there are in the neighborhood of those traders from 15,000 to 20,000 savages, ready and panting for plunder and blood. If they engage in battling out old causes of contention among themselves the Messrs Bent feel comparatively safe in their solitary fortress. But if they spare each other's property and lives there are great anxieties at Fort William; every hour of day and night is pregnant with danger.'

Arkansas to the mouth of Purgatoire river, where he erected a new fort, which was leased to the government in 1859, when it was occupied by troops and called Fort Wise, after the governor of Virginia.

Another trading-post erected in 1832 was that of Louis Vasquez, five miles north-east of the site of Denver, at the junction of Vasquez fork or Clear creek with the Platte river. A nephew of Vasquez resided with him at the fort from 1832 to 1836, and was one of the first settlers in Colorado. Fort Sarpy was erected soon after the two above named, and was situated on the Platte, five miles below Vasquez's post. Five miles below Sarpy's post was another fort, whose name has been forgotten, and fifteen miles further down the river was Fort Lancaster, erected by Lupton, which in 1886 was in a good state of preservation. Fort St Vrain, ten miles below Lupton, at the confluence of the Cache le Poudre river with the Platte, was erected in 1838. The Bent brothers also had a post on the Platte before reaching the junction of the next stream below. So thickly clustered rival establishments in the first ten or fifteen years of trade in the Rocky mountains. Five miles above Fort William toward the mountains was El Pueblo, a Mexican post, although owned in part by Americans, and constructed very much on the plan of Fort William. It was not, like the others, a trading establisment, but a farming settlement, intended to supply the trading-posts with grain, vegetables, and live stock. The proprietors irrigated their farm with water from the Arkansas, and were undoubtedly the first agriculturists in this region; but as they neglected to water their potions of alcohol sufficiently at the same time, their enterprise did not flourish as it should, even in 1838.[18]

[18] Stone, *General View*, MS., 20–21, mentions a Col Boone, who had a trading post known as Hardscrable in the Arkansas valley, contemporary with St Vrain and others. Another post was on the site of Trinidad in Las Animas county. The St Vrain mentioned here, I have no doubt, was one of the family of that name which became possessed of a grant to certain lead

Somewhere between 1840 and 1844 another settlement was made on Adobe creek, further up the Arkansas on the south side, in what was later Frémont county. It was under the patronage of an association of traders, among whom were Bent, Lupton, St Vrain, Beaubien, and Lucien B. Maxwell, Beaubien having charge, and being the owner of a large grant of land from the Mexican government. The settlement was broken up in 1846 by the Indians.

A feature of the period to which I have just alluded was the obtaining of grants from the Mexican authorities for the purpose of colonization and development. As I have shown, success had not attended their efforts, but the grants were valid notwithstanding. The Vigil and St Vrain grant embraced nearly all of what is now Colorado south of the Arkansas river and east of the mountains, excepting the Nolan grant, a tract fifteen miles wide by forty miles in length, lying south of Pueblo. Under the treaty of 1848 the title to these lands was undisturbed, except that the United States government thought best to cut them down to eleven square leagues each, as enough to content republican owners. I shall have occasion to refer again to them in this history. On the Vigil and St Vrain grant James Bonney in 1842 founded the town of La Junta.

In 1841 the first immigrant wagon bound to the Pacific coast passed up the Platte valley, and taking the North fork, crossed the Rocky mountains into Oregon by the South pass; and soon it became the usual route instead of that by the Arkansas valley, being safer from Indian depredations. But whatever route was taken, no settlers came in these days from the United States to make their homes in the Rocky mountains; and even the hunters and trappers, whose

mines in 'upper Louisiana' by authority of the Baron de Carandolet, surveyor-general of Louisiana in 1796. This was James Ceran St Vrain, and the mines were in Tennessee.

numbers had once been that of a respectable army, were being killed off by the Comanches or absorbed by the half civilization of the Mexican border.

The first government expedition since Long's was set on foot in 1842 under Frémont, but did not more than touch Colorado this year. Returning in 1843–4, some explorations were made of this portion of United States territory. The only persons encountered in the Rocky mountains by Frémont [19] at this time were the few remaining traders and their former employés, now their colonists, who lived with their Mexican and Indian wives and half-breed children in a primitive manner of life, usually under the protection of some defensive structure called a fort.[20]

The first American families in Colorado were a part of the Mormon battalion of 1846, who, with

[19] Enough has been said about Frémont's expeditions elsewhere. He made no important discoveries in Colorado, those which he did make being noted under other heads. His expedition was very completely furnished. He left the Platte with a part of his command after reaching Fort Laramie, and following the South fork, came in sight of Long's peak July 8, 1842. He continued up the valley as far as St Vrain's fort, 17 miles east of that mountain, where he remained for three days only, returning on the 12th to rejoin his company. In 1843 he took a different route to the mountains, via the valley of the Kansas river and Republican fork, crossing thence to the Smoky Hill fork, and proceeding almost directly west to Fort St Vrain by the well-worn trails of the fur companies. From St Vrain, where he arrived July 4th, he continued up the Platte, seeing Pike's peak covered with new-fallen snow on the morning of the 10th. Crossing the divide between the Platte and Arkansas, he arrived on the 17th at Fontaine-qui-Bouille, or Soda Springs, near the eastern base of the peak, the same which Long had named after Capt. Bell. On the 19th he left this spot, and descending the river to the eastern fork, which was hastily surveyed, the party returned to Fort St Vrain, whence they proceeded north to Fort Laramie. Frémont mentions the fort called El Pueblo, and explains that the inhabitants were, at that time at least, a number of mountaineers, principally Americans, who had married Mexican women, and occupied themselves in farming and carrying on a desultory trade with the Indians. In 1844 he returned by a course which took him through the north-west corner of the state, through North park, which he called New park, through the South park, and to the Arkansas river, by which route he reached St Louis in the autumn. *Explor. Exped.*, 116. His 3d and last expedition in 1848 was a disastrous one, in which he lost most of his men, animals, and stores in an attempt to cross the mountains to Grand river in the dead of winter.

[20] Captain Gunnison in 1853 noticed a small settlement in the Culebra valley, and on the banks of the Costilla, where he found a little farming, wheat, corn, beans, and watermelons being among the productions. Six Mexican families were settled on the Greenhorn river, and at Sangre de Cristo pass an American named Williams was herding some stock. *Beckwith in Pac. R. R. Rept*, ii. ch. iii

their wives and children, resided at Pueblo from September to the spring and summer of the following year, when they joined the Mormon migration to Salt Lake. A number of persons later living in Utah were born at Pueblo in 1846–7.[21]

A number of houses[22] were erected by them for

[21] See *Hist. Cal.* and *Hist. Utah*, this series. From *Tyler's Mormon Battalion*, 126, I take the following names of persons who were quartered at Pueblo during this period: Gilbert Hunt, Dimick B. Huntington, Montgomery Button, John Tippets, Milton Kelley, Nicholas Kelley, Norman Sharp, James Brown, Harley Morey, Thomas Woolsey, S. C. Shelton, Joseph W. Richards, James T. S. Allred, Reuben W. Allred, Marvin S. Blanchard, James W. Calkins, David Garner, James H. Glines, Schuyler Hulett, Elijah E. Holden, Charles A. Jackson, Barnabas Lake, Melcher Oyler, Caratat C. Roe, John Sessions, John P. Wriston, Elam Ludington, John D. Chase, Franklin Allen, Erastus Bingham, William Bird, Philip Garner, Harmon D. Persons, Lyman Stephens, Dexter Stillman, William Walker, Charles Wright, Orson B. Adams, Alexander Brown, Jesse J. Brown, William E. Beckstead, William H. Carpenter, Isaac Carpenter, John Calvert, Francillo Durphy, Samuel Gould, John C. Gould, Jarvis Johnson, Thurston Larson, Jabez Nowlan, Judson A. Persons, Richard Smith, Milton Smith, Andrew J. Shupe, James Shupe, Joel J. Terrill, Solomon Tindall, David Wilkin, David Perkins, John Perkins, Thomas S. Williams, Arnold Stephens, Joshua Abbott, Jonathan Averett, William Costo, Abner Chase, James Davis, Ralph Douglas, William B. Gifford, James Hirous, Lorin E. Kenney, Lisbon Lamb, David S. Laughlin, Peter J. Meeseck, James Oakley, William Rowe, John Steel, Abel M. Sargent, William Gribble, Benjamin Roberts, Henry W. Sanderson, Albert Sharp, Clark Stillman, John G. Smith, Myron Tanner, Almon Whiting, Edmund Whiting, Ebenezer Hanks, Samuel Clark, George Cummings, Luther W. Glazier, J. W. Hess, Charles Hopkins, Thomas Karren, David Miller, William A. Park, Jonathan Pugmire, Jr, Roswell Stephens, Bailey Jacobs. These were detached and sent to Pueblo on account of sickness; first detachment from the crossing of the Arkansas, and a second one from Santa Fé. Those who had families were ordered to send them to Pueblo, except such as were retained for laundresses; bnt as their names are given but once, and that before the division, it is impossible to give the number of women who wintered in Colorado. There were 34 married women with the battalion, with children of all ages, to the number of 60 or 70. There were also several men, not enlisted, with the families, as John Bosco, David Black, James P. Brown, and others. Milton Kelley, Joseph W. Richards, John Perkins, Norman Sharp, Arnold Stephens, M. S. Blanchard, Milton Smith, Scott, and Abner Chase, died in Pueblo, or on the road to that place. The first white American born in Colorado was Malinda Catherine Kelley, daughter of Milton and Malinda Kelley, in Nov., soon after the death of her father, whose first child she was. Subsequently Mrs Fanny M. Huntington, wife of Captain Dimick B. Huntington, gave birth to a child, which died in a few hours. Eunice, wife of James P. Brown, bore a son, John; Mrs Norman Sharp a daughter; Albina, wife of Thomas S. Williams, a daughter, Phebe. A child of Capt. Jefferson Hunt, by his wife, Celia, died and was buried at Pueblo, and probably others, whose names have been forgotten; but from this record it is easy to imagine the remainder of a sad story of privation, death, and burial in a savage land, and children born to sorrow.

[22] See *Stone's Gen. View*, MS.; *Byers' Hist. Colo*, MS. The detachment sent from Santa Fé built 18 rooms 14 feet square, of timbers cut in the woods. *Tyler's Hist. Mormon Battalion*, 171. The first detachment may have built others.

winter quarters, and here were born, married,[23] and buried a number of their people. Driven out of Illinois at the point of the bayonet, seeking homes on the western side of the continent, they had accepted service under the government, which had failed to protect them in their direst need, for the sake of being provisioned and having their families transported across the continent. Of their strange history the winter in Pueblo was but an incident.[24] Another portion of General Kearny's army, under Colonel Price and Major Emory, travelled up the Arkansas as far as Bent's fort, where it turned off to Santa Fé by the Raton pass. This force consisted of 1,658 men, including Doniphan's 1st regiment of Missouri mounted volunteers.

Meanwhile there were no real military establishments in the whole region west and north-west of Fort Leavenworth; although, to protect the Oregon immigration, a chain of posts across the continent had been much talked of in congress; and it had been announced that Frémont's explorations were ordered with the design of establishing a permanent overland route, and selecting the sites for the posts which were to guard and render it safe. I have shown in my history of Oregon that this was not actually done before 1849, the intervention of the war with Mexico diverting the army to that quarter. But measures were taken early in March 1847 to select locations for two United States forts between the Missouri and the Rocky mountains, the sites selected being those now occupied by Kearney City and Fort Laramine, the latter being

[23] Almira, daughter of Capt. Nelson Higgins, was married to John Chase at Pueblo.

[24] I have noticed some erroneous statements concerning the Mormon battalion in my Colorado manuscripts. It was commanded in the first place by a regular officer, Col James Allen, 1st dragoons, though it was an infantry force. He died soon after the battalion left Leavenworth, and the command was taken by Lieut A. J. Smith, who reported to Col Doniphan at Santa Fé, the whole being under the command of Gen. Kearny. From Santa Fé to Los Angeles Col P. St George Cook commanded the battalion. See *Hist. Cal.* and *Hist. Utah*, this series.

purchased from the American Fur company.[25] The work of constructing and garrisoning these forts progressed slowly,[26] and it was not until some months after the close of the Mexican war that troops were stationed at them, although in 1847–8 there was a considerable force kept moving on the plains. In 1850 Fort Massachusetts was erected on Ute creek, at the west base of the main chain of the Rocky mountains, near Sangre de Cristo pass; the site being chosen the better to intercept the raiding bands of Utes, and was occupied, although the situation proved unhealthful, until 1857, when the present Fort Garland was substituted.[27]

In 1853 congress passed an act authorizing a survey of railroad routes from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, that between the 38th and 39th parallels being entrusted to Captain J. W. Gunnison, of the Topographical engineers. Captain Gunnison began his survey at the mouth of the Kansas river, proceeded westward to Bent's fort, up the Arkansas to the Apishapa and Huerfano affluents, through Sangre de Cristo pass into San Luis park, the Saguache valley, and Cochetopa pass, down the Gunnison branch of the Colorado to its junction with Grand river, thence westward across the Wasatch range, in Utah, as far as the valley of Sevier lake and river, where he, with several of his party, was murdered October 26th[28] by Pah Utes. Gunnison's

[25] Fort Laramie was sometimes called Fort John. Byrse in his *Hist. Colo*, MS., 66, says it was St John, and that the government changed its name to Laramie. But it was known to travellers as Laramie a number of years before the purchase; and in *Bonneville's Adventures* it is called Fort William, probably after William Sublette, who built it in 1834, in conjunction with Robert Campbell. They sold it the following year to Milton Sublette and James Bridger, who went into partnership with the American Fur Company. There is a more complete account of Fort Laramie in my *History of Wyoming*, this vol. Hastings, in his *Or. and Cal.*, 136, mentions Ft John as being one mile south of Fort Laramie.

[26] Rept of W. L. Marcy, sec. war, in *Niles' Reg.*, Dec. 13, 1848.

[27] Fort Garland is located in latitude 27° 35′ north; longitude 27° 20′ west; with an altitude of 7,805 feet. The reservation comprises 4 square miles, and lies between Sangre de Cristo and Ute creeks in San Luis park. *Surgeon-gen. Circ.*, 1870–4, 257; *Beckwith*, in *Pac R. R. Rept*, ii. 38.

[28] Gunnison had an escort of a dozen mounted riflemen, Co. A, under Capt. Morris. On the morning of Oct. 25th Gunnison, with F. Creutzfeldt

survey of the mountain passes of Colorado rendered it conclusive that there was no route equal to that travelled by the immigration through the great depression about the 42d parallel;[29] although the apprehension of obstruction from snow in this latitude continued to govern the views of those in authority, and in spite of the survey of the Northern Pacific railroad line, until the civil war forced the abandonment of the more southern routes.

botanist, R. H. Kern topographer, William Potter guide, John Bellows, and a corporal and 6 men, left camp to explore the vicinity of Sevier lake. On the next morning, most of the party being at breakfast, the Indians fired upon them from a thicket, and stampeding the horses, prevented their escape. Only 4 out of the 12 survived the attack. The corporal, who was able to mount, gave the first information to Capt. Morris, and the escort arrived on the scene of the massacre that evening too late to collect the remains of the murdered, which had been mangled by the savages, though not scalped, and torn and almost devoured by wolves during the night. *Beckwith* in *Pac R. R. Rept*, ii. 73–4; *Olympia Wash. Pioneer*, Jan. 21, 1854. See *Hist. Utah*, this series.

[29] See *Hist. Northwest Coast*, this series. The other government expeditions which have surveyed Colorado have been those military reconnoissances connected with railroads and mail routes. In 1854 Steptoe, on his way to Oregon with 300 troops, surveyed the country from New Mexico to Salt Lake City, and expended $25,000 in improving the route from that place to the southern California coast by the way of the Rio Virgen and Muddy river and the Cajon pass. *U. S. Ex. Doc.*, 34th cong. 1st sess., i. pt 2, 504–7. The overland mail was carried over this route for several years, or until the war with the south compelled the adoption of the central route. In 1857 the government sent out an expedition under William M. Magraw to locate a wagon-road through the South pass. It was accompanied by a corps of scientific men, who made collections of the plants, minerals, and animals of the country. *Smithsonian Rept*, 1858, 50. Congress had at different times made appropriations for the exploration of the Rocky mts in the interest of science, and especially of geology. An expedition to the lower Yellowstone, under the command of G. K. Warren, of the U. S. Eng. corps, as early as 1856, was the first to become interested in the marvellous reports of the Yellowstone country through the medium of the fur-traders. James Bridger offered to guide the command to the head of the river, but the undertaking was not entered upon at that time. Warren had planned an expedition to Yellowstone lake for the years of 1859–60, but was superseded in command by Col Reynolds of his corps. Prof. F. V. Hayden was connected with the expedition of 1856, and had charge of the geological department in 1859–60; but Reynolds failed to make the passage of the Wind River mts, from which side he made his approach. At the same time a small party under Cook and Folsom, by approaching by the valley of the Yellowstone, crossed the divide into the geyser basin of the Madison river, but not until after W. W. De Lacy, as I have shown in my *History of Montana*, had penetrated to that spot from the head of Snake river, in 1863. In 1870 the sur.-gen. of Montana, Henry D Washburne, with a party of settlers reached the upper geyser basin, at the head of the Yellowstone, and N. P. Langford, one of the party, published an account of the discoveries made by the expedition in the May and June numbers of *Scribner's Magazine* for 1871. An army officer who accompanied the excursion in command of a small escort—Lieut G. C. Doane, 2d cav. —made an official report to Gen. Hancock, who forwarded it to the

sec of war, Belknap. These revelations of the wonders of the Rocky mts greatly stimulated research. Under the direction of the sec. of the int., Delano, the geological survey was resumed in 1871 in the mountain regions, Prof. Hayden being in charge. He proceeded from Odgen to Fort Hall, and thence to Fort Ellis, Montana, where he obtained an escort and made the long-contemplated visit to the geyser basin, of which there is a description in his report for 1871, being the 5th of the series. In the following year Hayden, with his photographer, W. H. Jackson, made a tour through a part of Colorado, and in his report for 1872 gave a brief general sketch of the scenery and the geological features, with analyses of the mineral springs; but his explorations were confined principally to the country north of the 41st parallel. In 1873 and 1874 the survey of Colorado was prosecuted with zeal. The headquarters of the company was at Denver, but it was separated into 7 divisions to prosecute specifically the work of the topographical, geological, botanical, zoölogical, archæological, paleontological, and photographical branches of the service, which in all respects was of great value to the country and to science at large. Hayden's report for 1874 contains, besides the strictly scientific history of the state, many interesting observations on the conditions of the country and its development at this date. All of his reports are written in a popular style, which enables the least studious reader to find some charm in them. *Daly's Address Am. Geog. Soc.*, 1873, 9–12, 55–6. In 1880 Hayden published a volume of general and scientific information concerning the intramontane states and territories which he called *The Great West*, containing over 500 pages, and made up of selected matter from other sources, with some descriptive matter from his own, in which 75 pages are devoted to Colorado. In 1873 an expedition was thrown into the field by the war department, under the general charge of Lieut George M. Wheeler, the primary object being to discover the most available routes for the transport of troops and wagons between interior posts, and incidentally to conduct researches in geology, zoölogy, botany, archæology, and other special branches of science. The expedition was in the field three years, and a part of it in Colorado most of the time. The force for 1875 was divided into two sections, one under the immediate direction of Wheeler, to start from Los Angeles for the survey of southern Cal. and Arizona, and another under Lieut William L. Marshall, to start from Pueblo for the survey of the southern part of Colo. and New Mex. I have referred in my *History of Nevada* to Wheeler's work in that state. Marshall's route from Pueblo meandered the sage plains east of the mountains, rounded the base of Pike's peak, through the Sangre de Cristo pass to Conejos, on the Conejas branch of the Rio Grande del Norte, where the real work of the expedition for Colo. began. The topography of the whole country west of the 100th meridian and between the parallels was secured by triangulation, and a series of maps made which omitted no faintest trail or smallest stream. Wheeler's publications consist of reports, maps, and photographs, and are of great geographical value. In 1867 the government ordered the geological survey of the 40th parallel, and the explorations were placed in charge of Clarence King, a man of many attainments, to whose work and that of his party I have referred in my *History of Nevada*. A large octavo volume published in 1870 at Washington on mining industry contains chapters on gold and silver mining in Colorado, by James D. Hague, with general and particular histories of the most noted mines and mineral districts, with illustrations, the whole being of much interest and value.

CHAPTER III.

GOLD DISCOVERIES.

1853–1859.

MYTHOLOGICAL MINES—MEN FROM GEORGIA—THE CHEROKEES—HICKS AND RUSSELL—THE LAWRENCE PARTY—OTHER COMPANIES—AURARIA VERSUS DENVER—THE TOWN BUILDERS—EARLY MERCHANTS AND MANUFACTURERS—FIRST GUIDE BOOKS AND JOURNALS—GOLD DISCOVERIES ON BOULDER CREEK AND CLEAR CREEK—RUSSELL AND GREGORY—CENTRAL CITY AND FAIR PLAY—PIONEER BIOGRAPHY.

UP to 1853 Colorado's scant population still lived in or near some defensive establishment, and had been decreasing rather than increasing for the past decade, owing to the hostility of the Indians.[1] The great wave of population which rolled westward after the gold discoveries in California had its effect on this intermediate territory. Traditions of gold nuggets carried in shot-pouches of mountaineers are of early date, a Frenchman named Duchet[2] being one of the careless finders of the royal metal, "away back in the thirties." These stories were wafted abroad, and piqued the curiosity of the California bound pilgrims, who prospected, as opportunity offered, anywhere along the branches of the Platte river.[3] A party of Cherokees being en route to California, looking not only for gold, but for a new country in which to locate their people who had been invited to sell their

[1] Frémont, in his *Explor, Exped.*, 1843–4, mentions the taking of Roubideau's fort, on the Uintah branch of Green river, in northwestern Utah, by the Utes, soon after he passed it in 1814. The men were all killed and the women carried into captivity. Bent's fort was also captured subsequently, and the inmates slaughtered. The absence of the owners alone prevented their sharing the fate of their employés.

[2] *Hollister's Mines of Colorado*, 6; *Stuart's Montana*, 68–9.

[3] *Colorado Rem. in San Juan*, MS., 1.

lands in Georgia, taking the Arkansas valley route, and the trail by the Squirrel creek divide to the head of Cherry creek, made the discovery that gold existed in the streams of this region. The party continued on to California, and returned in time to Georgia, where they attempted to organize an expedition for the Rocky mountains. The news came to the ears of W. Green Russell, a miner of Dahlonega, Georgia, who also projected an expedition to this region.

In the meantime a Cherokee cattle trader from Missouri, named Parks, in driving his herds along the trail, and having had his eyes sharpened by the report of the previous company of his people, discovered gold in 1852, on Ralston creek, a small affluent of Vasquez, or Clear creek.[4] A column of troops marching through the country a few years later made a similar discovery, on Cherry creek, on the southwest corner of the present state of Colorado; and in 1857 other troops made the same report concerning Cherry creek in the Platte region.[5] Still, but little gold was found, and no excitement followed at that time.

Early in the spring of 1858 the Cherokees organized for a prospecting expedition to the vicinity of Pike's peak. W. Green Russell joined their company with a party of white men. Some difficulties occurring in passing through the country of the Osages, part of the Cherokees turned back. The expedition, as finally organized for the plains, consisted of twelve white persons and thirty Indians, among whom were George Hicks, Sen.,[6] leader of the company, George Hicks, Jr, John Beck, who had organized the expedition, Ezekiel Beck, Pelican Tigre, and others. The

[4] *Pabor's Colo. as an Agricultural State*, 21–22; *King's Geol. Explor.*, iii. 487–92.

[5] *Richardson's Hist. Gunnison County*, MS., 4; *Gilpin's A Pioneer of 1842*, MS., 3; *Corbett's Leyis. Manual*, 36; *Hayden's Great West*, 99–100; *Harper's Mag.*, xli. 373–4.

[6] Hicks was a lawyer by profession, had served on the bench as judge, and was a notable man among the Cherokees.

white persons were George McDougal, brother of Governor McDougal of California, who had a trading post on Adobe creek, a Mr Kirk, wife and two children, Levi Braumbaugh, Philander Simmons, a mountaineer of a dozen years' experience, and Messrs Brown, Kelly, Johns, Taylor, and Tubbs. Kelly had a Cherokee wife, who with her sister accompanied him. The company left the Missouri frontier May 12th, and arrived at Bent's new fort in good season; but the winter had been severe and the spring late,[7] which made travelling difficult. Nor were their labors rewarded that season, though they prospected from the head of the Arkansas to the Platte, and thirty miles to the north; and only Russell remained, with half a dozen men, who ultimately found diggings where they took out fair wages, on a dry creek putting into the Platte seven miles south of the mouth of Cherry creek.

The fame of the Cherokee expedition spread through the Missouri river towns, and soon other companies were on the road to the mountains, without waiting for confirmation of the rumored discoveries. A company left Lawrence, Kansas, soon after the passage of the Hicks and Russell parties, consisting of fifty men, two of whom, Holmes and Middleton, had families, and went by the Arkansas valley route to the foothills of the Front range. At Pueblo they found a few Mexicans, and at Fountain City a mixed settlement of Americans and Mexicans, presided over by George McDougal. The company prospected southward as far as the Sangre de Cristo pass, some crossing the mountains to Fort Massachusetts for supplies. Returning northward along the base of the mountains, they remained two or three months in the Garden of the Gods at the foot of Pike's peak, which a party, including Mrs Holmes, ascended, this woman, being

[7] Simmons relates that in the Squirrel creek pineries they found the deserted camp of Capt. Marcy, who, on his way to join Jonnson's army, lost several men and a large number of sheep by the cold and snow encountered here. *Arkansas Val. Hist.*; 548.

the pioneer of her sex upon this lofty summit. Their camp at this place was called by them Red rocks.

While in this vicinity, the Lawrence company laid out a town at the site of Colorado springs, which they called El Paso, from its location at the mouth of the Ute pass of the mountains. Some of the company took land claims along the Fontaine-qui-Bouille river, above El Paso town site, covering portions of the site where Colorado City now stands. But as no one came to purchase lots, and as no gold had been found in the vicinity, El Paso town company became restless, and moved northward to the Platte, a number of them encamping five miles above the present city of Denver, where they again laid out a town, putting up eighteen or twenty cabins, and calling it Montana.[8] Here the company finally disbanded. Part of them again engaged in a real estate venture, laying out the town of St Charles, the site of which embraced 1,280 acres of the ground now occupied by Denver, possession of which was subsequently acquired by the Denver people.[9] The greater portion of the Lawrence company returned to Kansas, some in the autumn and others in the following spring. A few wintered at Pueblo,[10] and while there were joined by other companies [11] from the Missouri border.

[8] There was also a place called The Eleven Cabins, 14 miles below Denver, on the Platte, but of its history I learn nothing, except the name of the builder, John Rothrack, of Pa.

[9] The would-have-been founders of St Charles were Frank M. Cobb, Adnah French, William Smith, and William Hartley. Cobb returned later in the autumn to Kansas, leaving Charles Nichols in charge of the new town. On his reappearance on Cherry creek in 1859, he found the Denver company in possession. Cobb mined for three years, and was sutler from 1861 to 1865 to the army in the south, after which he went to Worcester, Mass., where he was engaged in business until 1869, when he embarked in cattle raising and mining in the Gunnison country. He was born at Minot, Maine.

[10] Among those who returned to Pueblo to winter were George Peck, Middleton, wife and child, and one McClellan. They returned to the states in the spring, and to Colorado in the autumn of 1859. Peck, with a brother, went to farming on the Goodnight rancho, where he remained till 1865, at which time he engaged in mercantile business in the east. In 1872 he returned once more to Colorado, settling at Las Animas, where he again engaged in farming and cattle raising. In 1880 he was elected probate judge for Bent county. He married Mary E. Rice in 1871. *Arkansas Val. Hist.*, 877–8.

[11] Few of the names of the Lawrence party have been preserved. John T. Younker was one of those who remained. He was a native of Ohio, born

Meanwhile several other parties had set out from various points along the Missouri, arriving at Cherry creek in the autumn, by the route up the Platte. Foremost among these was a little company from Mills county, Iowa, consisting of D. C. Oakes,[12] H. J. Graham, George Pancoast, Abram Walrod,[13] and Charles Miles. They arrived on the 10th of October on the site of Denver, and after paying a visit to W. Green Russell at Placer camp, pitched their tents at this place.

Two weeks later a company of fifteen men arrived on Cherry creek, encamping on the west side of the stream. Among them was Henry Allen from Council Bluffs, Iowa, a practical surveyor, whose talent and instruments were soon called into the service of town companies. Small parties continued to arrive every few days, encamping for the most part on the west side of Cherry creek, which suggested, of course, a town; and Auraria was duly organized in the latter part of October, with Allen as president of the company. The town plat was surveyed by him, assisted by William Foster. The first building erected was by Anselm H. Barker.[14] To add to the population,

Aug. 28, 1833, and bred a farmer. From farm life he went to school teaching, and next to telegraphy. He emigrated to Kansas just in time to become involved in the troubles there, joining the free state men, and fighting 'border ruffians.' After the failure of the Lawrence company to find gold, he took a land claim on the Platte, five miles from Denver, where he resided until 1879, when he removed to the city. In 1867 he married Annie R. Thompson.

[12] D. C. Oakes was born at Carthage, Maine, April 3, 1825. At the age of six yeare he removed with his parents to Gillion, Ohio, four years later to Ind., and the following year to Iowa. In 1849, his parents having died, young Oakes accompanied Abram Walrod to Cal., and mined on American river in partnership with A. R. Colton. Returning home after a few years of life in the mines, he married, and settled at Glenwood, Iowa, as a contractor and builder, remaining there until 1858, when he started for Pike's Peak. From this time his life is a part of the history of Colorado. *Denver Hist.*, 538.

[13] Abraham Walrod was born in N. Y., Jan. 22, 1825, bred a farmer, and educated at the common schools. In 1843 he removed to Iowa, and in 1849 accompanied D. C. Oakes to Cal., working in the mines for two years. On returning to Iowa he settled at Glenwood, whence he came to Colo in 1858, and engaged in mining. In 1852 he married Emily A. Cramblet of Ill. His daughter Mary was the first white girl born in Denver. *Denver Hist.*, 644–5.

[14] Barker was a native of Ohio, born in Gallia county, Nov. 23, 1822, and bred a farmer and blacksmith. He married Aug. 7, 1843, and removed to

the settlers at Montana were persuaded to move their cabins to Auraria [15] and become incorporated with the prospective city,[16] every settler being allowed as many lots as he would build upon.

Iowa soon after. In 1857 he again removed to the new town of Plattsmouth in Neb., whence he came to Colorado, where he remained and worked at his trade. Among his discoveries was the Total Eclipse mine at Leadville. He was sergeant-at-arms of the constitutional convention of 1876.

[15] Auraria was named after a town in Lumpkin county, Georgia, by some persons from that mining region. Some authorities state that it was named after some person, for which assertion I find no ground. There were many miners from Georgia who would wish to compliment their former residence or preserve their home memories in this way. I quote *Byers' Hist. Colo.*, MS., 17; *Sopris' Settlement of Denver*, MS., 1. In *Hollister's Mines of Colorado*, 10, it is said that J. L. Russell of Auraria, Geogia, named the place.

[16] Richard Sopris, one of the Auraria town company, was born in Bucks co., Pa., June 26, 1813. He was bred a farmer, and learned the trade of a carpenter. On the 5th of June, 1837 he married Elizabeth Allen, of Trenton, N. J., and removed to Ind., changing his residence frequently, as he took canal and railroad contracts in various parts of the state. He arrived at Cherry creek Feb. 1, 1859, in company with Parks. He took an active part in public affairs in Colorado; was a capt. in the first Colo inf.; first president of the Colorado Agricultural society; for two years sheriff of Arapahoe county, 1864–6; assisted in building the railroads of the state; and has been mayor of Denver, and president of the Pioneer association. I found him intelligent and reliable authority on Colorado affairs, and his contribution of *The Settlement of Denver*, MS., very important. His family consisted in 1884 of five sons and three daughters.

Andrew J. Williams was a native of N. Y., born Nov. 22, 1833. When the Pike's peak gold fever broke out he left for the mountains in the autumn of 1858, in company with Charles H. Blake—after whom Blake street, Denver, was named—having four wagons drawn by four yokes of oxen each, carrying merchandise. They arrived Nov. 1st with the first stock of goods, and erected the first store in Auraria, or West Denver. In Dec. they joined the Denver town company, and helped to survey the ground, removing to the east side of the creek in the spring of 1859, where they erected the first hotel, a log house, 110 by 32 feet, and roofed with canvas, situated on Blake street near 15th street. It was burned in 1863. In 1859 Williams engaged in freighting and contracting in Colorado and New Mexico, which he followed until 1865. He also bought large herds of cattle which he drove to Colorado from Texas, making good profits. He became one of the incorporators and directors of the Exchange bank in 1876, and president in 1878.

Judson H. Dudley, born in N. Y., April 8, 1834, in 1857 went to Neb., and from there to Pike's peak, where he arrived October 20, 1858, and assisted in organizing the town company of Auraria, of which he was vice-president. Subsequently he joined the Denver company. On the breaking out of the war he was appointed quartermaster with the rank of major. He was owner of the Moose mine, and manager of the reduction works at Dudley for five years.

William Cole, a native of N. Y., was born Feb. 16, 1836, and educated at a common school. After a brief experience as a salesman in a mercantile establishment, he travelled through several of the western states, and being caught by the current setting toward the new gold region, found himself on the 20th of October, 1858, at Cherry creek, and when Auraria was being organized joined the town company. Then he went to Missouri to purchase beef and stock cattle, and soon after obtained contracts for furnishing the government posts. In 1865 he engaged in stock raising on a large scale. With Williams & Co. he built 40 miles of the Kansas Pacific railroad.

Some time during the winter there arrived at Auraria a party from Leavenworth, which had come by the Arkansas route. It consisted of Richard E. Whitsitt,[17] George William Larimer, William Larimer, Jr, Charles A. Lawrence, Folsom Dorsett, M. M. Jewett, E. W. Wynkoop, Hickory Rogers, and H. A. P. Smith, the last three having been picked up at Pueblo by the Leavenworth party. Immediately on viewing the situation of Auraria, and the relation of Cherry creek to all the routes of travel, these newcomers jumped the town site of St Charles on the opposite or east side of the creek, and organized a company to build a town, which was to be called Denver, after the governor of Kansas. A number of the Auraria company joined the Denver company, and

John D. Howland, another of the Auraria company, was a native of Zanesville, Ohio, born May 7, 1843, and educated at Marietta college. In 1857 he took up his residence among the Sioux, in order to paint mountain scenery. He enlisted in the 1st Colo Cavalry, serving four years, and then went to Europe. On returning from abroad he made his home in Colorado, acting as secretary of the peace commission to the northern Sioux in 1867, and serving as a government scout for a number of years. After this he gave himself up to his art, having his studio in Denver.

George C. Schleier, a native of Baden, Germany, who immigrated to the U. S. in 1833 at the age of six years, was one of a party of 30 which left Leavenworth in Sept. 1858, arriving at Auraria Dec. 1st, where they wintered. In Schleier, Teutonic phlegm and American enterprise were happily united, making him a typical pioneer. He acquired a fortune by these qualities, and became an influential citizen of his adopted state. D. C. Collier, Frank Dorris, George Le Baum, and Cyrus Smith were members of this Leavenworth company, which travelled the Arkansas route.

Matthew L. McCaslin, a native of Pa, wintered at Auraria in 1858–9. He went to Gold hill the following summer, where he mined for four years, after which he settled on a land claim on St Vrain creek, where he secured 750 acres of land. He is a wealthy cattle owner.

William R. Blore, of English and German parentage, was born in N. Y., July 27, 1833, and removed to Pa in childhood. In 1856 he went to Neb., and thence to Colorado, being one of the Auraria town company. After putting up some buildings he went to Gold run, and in company with McCaslin and Horsfal, discovered the famous Horsfal lode at Gold hill. He became president of the Gold Hill Mining co. in 1860, and realized a fortune.

George R. Williamson was another pioneer of 1858. He was born July 14, 1824, removed to Nebraska, and was elected sheriff of Decatur county in 1856. Thence he went to the Pike's peak country. In 1861–2 in company with H. C. Norton he built the Bear cañon toll road. In 1875 he discovered and located the Yellow Pine mine, and the Nucleus, Gray Copper, and Duroc lodes, in Sugar Loaf district. They yielded him over half a million dollars.

[17] Whitsitt was a native of Ohio, born March 30, 1830. He was bred to mercantile pursuits, and removed to Kansas on the organization of that territory, settling at Leavenworth, where he operated in real estate. This probably suggested to him the course he took in Colorado. *Denver Hist.*, 631.

when the founder of St Charles returned from a visit to Kansas in the spring he was compelled to take shares in the new company or lose all, his agent having already been overpowered. The first secretary of the company was P. T. Basset. He was followed by Whitsitt, who was secretary, treasurer, and donating agent until a grant was obtained from the government, all the deeds passing through his hands. The town was surveyed by E. D. Boyd, Larimer and A. J. Williams carrying the chain. It was this surveying which was assumed to give the new company the superior right. Larimer built the first house[18] after a stockade occupied by William McGaa.[19] It was a log cabin 16 by 20 feet, with a ground floor,[20] and probably a turf roof. It stood near the corner of Larimer and Fifteenth streets. The second house was erected by Moin and Rice, carpenters and wagon-makers, on Fifteenth street, opposite Larimer, which goes to show that this part of town became the business centre.

The first trader in Denver was John Smith, who was acting as agent for Elbridge Gerry, one of the brothers before mentioned as a wealthy fur-trader. When Blake and Williams opened their stock of goods, Gerry hastened from Fort Laramie and took charge of the business.[21] A tin-shop was the third

[18] *Sopris' Settlement of Denver*, MS., 3. There is some doubt about the builder of the first house in Denver. Like so many first things, it has several claimants. David C. Collier, a native of Mina, N. Y., born Oct. 13, 1832, a descendant of puritan ancestors, a student of Oberlin college, in Ohio, is one of those who built the first house on the east side of Cherry creek.' *Clear Creek and Boulder County Hist.*, 444. Collier drove an ox-team from Leavenworth, and was the first lawyer who offered his professional services in Colorado. He erected several houses in Denver. He explored a considerable portion of Gilpin and Clear Creek counties, White and Uncompahgre rivers, and the head waters of the Del Norte and Arkansas rivers, and also the San Juan country. In 1862 he removed to Central city, and besides practising law, edited the *Register*. He was connected with the educational interests of Colorado as supt of the public schools for Gilpin county.

[19] *Hollister's Mine of Colorado*, 16.

[20] The first building having a wooden floor was at the store of Wallingford and Murphy, at the corner of Larimer and 17th street. *Moore's Early Days in Denver*, MS., 3.

[21] *Denver Rocky Mountain Herald*, Jan. 8, 1876.

business place opened, kept by Kinna and Nye, who had brought a small stock of tin and sheet-iron to make into such articles as were required by miners. They began business in Auraria in November, but were soon induced to remove to Denver. The first stove in Colorado was made by them out of sheet-iron for Blake and Williams' public hall, known as Denver hall, for which they were paid $150. On Christmas 1858 a train of six large wagons belonging to Richard Wooten and brother arrived from New Mexico, loaded with provisions, and these goods being placed on sale, made the third trading establishment, and the last before immigration began in 1859. The next large stock of goods which arrived belonged to J. B. Doyle and Fred Z. Salomon, and came from 'the States.' It consisted of twelve large wagon-loads of groceries, provisions, boots and shoes, and miners' tools. A warehouse was erected in Auraria, and an active rivalry in trade was carried on between the two towns, Denver soon after receiving almost as large a stock from New Mexico, belonging to St Vrain and St James, whose store was on Blake street, and was the largest in Denver at the time. It furnished women's and children's shoes, the first offered in Colorado.

Women and children were not reckoned among the inhabitants of the Pike's peak mining region in 1858, although there were five of the former who saw the beginning of Denver. They were Mrs and Miss Rooker from Salt Lake; Mrs H. Murat;[22] Mrs Smoke, who afterward went to Montana; and Mrs Wooten, a native of Mexico. To these were added in August 1859 Mrs W. N. Byers, Mrs Henry Allen, and two daughters. Before winter of that year there were many of all classes in Denver. The first child

[22] H. Murat, commonly called 'the count,' was a lineal descendant of Marshal Murat, king of Naples. The countess washed, and the count shaved men's beards—occupations more useful than noble personages usually engage in. He later became an inmate of the Arapahoe county hospital. *Byers' Hist. Colo*, MS., 82.

born in the town was a half-caste son of McGaa,[23] one of the original town company, who voted to name it after his friend, the governor of Kansas, and to give him a share in the town site.[24]

The destiny of east Denver as against Auraria was settled in the autumn of 1859 by the arrival of two trains from Leavenworth, aggregating thirty wagons, loaded with merchandise, belonging to Jones and Cartwright, who opened stores on Blake street. "Now," said the Denver partisans, "no more Mexican trash for free Americans. No more one hundred per cent. The trade is ours, and Denver is saved." They made good their word, as it afterward proved—all but the one hundred per cent.[25]

[23] McGaa went by the name of Jack Jones among mountain men. It is said by Moore in his *Early Days in Denver*, MS., 9, that he was the son of an Irish baronet, but Byers, in *Hist. Colo*, MS., 73, says he was an American. At all events he was an educated man, and a good writer. He was a friend and guide of Gen. J. W. Denver, and a shrewd business man. But he fell into dissipated habits, and lost his standing. The town company hastened his final end by changing the name of McGaa street to Holladay street in honor of Ben Holladay. This insult broke his heart. At least, so says Moore, quoted above. McGaa died about 1866.

[24] Denver did not visit the place, or claim his lots in accordance with the terms of the grant, until 1882, when his share had been taken possession of, and divided among some of the other members of the company. He would not disturb titles, as the property had passed to innocent purchasers.

[25] I find mention of a number of the pioneers of 1858 belonging to the settlement of Denver who have not been here recorded. William M. Slaughter, from Plattsmouth, Neb., later mayor of Central City, was one of the early arrivals. John J. Reithmann, born in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1838, came to the U. S. at the age of 10 years, and was educated in the public schools of Indianapolis, where he was employed in the bank of the capital. In 1858 the family removed to Council Bluffs, from which place he soon after emigrated with his brother, L. D. Reithmann, to Colorado. They did not go to Cherry creek, but the latter wintered at a place known as Rough and Ready, 2½ miles below the mouth of Cherry creek, on the Platte, while the former returned to Council Bluffs, carrying the first mail between Colorado and Iowa. In the spring of 1859 he recrossed the plains to Denver, where he engaged in manufacturing crackers; and in 1868 began selling drugs. He made a fortune, and spent it freely in travel and the education of his children. He was president of the German bank—later the German National bank—of Denver, which position he resigned to go abroad. Louis D. Reithmann was also a Swiss, although not of the same family. Brought up in Ohio, he lived afterward near Indianapolis, and removed to Council Bluffs in 1856, whence he came to Colorado in 1858. He mined until 1865, went to Salt Lake, and thence to Montana, where he opened a bakery in company with Frank Hogert, but three years afterward returned to Colorado and engaged in dairy farming, and later in the grocery trade in Denver. Henry Reitz, a German by birth, learned the trade of a baker in London, after which he came to the U. S., working as a painter for a time. On arriving in Colorado, he sold his ox-team, and with the money, opened a bakery, making $3,500 in a few months,

But I will not further anticipate. D. C. Oakes having obtained possession of a journal kept by W. Green Russell, who returned with him late in the autumn to the states, published the same with a way-bill, under the title of *Pike's Peak Guide and Journal;* and although it was printed in the little town of Pacific City in Mills county, Iowa, it was widely circulated with similar publications, causing a large emigration to set out for the mountains as soon as the grass began to start in the spring, and even before. On the white covers of thousands of wagons was inscribed "Pike's Peak," often with the addition of some jocose legend;[26] this conspicuous landmark, in the absence of an official name for this region, standing for all the country from which this mountain was visible.

In April 1859 there were ten or twelve hundred persons encamped at Auraria and Denver, the advance of that army stretching across the great plains from the Missouri river in different lines, but principally up the Platte valley. Among the first to arrive was D. C. Oakes, with a saw-mill, which he placed on

after which he went to mining, and accumulated a comfortable fortune by that means, and by painting. Edmund A. Willoughby, son of Gen. Franklin Willoughby, was born in Groton, N. Y., Jan. 6, 1836, and removed in 1857 to Omaha, Neb. In 1858 he joined a party for Pike's peak, which arrived Oct. 27th at Cherry creek, where he associated himself with M. A. Avery in contracting and building, erecting, among other structures, Denver hall, famous in early times. He manufactured the Willoughby brick. He was sheriff of Arapahoe county in 1873, and two years alderman of the 4th ward of Denver. Andrew Sagendorf was born in N. Y., Aug. 26, 1828, and bred a farmer. In 1856 he removed to Neb., and in 1858 he left Omaha for Pike's peak, and arrived at Cherry creek November 5th, remaining there over winter. In the spring he went prospecting, and with others discovered Spanish bar, where he mined until July. Returning to Auraria he was elected secretary of the town company, which office he held for two years. He was also weighing clerk in the mint at Denver in 1863. In 1866 he was appointed postmaster for Denver, holding the office three years. He subsequently erected the government buildings at the White River Ute agency, and afterward engaged in stock raising in Douglas county. In 1874 he removed to Colorado Springs, and for two years ran the express and transfer line, and finally went into the drug business in this place.

[26] One wagon bore the inscription, 'Pike's Peak or bust!' The disappointed gold seeker returned soon after with his addenda: 'Busted, by Thunder!' emblazoned on his wagon cover. *Elbert's Public Men and Measures,* MS., 2; *Ingersoll's Knockiny around the Rockies,* 6; *Sopris' Settlement of Denver,* MS., 1.

Plum creek, twenty miles south of Denver, and which furnished the first lumber for the improvement of that town on the 21st of April.[27] On that same day there arrived from Omaha a newspaper company with a printing press, which was destined to do as much toward building up the town of Denver as the saw-mill, though in a different way. The head of the company was William N. Byers, who, like Oakes, had published a *Guide to Pike's Peak*, which had been extensively sold to the immigrants.[28] It happened that before he arrived at Cherry creek signs of a panic began to appear, and he encountered persons who threatened to have satisfaction of him for having raised expectation by his *Guide* which had not been fulfilled. Oakes was regarded with still greater disfavor, because he had been the first to represent Pike's peak as a mining region, and his name was mentioned with execrations.[29] Henry Allen and William Lari-

[27] The first lumber was purchased by Richard Wooten, who came to Colorado in 1838, and Thomas Pollock, who erected the first frame houses. *Denver Hist.*, 186. Wooten was living in Trinidad in 1882. *Denver Colorado Antelope*, April, 1882. The 2d saw mill was erected by Little, and the 3d by Whittemore. *Sopris' Settlement of Denver*, MS., 12.

[28] Mr Byers had a most important influence in shaping the history of Colorado. I am indebted to him for very valuable material, collected during a tour through the state of Colorado in 1884, in four different manuscript contributions; namely, *History of Colorado*, *The Newspaper Press of Colorado*, *The Sand Creek Affair*, and *The Centennial State*, each filled with the very essence of history. Byers was born in Ohio, Feb. 22, 1831. At the age of 19 he removed to Iowa, and joined a government surveying party for Cal. and Or. in 1851, returning to Washington in 1853, after which he settled at Omaha, then in its infancy. He continued surveying until he came to Colo. In changing his occupation he followed the natural bent of his mind, and made the best use of his talents. He founded the *Rocky Mountain News*, the first newspaper issued in Colorado. The first number appeared April 22d, the day after his arrival, and proceeded by 20 minutes the *Cherry Creek Pioneer*, owned by Jack Merrick of St Joseph, who, being beaten in the race, sold to Thomas Gibson, also of the *News*, and never issued a second number of his paper. This left a clear field for Byers and Gibson, which they improved. George C. Monell of Omaha had an interest in the *News*, but turned back on his way to Denver, and sold it. *Byers' Hist. Colo*, MS.

[29] The following distich was made familiar to thousands on the plains:

'Here lies the body of D. C. Oakes,
Killed for aiding the Pike's Peak hoax.'

Hill's Tales of Colo Pioneers, 27. His effigy was buried by the wayside, and on a buffalo skull planted at the head was written:

'Here lies the bones of Major Oakes,
The author of this God damned hoax.'

mer came in for a share of blame also. There was as little reason in this revengeful feeling as there had been in the unbounded credulity which had led them on the first unproved statement of a bookmaker to hasten to place themselves in the front rank of gold-seekers.

But their panic was not groundless. Gold had not yet been found in amount to justify any excitement, although it was the belief of old miners on the ground that it was there. Very few of those who came to mine knew anything of indications, or the methods of mining. They needed to be taught; but until mining had been begun they could learn nothing. Other employments there were none at that early date. The last argument for quitting the country was furnished on the 16th of April, when a man named John Scudder killed another named Bassett in a quarrel. If a course of outlawry was about to commence, they would none of that country; so away they went like senseless steers—senseless in coming or in returning—stampeding down the Platte sixty or seventy strong, swearing they would kill D. C. Oakes and W. N. Byers if peradventure they could lay hands on them.

On foot, unfurnished with transportation or provisions for a journey of such length, the backward moving men kept on. The stories they told of Pike's peak affairs were at least as exaggerated as the representations of the guide-books which they condemned, big lies in their minds seemingly being neccessary to counteract the effect of big lies. And every man they turned back added to the apparent weight of evidence, gaining like a rolling snow-ball. If sixty could turn back sixty, twice sixty could turn back their own number at least, and 240 might be able to influence not only 480, but, by that power which crowds have to create a state of feeling, a much larger number could be made to share in the alarm. Of the 150,000 persons on the plains in the spring

and summer of 1859, not less than 50,000 were thus turned back. This was doubtless the greatest success these sixty men ever achieved; and their reward was free transportation for themselves, and provisions for the journey. The return began far up the Platte, and many who had loaded their wagons with merchandise to sell in the mines, or property for their own use, threw it away rather than tax their tired oxen to drag it back five or six hundred miles to the Missouri river. The route was strewn with goods of every description for hundreds of miles, and of the 100,000 that pushed on to the mountains, less than 40,000 remained there. Some tarried but a few weeks, and others remained all summer, going home when cold weather approached.

But there was really something back of all this running to and fro, this seemingly wasted effort. It was slow in appearing, revealing itself little by little in a tantalizing fashion which is sufficient apology for the discontent of those who imagined gold could be picked up like pebbles. On the 15th of January 1859, gold was discovered in a small affluent of Boulder creek, to which the name of Gold run was given; and about the end of January a discovery was made in a gulch filled with fallen timber, on the south Boulder, and called Deadwood diggings.[30] In the spring J. D. Scott discovered a gold-bearing quartz vein, and named it after himself, the Scott, and the place Gold hill. Out of these discoveries grew the town of Boulder

On the 6th of May a party of Chicago men, headed by George Jackson, a California miner, made a rich discovery on a branch of Clear creek. The diggings took the name of Chicago bar, or Jackson diggings, and soon overflowed with anxious miners, many of

[30] Compare *Moore's Early Days in Denver*, MS.; *Sopris' Settlement of Denver*, MS.; *Byers' Hist. Colorado*, MS.; *Bradford's Hist. Colorado*, MS.; and *Hollister's Mines of Colorado.*

whom were compelled to look further for want of room. A short distance above the mouth of Fall river and Chicago bar was Spanish bar, so called because there were evidences of former mining at that place; in the vicinity were Fall river and Grass Valley mining camps. But the principal camp on this part of Clear creek was opposite Jackson diggings, and became the foundation of the town of Idaho Springs, which began to take shape the following year.

On the 10th another party, led by John H. Gregory, a Georgian,[31] made a discovery just over the

[31] Gregory was a lazy fellow from Gordon county, Georgia, and drove a government team from Leavenworth to Fort Laramie in 1858, intending to go to Fraser river, but being detained at Laramie by want of means had drifted off to Clear creek, and with some others had encamped at a point between Denver and Golden, and called the place Arapahoe. It is said by Hollister, in his *Mines of Colorado*, 63, that he prospected in January, and found the color in the north fork of Clear creek; and that being out of provisions he was forced to return to camp. It does not appear that he made any further effort for several months. He was finally 'grub staked' (furnished with provisions for an interest in his success) by David K. Wall, and induced to lead a party, consisting of Wilkes De Frees, his brother, and Kendall, to the mountains and the stream where he had seen the color. The party set out in April, proceeding from Arapahoe up the north forth of Vasquez or Clear creek, climbing many successive ridges, and floundering through snow banks, until they came to the mouth of a gulch near the head of the creek, and consequently well up in the mountains. Here Gregory suggested that it would be well to dig and look for float gold. While the other men dug he looked on. They obtained a fair prospect, and went on excavating. Then said Gregory to Wilkes De Frees, who had grub staked him, 'Bring your shovel, and come with me.' They went about 300 feet further up the side of the gulch, when Gregory pointed to the ground and said, 'Here is a good looking spot; stick your shovel in there, Wilk.' De Frees obeyed, turning over a few shovelfuls of earth. 'Give me some in the pan,' said Gregory again, and De Frees filled the pan half full of dirt, which the Georgian proceeded to wash at the little stream running through a gulch close at hand. The product of that half pan of dirt was half an ounce of gold! Gregory went back for another panful, with the same result. Claims were immediately staked off. The effect of his extraordinary fortune crazed the weak brain of poor Gregory. All through the night sleep deserted him, and his companions heard his self-communings. He sold his discovery claim, under the impression that he could easily find another as good. The price he obtained, $22,000, was a fortune to him. At length, in 1861–2, he disappeared from a hotel in Illinois, and was never seen again. The man to whom Gregory sold his mine was Edward W. Henderson. He was born in Austinburg, Ohio, Nov. 29, 1818, and bred a farmer, receiving a common school education. In 1844 he removed to Iowa, and from there he went to Pike's peak, where he arrived in April 1859. After prospecting for a few weeks, he went to Gregory gulch on the 16th of May, and on the 29th, in company with Amos Gridley, he purchased the Gregory claims, paying for them out of the proceeds of the mine. It was a fortunate venture, although he lost some of the money he made in other ones. He erected a quartz mill in 1861, where the Eureka foundry later stood, in company with D. A. January, Ely R. Lackland, and Judge Lackland, in which was a loss. He afterward purchased a

mountains west of Jackson bar, on the north fork of Clear creek, the richest ever found in Colorado, and one of the richest in the world. These discoveries arrested the backward flow of immigration to some extent. Not less than 30,000 persons hastened after Jackson when they heard of Chicago bar, and when Gregory point was made known they threw themselves in there pell mell, each striving to be first.

But the Gregory party had taken the precaution before giving their discovery publicity to admit their friends and organize a district, with rules and regulations by which all future claimants should be governed.[32] Comparatively few of those who came found ground to work;[33] for which reason much discontent was exhibited, and a mass meeting was called to change the laws of the district.[34] The new-comers were unable to cope with the more experienced miners, and were surprised to find that the committee appointed by themselves to revise the laws made no material change in them. They had failed to perceive that the pioneers were mingling with the assemblage in every part, nominating their men on the committee. Not knowing the nominees, the malcontents voted

mill at Gregory point in company with Gridley, but lost in this transaction also. He finally consolidated his claims with four others, and sold out to a New York company, his share of the price obtained being $100,000, In 1873 he was appointed receiver of the U. S. land office at Central City. *Clear Creek and Boulder Val. Hist.*, 454–5.

[32] The mining laws adopted were nearly identical with those of California, defining the boundaries of the district; forbidding the taking of more than one claim of a kind, except by purchase properly attested; fixing the extent of a mountain claim at 100 feet on the lode and 50 feet in width; and of a gulch or creek claim at 100 feet along the creek or gulch, and extending from bank to bank; limiting the time of holding without working to 10 days; giving the discoverer a 'discovery claim,' in addition to his working claim, which he could work or not as he chose; dividing the water of a stream equally between miners, etc. Disputes were to be settled by arbitration. On the 9th of July another meeting was held, at which it was resolved to elect by ballot a president of the district, a recorder of claims, and a sheriff. Richard Sopris was chosen president, C. A. Roberts recorder, and Charles Peck sheriff. A committee was also appointed to codify the laws of the district. *Hollister's Mines of Colo*, 77–9.

[33] Bates and Taschuer hired Gregory at a high price to prospect for them, and together they found the celebrated Bates lode. *Colo Gazetteer*, 174.

[34] Byers, who was present at this meeting, describes it as looking like a 'flock of blackbirds,' so thickly were the sides of the gulch covered with men. *Hist. Colo*, MS. 34.

them into office, and accepted their report because they had done so, with a suspicion that they had been outwitted.

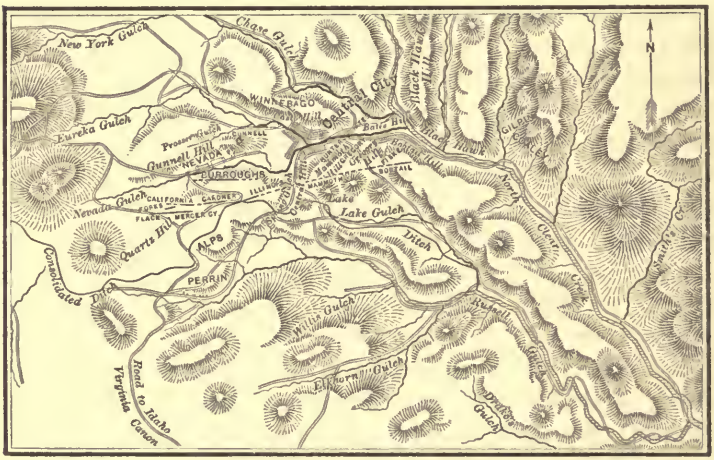
Prospecting continued in the mountains, a number of discoveries being made on the headwaters of north Clear creek, Boulder, south Clear creek, and the Platte. Early in June W. Green Russell commenced mining on a tributary of north Clear creek, a little south of, but parallel with, the Gregory claims, in a ravine which took the name of Russell gulch. Six men in one week took out seventy-six ounces of gold, worth from sixteen to eighteen dollars to the ounce.[35] Something over 200 men were at work in Nevada and Illinois gulches and Missouri flat, tributaries of Gregory and Russell gulches, who were producing an average of $9,000 a week. In the latter part of September there were about 900 men at work in Russell gulch, taking out an average of $35,000 a week. Water becoming scarce, ditches were constructed to bring it from Fall river to Russell and Gregory gulches, which cost the miners $100,000. The districts discovered in 1859 in what were later Clear creek and Gilpin counties were, besides Gregory, Russell, Spanish bar, and Jackson, Nevada district, Lake gulch, Griffith, Illinois Central, Enterprise, Central, Eureka, and Virginia. The discoveries in these districts were numerous enough to employ many,[36] but by no means all who sought for claims.

[35] William Green Russell remained in Colorado until 1862, and made considerable money. On his way east he was arrested for a confederate at Santa Fé, but he was released and returned to Colorado, where he remained until 1875, when he removed to the Cherokee country, his wife being a woman of that nation, and died a few years afterward. *Bradford's Hist. Colo*, MS., 4; *Sopris' Settlement of Denver*, MS., 2.

[36] I give herewith the names of mines and their discoverers in 1859: In Gilpin county, the Alger, by William Alger; American Flag; Barrett, by Wesley Barrett; Burroughs, Benjamin Burroughs; Briggs, Briggs Brothers; Butler, James D. Wood; Connelly and Beverly, Connelly and Beverly; Dean-Castro, Dean and Castro; Gaston, James Gaston; Gunnell, Harry Gunnell; Hill House, Payne & Co.; Ingles, Webster & Co.; Indiana, Thomas Brothers; Jennings, Thomas Jennings; Kansas, James Madison; Kentucky, Jones and Hardesty; Miller, A. Miller; Mack, W. Mack; Missouri; Roderick Dhu, Stevens and Hall; Smith, A. A. Smith; Snow, James Snow; Tarryall; Topeka, Joseph Hurst; Tucker, John Nichols; Virginia, J. Oxley; Whiting,

A rumor of discovery, and they swarmed at that place, alighting like locusts upon a field which could not furnish ground for one in a thousand of those who came. Finding themselves too late, they swarmed again at some other spot, which they abandoned in a similar manner.

Out of this ceaseless activity grew worthy results. From Araphoe [37] at the mouth of Table mountain cañon, where they had gathered during the winter,



MINES OF GILPIN COUNTY.

Whiting & Co.; Wood, Robert Wood; Leavenworth, Harsh Brothers; California, Hutchinson; French F. Terndull; St Louis. In Clear creek county the Griffith, George F. Griffith, and the Virginia. These were discoveries which proved to be real lodes, called at first 'mountain diggings' to distinguish them from the gulch and bar diggings; but these were not all. There seems to have been a good uniform yield, but never an extraordinary production as in some parts of Idaho and Montana. Hollister, in *Mines of Colo*, 66–7, gives the yield of the decomposed quartz in these mountains diggings as follows: the highest day's income from the Gregory, working it with a sluice, was $495, and the lowest $21. Zeigler, Spain, & Co. cleaned up in three weeks on the Gregory $2,400. De Frees & Co., cleaned up $2,080 in 12 days with one sluice. Kehler, Patton, & Fletcher averaged with 5 hands $100 a day on the Bates lode. From $125 to $450 a day were obtained from single sluices, working four men; and so on.

[37] Arapahoe was staked off by George B. Allen. It contained in 1859 nearly 100 houses, but was soon after deserted and converted into farms. *Clear Creek and Boulder Val. Hist.*, 547. Allen became a resident of a farm near Golden. He was born in Albany, N. Y., May 17, 1825. In 1846 he removed to Akron, Ohio, and subsequently to Defiance, where he remained

went the founders of Golden,[38] Golden Gate, Mount Vernon, Central City, and Nevada,[39] all on the affluents of Clear creek. Golden Town company was formed in the spring of 1859, and was an afterthought of its organizers, who were encamped at the Gate of the Mountains, or the mouth of the cañon of Clear creek. The trail to the mines crossed the creek here,[40] and the water being high, J. M. Ferrell constructed first a foot-bridge and then a toll-bridge for teams, and improved the road, making his bridge a good piece of property, as well as the first of its kind in Colorado. Many persons gathered there, attracted by the natural beauties of the scenery, or encamped preparatory to entering the mountains, suggesting thereby a town, when a company was formed, consisting of D. Wall, J. M. Ferrell. J, C. Kirby, J. C. Bowles, Mrs Williams, W. A. H. Loveland, H. J. Carter, Ensign Smith, William Davidson, F. W. Beebee, E. L. Berthoud, Stanton, Clark, and Garrison. They called themselves the Boston company; and having selected two sections of land laid out half a section in lots and blocks, the remainder not being surveyed until the following year. A saw-mill and

five years. Having lost a stock of goods by fire he engaged in brokerage and then in buying and selling stock. In 1857 he removed to Doniphan, Kansas, but on account of failing health determined to cross the plains. After laying out Auraria and Arapahoe, he became interested in quartz and lumber mills. He moved his saw mill across the mountain into California Gulch in 1861, and 'blew the first whistle across the range.' In 1864 he took 160 acres of land on Clear creek where he made himself a home.

[38] The first settlers of Golden were W. A. H. Loveland, John M. Ferrell, Fox Deifenderf, P. B. Cheney, Dr Hardy, George Jackson, Charles M. Ferrell, John F. Kirby, T. P. Boyd, William Pollard, James McDonald, George West, Mark Blunt, Charles Remington, E. B. Smith, J. C. Bowles, Daniel McCleary, I. B. Fitzpatrick, and W. J. McKay.

[39] J. M. Beverly built the first cabin in Nevada, and was elected recorder of the district in the autumn, besides being sheriff and justice of the peace. During the winter he located Beverly's discovery on the Burroughs lode. In 1862 he erected a quartz mill in Nevada gulch. He returned to Chicago in 1868 and was married there; but in the great fire of 1871 he lost all his accumulations and began the study of the law. After being admitted to the bar he revisited Colorado, where he located and purchased a number of mines, which were profitably worked. Beverly was born in Culpepper county, Virginia, in 1843.

[40] It is mentioned by several writers that Horace Greeley visited the mines this year; and it is related that he attempted to swim his mule across Clear creek, and would have been drowned but for assistance rendered him.

shingle-mill in the pineries furnished material for building, which went on rapidly, the town having seven or eight hundred inhabitants before winter.[41]

Golden Gate, two miles north of Golden, where the Denver and Gregory road entered the mountains, was a flourishing settlement. At the mouth of Left Hand creek was a town, later abandoned, called Davenport in 1859. Mountain City at Gregory point was laid out early in May, the first house being started on the 22d by Richard Sopris, who, with J. H. Gest, was one of the Mammoth quartz mining company, which owned thirty claims on that lode. A near neighbor to Mountain City on the south was a miner's camp called Black Hawk, and adjoining it on the north, in Kendall gulch,[42] was Central City, so named by W. N. Byers, its first inhabitant[43] after its founders, Harrison Gray Otis, Nathaniel Albertson, and John Armor.[44] Central finally absorbed the other two

[41] *Helm's Gate of the Mountains*, MS., 1; *Early Records*, MS., 4. *The Rocky Mountain Gold Reporter and Mountain City Herald*, of Aug. 6, 1859, says that Golden at that date, when it had been surveyed but one month, had 50 houses, 1,930 men, and 70 women. Most of these must have been transient, if indeed that might not be said of all. Helm says the first garden he knew of in Colorado was at Golden. This of course applies to the mining population.

[42] Named after Kendall in Gregory's company. In seems the honors were divided by naming the gulch after Kendall and the hill or point after Gregory.

[43] *Sopris' Settlement of Denver*, MS., 7; *Bradford's Hist. Colo*, MS., 4.

[44] Thomas Gibson of the *Rocky Mountain News* had a newspaper office at Central city in July 1859, and published the *Rocky Mountain Gold Reporter* on the press purchased of Jack Merrick, a cap size lever machine. It had a brief existence of five months, when it was discontinued, and the press sold to the Boston company of Golden, whose managers established the *Western Mountaineer*, which a few months later was enlarged and printed on a new press. Among its editors in the winter of 1859–60 where A. D. Richardson and Thomas W. Knox, both of whom afterward achieved national reputations as newspaper correspondents. While the press was in Central City it occupied part of a double log house owned by George Aux, author of *Mining in Colorado and Montana*, MS., in my collection. Aux was born in Marryat, Pa, in 1837. At the age of 14 years he removed to Cleveland, Ohio. Five years afterward he went to Kansas, and May 1850 to Pike's peak. He went to Gregory point, or Mountain city, where he remained until he enlisted in Gilpin's reg. of volunteers raised to keep the territory in the union. In 1864 he went to Montana, with his wife and infant, in an ox wagon, but soon returned and engaged in farming and stock raising in Douglas county. His manuscript is an account of early settlements and military matters chiefly. Benjamin P. Haman erected and kept the first hotel in Central City. Haman was born in Vt and immigrated from Iowa. He married Rachel Berry in 1847. Hugh A. Campbell opened the first stock of goods in Mountain City

places. On the headwaters of Clear creek George F. Criffith laid out a town and called it after himself, Georgetown. It did not grow much that season, nor for several seasons thereafter, but its importance was demonstrated after the discovery of silver mines a few years later.

A part of the population spread across the range, and located Breckenridge on a tributary of Blue river, in what is now Summit county, where several hundred miners were soon congregated. Others penetrated the South park, and a miner named W. J. Holman discovered on a branch of the Platte the Pound diggings,[45] which had a great reputation, the name signifying, as some thought, that a pound of gold a day was their average-production—an opulence which nature does not often bestow upon diggings anywhere. So magnanimous were the first locators in the prospect of sudden riches that they gave the place and the creek on which the placers were situated the inviting name of Tarryall. So many tarried, and such was the squabbling over claims that a portion of the population determined to seek for mines elsewhere, and to their delight soon discovered them. But the first party of eight men which left Tarryall was killed by the Indians, except one, while passing through a ravine, which took from this circumstance the name of Dead Men's gulch.[46]

It was decided that there should be no cause for dissension in the new district, but that even-handed

in a brush tent, and was the first to place a sign above his place of business with the new name of Central City upon it, and to have his letters addressed to Central City, by which means the P. O. department was brought at last to recognize the change. He built the Atchison house in Denver in the winter of 1859. He discovered the Cincinnati lode on Casto hill, and became the owner of 40 acres of Placer mines on Quartz hill, besides other mining property. He was born in Adams county, Pa, and married Mattie W. Whitsitt, of Centreville, Ohio.

[45] Named after Daniel Pound. The amount actually taken out by the Mountain Union company in one week, with 4 men, was $420. Holman, with 5 men, took out $686 in the same time. Bowers & Co. took out in one week $969, with 3 men—57 ounces worth $17.

[46] W. N. Byers, in *Out West*, Oct. 1873; *Dead Men's Gulch and Other Sketches*, MS., 1.

justice should rule the camp, and to emphasize this determination it was named Fair Play.[47] Eight miles north-west of Fair Play a discovery was made by a mountaineer, whose characteristic dress of tanned skins gave him the descriptive appellation of Buckskin Joe, and the Buckskin Joe mines next attracted the unsatisfied. This camp became the town of Alma. Hamilton and Jefferson followed in South park the same season, the latter becoming a town of several thousand inhabitants in the first few years.[48]

[47] *Sopris Settlement of Denver*, MS., 8. There are several stories to account for this name, all of them far fetched and inaccurate.

[48] Before proceeding further with the history of settlement, I will record the names of some of the pioneers of this part of Colorado in 1859. Joseph M. Brown, born in Maryland in 1832, was with General Walker in Nicaragua in 1855. He returned, drifted west, and became a farmer and stock-raiser. Samuel W. Brown, born near Baltimore Dec. 23, 1829, removed to New York in 1844, became a cabinet-maker, served in the Mexican war, going from these battle-fields to Cal., and afterward to Chicago. He followed Walker to Nicaragua, and furnished supplies to the army for one year. In 1857 he married a daughter of John Perry, at Olathe, Iowa. On coming to Colorado he secured 500 acres and went to farming. Thomas Donelson, a native of Ohio, was born June 20, 1824, and bred a farmer. After several removes westward he came to Colorado, where, after one season of mining, he brought out his family and settled on the Platte, 17 miles below Denver. Henry Crow, born in Wis., bred a merchant, came to Colorado in 1859, and after mining for a season returned to Iowa for his family, and located at Central City. He served in the Indian war of 1864, after which he removed to Georgetown. Selling his mines at that place he settled in Denver and organized the City national bank in 1870; but in 1876 withdrew from the presidency of that institution and returned to Georgetown to engage in mining. Charles G. Chever was born at Salem, Mass., Sept. 13, 1827, went to Cal. in 1849, where he resided 10 years in the mines, and then removed to Colorado. In 1861 he was elected clerk and recorder of Arapahoe county. He has ever since been in the real estate business. S. B. Morrison, born in Oneida Castle, N. Y., May 2, 1831, removed to Jefferson, Wis., at the age of 10 years, and in 1859 came to Colorado, where he turned his attention to farming and stock-raising, 3 miles north of Denver. He also erected some quartz-mills in Gilpin and Park counties. John H. Morrison graduated from Rush Medical college, Chicago, and after coming to Colorado he resided first on a farm and then in Denver, where he died July 21, 1876. Jasper P. Sears was born in Ohio, in 1838, and educated at Delaware, after which he removed to St Paul, Minnesota, where he traded with the Sioux. In Sept. 1858, he started for Pike's peak with a stock of merchandise, but did not arrive for a year afterward, owing to sickness and Indian hostilities. In company with C. A. Cook he opened a store at the corner of 15th and Larimer streets, Denver. After 4 years of prosperous trade they opened a banking-house. In 1869 Sears became a government contractor, and dealer in real estate, and made a fortune. Thomas Skerritt, born in Ireland, in 1828, immigrated in 1848 to the U. S. and Canada. In 1855 he married Mary K. Skerritt, who was one of the first women to go to Central City, and accompanied her husband across the mountains to Breckenridge. In the autumn of 1859 he took a land claim on the Platte river, but all his improvements were swept away by the flood of 1864. What remained of the land itself was purchased by

Peter Magnus for the site of the Harvest Queen Mill, and Skerritt settled upon another claim 6 miles from Denver, where he cultivated 200 acres.

Edward C. Sumner, a native of La Fayette, Ind., joined the rush to Pike's peak, and found permanent employment in the Denver post-office. Alfred H. Miles, born in Cleveland, Ohio, Sept. 4, 1820, set out with his family for Cal. in 1859, but stopped in Colo and selected a farm on Clear creek, 9 miles from Denver. He remained there for 7 years, when he moved to Cherry creek and finally to Denver. He has been one of the most successful farmers of Colorado. Isaac E. McBroom a native of Ind., born April 22, 1830, removed to St Joseph, Missouri, at an early age, and in 1850 to Iowa. He came to Colo with the first mining immigration, and settled on a farm near Denver. John Milheim, baker and steel polisher, a native of Switzerland, born in 1835, came to the U. S. in 1849, to Neb. in 1856, and from there to Pike's peak. Just before leaving Omaha, he was married to Miss Reithmann, whose brothers also became citizens of Denver, and with whom he opened the first bakery there, which laid the foundation of his fortune. James W. Richards, a native of Ohio, worked on a farm in Ill., and thence went to the Colo mines. In 1865 he established a fast freight line between Denver and Central City, remaining in the business 7 years, when he went into a flour and grain trade He shipped the first car-load of grain over the Kansas Pacific railroad to Denver, and established the first line of transfer wagons in the city, upon which he, with W. J. Kinsey, had a patent. Peter Magnus, born in Sweden, in 1824, bred a farmer, came to the U. S. in 1852, and in 1859 to Colo, and selecting a farming claim brought out his family. The flood of 1864 took his improvements, and grasshoppers in 1873–4–5, nearly destroyed his crops, yet he prospered. He received all the medals at the agricultural exhibition of Colorado in 1870. He was county commissioner for Arapahoe in 1867–9. Mason M. Seavy, born in Maine in 1839, removed to Ill., and thence started with other gold-seekers for Pike's peak in 1859, but turned back at Fort Kearny, and did not reach the mountains until the following year, when he settled in Golden and went into the grocery trade, doing well until he lost a large and valuable train by the Arapahoes, which compelled him to suspend business. He began a second time in Central City, but failed again, owing to commercial complications. In 1872 he settled in Denver, and again prosecuted the grocery business, this time with better success. Daniel J. Fulton, a native of Va, removed to Ohio in 1836, and a few years later to Iowa. In 1849 crossed the plains to Cal. where he mined for 3 years, returned to the states, and in 1859 came to Colo. After mining for a year, and trying his fortunes in Idaho, he settled upon a farm on the Platte, 16 miles below Denver. George W. Hazzard was born at Elk Grove, Wis., Dec. 7, 1837, came to Denver in 1859, and went to the mines of Gregory point and Missouri flats, where, with his brother, he took out gold enough to start in farming 16 miles from Denver. John W. Iliff, a native of Ohio, born in 1831, bred a farmer, and educated at Delaware college, came to Colorado in 1859 with a small train of provisions, purchased with a few hundred dollars which his father gave him, and selling out invested in a small herd of cattle. He followed up the cattle business for 18 years, mastering all its details, and making a large fortune. He owned 200,000 acres of pasture lands, took government contracts, and shipped cattle to eastern markets at the rate of 13,000 a year. He died February 9, 1878. Libeus Barney, a native of Vt, crossed the plains in the first coach of the Denver and Pike's peak passenger line. After mining, with a brother, he tried house-building, and erected the hall in which the first provisional legislature met. Farming was next attempted, but a grocery store in Denver was the final resort after these ventures, and in that he did well.

Caleb S. Burdsal, from Ohio, mined near Golden in 1859, and in 1864 was appointed surgeon of the 3d Colo reg. Since then he has practised medicine in Denver. He discovered and named Soda lakes, near Morrison. Joseph W. Bowles, born in Rockford, N. C., came to Denver in 1858. He located a mine on Quartz hill, in the Nevada district, on Clear creek,

where he worked for three years on an extension of the Burroughs' lode. He was twice elected sheriff for the district under the miners' organization. In 1862 he purchased a rancho on the Platte, 10 miles above Denver, near the present village of Littleton. George W. Drake, born in Ohio, came to Colo in 1859, and opened a hotel on the old Gregory road 7 miles from Black Hawk, at Cold Spring rancho, in partnership with Homer Medbury, of Ohio. In 1863, he became agent for Gibson's pony express between Denver and the mountain towns. In 1864 he set up a store in Black Hawk, and in 1870 joined the colony at Greeley, which he helped to build up. Three years later he settled in Denver, where he purchased a marble-yard in 1874. Charles Eyser, a native of Holstein, Germany, born in 1822, came to Colo in 1859, opened a provision store in the mines, but returned to Denver in 1863, where he kept a boarding-house, which in 1869 was washed away by a flood. After that he settled at farming. E. W. Cobb, born in Boston, was sent to Cal. as the first agent of Adams' Express co. After two years he went to Australia, returning to Boston in 1857, then to Denver, where he sold groceries for two years, then carried on the Elephant corral a year or so, and after that mined for a few years, until in 1869 he was appointed chief of the mineral dept of the sur.-gen. office. John W. Cline, a native of Canada, mined during the summer of 1859 in Russell gulch and at Breckenridge, but in the autumn took a piece of land 7 miles north of Denver, where he made himself a home. Samuel Brautner, born in Md, came to Cal. in 1852, and finally to Colo, where he engaged in mining and farming. His oldest child is said to be the first white girl born in Colo, but I have shown that white children were born here before the gold discoveries. George L. Henderson, born in 1836, in 1859 came to Central City, and in 1860 to California gulch. He was the first postmaster at Leadville, which camp was thus named at his suggestion.

CHAPTER IV.

PROGRESS OF SETTLEMENT.

1859–1860.

THE ARKANSAS VALLEY—ROAD INTO SOUTH PARK—EL PASO CLAIM CLUB—COLORADO CITY COMPANY—IRRIGATION—THE FIGHTING FARMERS OF FONTAINE CITY—CAÑON CITY—CLEAR CREEK—PUEBLO—CALIFORNIA GULCH—PIONEERS IN THE SEVERAL LOCALITIES—ORO CITY—LEADVILLE—FRYING PAN GULCH—ROAD-MAKING—MINING DEVELOPMENTS—FREIGHTING—MAIL FACILITIES—PONY EXPRESS—STAGE COMPANIES.

WHILE the valleys and head waters of the Platte and its tributaries were being actively explored by one part of the immigration, another part began to occupy the Arkansas valley. A portion of the Lawrence party of 1858 had wintered five miles above Denver, where afterward was Younker's rancho. They contemplated making a town there, and erected a few houses; but before spring they became restless, and some returned to the Arkansas valley, with the design of going back to Kansas. This party of about a dozen persons, among whom were Charles Gilmore, Julian Smith, George A. Bute, and Anthony Bott, crossed the ridge between the Platte and Arkansas rivers when the snow on the summit was three feet deep; but on coming to the spot overlooking the southern slope, and seeing a sunny valley below, they changed their purpose, and selected a site for a town in the delightful region of the Fontaine-qui-Bouille, which they called El Dorado.

On hearing what had been done, others of the original company who had located land claims on the Fontaine-qui-Bouille the previous autumn, some of which covered the new town site, came over from the

Platte to dispute for possession of the ground. The quarrel ran high, but a compromise was effected by admitting the land claimants into the town company, all joining in the erection of a large log house as the nucleus of their future city.[1]

This being done, Bute, with two others of the El Dorado company, and Tucker, a squatter on Fontaine-qui-Bouille, with two associates, making a party of six, set out to search for a route into the South park, where they believed gold existed. Following the Indian trail westward to Soda springs, where the Lawrence company had located the town of El Paso[2] the previous autumn, the explorers encamped for two days to admire and enjoy the natural charms of the place, after which they proceeded as far on their way as the Petrified stumps; but falling short of provisions, returned and loaded a wagon with supplies. This wagon they took into the park, its wheels being the first to print the sod in this beautiful mountain basin. Gold, as I have shown, was discovered in the park during the summer,[3] the mines drawing away

[1] *El Paso Co., etc.*, MS., 6.

[2] There was at this time a log cabin at these springs, which had been erected by Richard Wooten, as evidence that he claimed the site before the El Paso town was projected. Sometime in 1859 Wooten sold his claim to R. E. Whitsitt & Co., for $500. A year or two later, Whitsitt's partner sold his interest to the Tappan Brothers from Boston. They bought about the same time 480 acres on the west side of Monument creek, which was known as the Boston tract, and was only put into market as an addition to Colorado springs in 1874. Whitsitt and Tappan lost their right to the springs by abandonment, and they were jumped by one Slaughter, son of a methodist minister from Illinois, who erected a frame house on the claim. He in turn abandoned it, and it was again taken by Thompson Girter, who secured the sulphur springs in South park. He made some improvements and sold to Col Chivington for $1,500, and he to his son-in-law, Pollock, who made a transfer of the property to some other person as security for a debt, this person selling the springs for $1,500. George Crater of Denver subsequently organized a company which purchased the property, paying $10,000 for it, and afterward sold the 80 acres on which are the soda springs for $26,000 to the company which finally founded the present town of Colorado Springs, of which further mention will be made in the proper place. *El Paso County, etc.*, MS., 9–11. It has been stated that H. A. W. Tabor built the first house at Colorado Springs in the winter of 1859; that he came back to Denver in the following year, and endeavored to organize a company to go down and lay off a town, but failed. The statement is erroneous, but that Tabor was at some time about this date interested in the place is perhaps true.

[3] A writer in the *Colorado Springs Gazette* of May 23, 1874, ascribes the discovery of gold at Fair Play to this party. The discovery was made in

all the settlers at El Dorado City, which was abandoned. The richness of the South park diggings, however, caused the revival of the town in the autumn under a new name. It had been observed by certain enterprising persons that the pass of the Fontaine-qui-Bouille seemed to offer the most practical wagon route for the immigration to these mines, thousands of persons travelling through it during the summer, a succession of delightful park-like valleys furnishing a natural and easy road into the main park. A company was formed at Denver and Auraria consisting of L. J. Winchester, Lewis N. Tappan, Anthony Bott, George A. Bute, Melancthon S. Beech, Julian Smith, H. M. Fosdick, D. A. Cheever, R. E. Whitsitt, S. W. Wagoner, W. P. McClure, P. McCarty, A. D. Richardson, T. H. Warren, C. W. Persall, A. B. Wade, George W. Putnam, John S. Price, John T. Parkinson, G. N. Woodward, Charles F. Blake, E. P. Stout, Clark and Willis, Mr Cable, and Higgins and Cobb, with two or three others, with the object of founding a city on the deserted site of El Dorado. The president of the company was Winchester, and the secretary Tappan.

One of the peculiar phases of squatter sovereignty in Colorado in 1859 was an organization known as El Paso Claim club,[4] shadowing forth the provisional government. A meeting having been called in the Arkansas valley to deliberate upon the best method to be pursued in holding land in the absence of law and land-offices, El Paso Claim club was the result. The limits over which the club had jurisdiction, and the powers and duties of its officers, were defined; a president and secretary were chosen, and provision made for the selection of jurors to decide upon cases under arbitration. A book of records was kept,[5] and

Aug. by miners from Tarryall; but there were other parties in the park at the time, who joined in working the ground if not in the discovery.

[4] Fowler, *Around Colorado*, MS., 3, 6; Helm, *Gate of the Mountains*, MS., 4.

[5] The names of A. D. Richardson, D. A. and C. B. Chever, Samuel Tappan, William Larimer, S. W. Wagoner, and other prominent men may be

on its pages was recorded the declaration of the Colorado City company's claim of 1,280 acres, signed by the secretary of the club, H. J. Burghardt, and dated December 20, 1859. The following summer there were three hundred houses in the town, and lots were selling at four hundred dollars.[6] It was a short-lived prosperity. The breaking out of the civil war, and other causes, forced travel away from the Arkansas valley to the Platte route, and built up Denver at the expense of Colorado City, which lost its hold upon the car of progress, and was left behind in the race.[7]

It will be remembered that Robert Middleton and family, and a few others of the Lawrence company of 1858, wintered at or near Pueblo, where they were joined by others in 1859, who had arrived early in that year. A number of these persons, rightfully judging that when corn was worth from five to fifteen cents a pound, farming was as profitable as mining, and much less laborious, determined to put in crops in the rich Arkansas bottoms. Accordingly they constructed a ditch which conducted the water of the Fontaine-qui-Bouille over their fields, and planted corn.[8] When the corn had reached a good height, and waved temptingly in the wind and sun, a company of disgusted prospectors, returning to Missouri, encamped near the settlement, which was called Fontaine City, and foraged their lean and hungry cattle on the glistening green blades and juicy stalks. The

seen. Houses were erected on the Fontaine-qui-Bouille by R. B. Willis, H. S. Clark, John Bley, Hubbard Talcott, William Campbell, the last three of whom opened farms in 1860. *Arkansas Val. Hist.*, 420.

[6] The first store in Colorado City was owned by Gerrish and Cobb, in charge of William Garvin, the original claimant of the Garden of the Gods. John George, who still resides in the old town, opened the first saloon. Tappan & Co. put up the first frame house in 1860, which was still standing in 1874. It was occupied as the county court-house before the removal of the county seat to Colorado springs. *El Paso County, etc.*, MS., 19.

[7] *Tabor's Cabin Life in Colo*, MS., 1–2; *Howbert's Indian Troubles*, MS., 2.

[8] The first farmers in this region, other than the fur-traders, were Robert Middleton, George Peck, Charles D. Peck, Josiah F. Smith, Otto Winneka, Frank Doris, George Lebaum, William H. Green, and William Kroenig. *Arkansas Val. Hist.*, 766.

ranchmen remonstrated, but the Missourians outnumbered them. The settlers then demanded pay, which was refused, and whenever opportunity came drove the cattle into the field, where they were kept and guarded as indemnity for the loss of their corn. Then followed a struggle on the part of the Missourians to recover their teams; but the settlers had entrenched themselves, and prepared to fight. In the battle which ensued some of the Missourians were killed, and some on both sides were wounded. The victory, however, was with the farmers, who received at last payment of damages, and restored the cattle to their owners. The Missourians were glad to get away, having apparently no further use for the fighting farmers of Fontaine City.[9]

In October a town was laid off at the mouth of the Arkansas river pass of the mountains, called Cañon City.[10] Its founders were Josiah F. Smith, Stephen S. Smith, William H. Young, Robert Bearcaw, Charles D. Peck, and William Kroenig. They erected a single log house on the level ground above the hot springs, which were found here, as well as at the pass of the Fontaine-qui-Bouille; and Robert Middleton and wife went to reside in it, this being the actual first family of Cañon City. The following year the house was taken as a blacksmith shop by A. Rudd.

In the spring of 1860 the town site was jumped by a company from Denver, which magnanimously retained some of the former claimants. They relocated the town, making it embrace 1,280 acres, and in April it was surveyed into lots and blocks. The new company consisted of William Kroenig, E. Williams, W. H. Young, A. Mayhood, J. B. Doyle, A. Thomas, H. Green, J. D. Ramage, Harry Youngblood, W. W.

[9] The first store in Fontaine City was opened by Cooper and Wing. Some of the first settlers after the Lawrence party were S. S. Smith, W. H. Young, Matthew Steel, O. H. P. Baxter, George M. Chilcott, John W. Shaw, Mark G. Bradford, George A. Hinsdale, Francisco, and Howard.

[10] *Rudd's Early Affairs*, MS., 1–9; *Fowler's Around Colorado*, MS., 1–8; *A Woman's Experience*, MS., 3–8; *Helm's Gate of the Mountains*, MS., 12; *Prescott's Through Cañon de Shea*, MS., 2–3.

Ramage, J. Graham, M. T. Green, Alvord and Company, St. Vrain and Easterday, and Buel and Boyd, surveyors. Having jumped a town site claim themselves, they organized a claim club for their protection, in which those taking up agricultural lands joined.[11] Coal creek, in the coal region, was, in 1885,

[11] The first grist-mill in Frémont county was erected by Lewis Conley in 1860 on Beaver creek, and was washed away in 1862. No other was built till 1866 or 1867, 4 miles east of Cañon City. In 1872 a grist-mill was erected in the town. The first saw-mill was built the same year by J. B. Cooper, J. C. Moore, Harkins, and A. Chandler, on Sand creek, above the soda springs. As a premium they were prescuted with an original share in the town of Cañon City. R. R. Kirkpatrick ran a shingle-machine in connection with the mill. The first merchants were Dold & Co., whose stock was presided over by Wolfe Londoner; Doyle & Co., represented by Solomon brothers; C. W. Ketchum and brother; Stevens & Curtis; Majors & Russell, who built a stone store 100 feet in length; R. O. Olds, J. A. Draper, James Gormly, James Ketchum, G. D. Jenks, Paul brothers, Harrison & Macon, and D. P. Wilson. These were all in business in Cañon City in 1860, before the decline of its early prospects. G. D. Jenks also opened the first hotel. Custer and Swisher kept the first meat-market, and E. B. Sutherland the first bakery. W. C. Catlin established the first brick-yard about 1872, to employ the prisoners in the penitentiary. The first newspaper was the *Cañon City Times*, issued in Sept. 1860 by Millett, since of Kansas City. The first postmaster was M. G. Pratt. In 1870 there were but two post-offices in the county. The first district court was held at Cañon City in the spring of 1863 by B. F. Hall, who held but one term before resigning. He found that men who had conducted people's courts were hard to awe into respect for imported judges. The discoverer in 1862 of the oil springs 6 miles from Cañon City was Gabriel Bowen. He sold them to A. M. Cassidy, who manufactured in 1862–5, and shipped to other parts of the country 300,000 gallons of superior quality of illuminating and lubricating oil. Since that time prospecting has been going on to find flowing wells. Some of the first settlers in Frémont county, outside of Cañon City, were George and Al. Toof, John Pierce, Hiram Morey, John Callen, John McClure, and Foster, on Beaver creek; J. Witcher, T. Virden, William Irwin, Ambrose Flournoy, and Robert Pope, on Ute creek; B. M. Adams, M. D. Swisher, Ebenezer Johnson, Sylvester H. Dairs, James Murphy, Jesse Rader, and Mills M. Craig, in Oil Creek valley; Philip A. McCumber, John Smith, James A. McCandless, Ira Chatfield, Stephen Frazier, Gid. B. Frazier, Jesse Frazier, B. F. Smith, John Locke, Jacob R. Reisser, and William H. May, in the vicinity of Florence; James Smith, Bruce, and Henry Burnett, on Hardscrabble creek.

I have said that the town site of Cañon City was jumped in the spring of 1860. The company remained in possession till 1864, when all abandoned it, and sought newer fields of enterprise in the mining camps. Three families only remained in the town. Not long afterward the government surveyed the township and the town site, whereupon it was preëmpted by Benjamin Griffin, W. C. Catlin, Jothan A. Draper, Augustus Macon, and A. Rudd, who deeded to the owners of improvements the lots on which they were placed, and proceeded to set affairs again in motion. These men belonged to a company of 20 families, which migrated from Iowa that year, and who were known as the resurrectionists, because they brought back life to Cañon City. They were Thomas Macon, who, while a member of the legislature of 1867–8, secured for his town the location of the penitentiary; Mrs Ann Harrison, Mrs George, John Wilson, Joseph Macon, Fletcher, Augustus Sartor,

next to Cañon City in size, having a population of five hundred.

The first farm located in what is now Frémont county was by J. N. Haguis, on the 1st of January,

Zach. Irwin, and others with their families. Anson Rudd was one of the three original settlers who would not forsake the place of his choice. He was first sheriff, county commissioner two terms, provost-marshal, oil inspector, postmaster, clerk of the people's court, candidate for lieut-gov., and blacksmith for the county. He was one of the locators of the roads to Wet Mountain valley, to which he guided the German colony; of the road to the upper Arkansas region, and to Currant creek and South park; was for several years president of the Cañon City Ditch company, and was the first warden of the penitentiary after the admission of the state, as well as one of the commissioners to locate it. The first child born was a son of M. D. Swisher, who died in infancy. W. C. Catlin was also of the original settlers, as was J. A. Draper, who was second postmaster, and county treasurer, collecting the first taxes ever gathered in the county. He gave the ground on which the penitentiary was placed. When he sold a tract to the Central Colorado Improvement company it was with the intention of reserving for the use of the public the soda springs; but through some inadvertance in the deed he failed to do so. Other early Cañonites were William H. Green, captain of the 1st Colorado regiment; Folsom, who also enlisted, and was crippled for life; Piatt, W. R. Fowler, author of *Around Colorado*, MS.; J. Reid, Benjamin F. Griffin, S. D. Webster, county surveyor, judge, and member of the legislature; Frank Bengley, who, although a Canadian, enlisted in the union army; Albert Walthers, first keeper of the penitentiary; S. H. Boyd, hotel-keeper; H. W. Saunders, W. H. McClure, who built the McClure house and ruined himself by the help of the D. & R. G. railroad company; B. Murray, who kept the house, and S. W. Humphrey. The first church organized in Cañon City was in 1860–1, by Johnson of Kansas, a methodist, with about ten members. None of these were left when the Iowa colony arrived, and George Murray again organized a church, with 45 members, who purchased a stone building and fitted it up for worship. In 1865 the missionary baptists formed a church, with B. M. Adams pastor, and 18 members, who in 1869 built a small church edifice. In 1867 the Cumberland presbyterians organized under their elders, B. F. Moore, Stephen Frazier, and J. Blanchard. In 1872 the presbyterians were organized by Shelden Jackson, J. K. Brewster being ruling elder, and soon built a small but pleasant church. In 1874 or 1875 the renowned episcopal bishop, Randall, organized that church, which after a few years erected a brick edifice.

The public schools of Cañon City were somewhat late in securing a proper building, which was not erected until 1880. It was of stone, fine, and commodious. The board that secured the bonds for its erection consisted of Charles E. Waldo president, Mrs M. M. Sheets secretary, John Wilson treasurer. The fire department was organized in Jan. 1879, consisting of the Relief Hook and Ladder company No. 1, of 20 members. The following year H. A. Reynolds Hose company of 13 members was added to the department. Mount Moriah lodge No. 15 of masons was instituted in Nov. 1867, under a dispensation of Henry M. Teller, M. W. G. Master of Colorado, and chartered Oct. 7, 1868. In 1881 there were 72 members. Cañon City lodge No. 7 of odd fellows was instituted Nov. 10, 1868, the first lodge south of the divide. It had in 1881 46 members. Grand Cañon Encampment No. 18, July 29, 1881. The united workmen organized Royal George Lodge, No. 7, June 25, 1881, with 24 members.

Cañon City was incorporated April 1, 1872. In 1879 a board of trade was organized. which greatly assisted the city government in purifying morals by forcing out of town certain disreputable characters, a function which, if un-

1860. It was recorded by B. H. Bolin, and was taken previous to the organization of the claim club, whose constitution was dated March 13, 1860.[12] The pretensions of Cañon City to become the metropolis of the future state were founded similarly to those of Colorado City, and were rendered nugatory by the same causes. The first company surveyed a road to the Tarryall mines, setting up mile posts the whole distance of eighty miles. A large part of the immigration of 1860 took this route to the mines, and Cañon City enjoyed for a year or two a prosperous growth; and there, for the time, it ended.[13]

In the winter of 1859–60 the American town of Pueblo was laid off, on the site of the abandoned Pueblo of Mexican times, by a company composed of

usual for such a board, proved beneficial. In Dec. of that year a joint stock company was organized, with a capital of $50,000, to construct water works, consisting of James Clelland, James H. Peabody, George R. Shaeffer, Ira Mulock, August Heckscher, Wilbur K. Johnson, David Caird, and O. G. Stanley. On July 9, 1881, was laid the corner stone of the court house, a handsome edifice, the county commissioners managing the business being Edwin Tobach, Louis Muehlbach, and Joseph J. Phelps; also of the masonic temple, another fine structure—both of brick. In 1881 there were 25 stores in Cañon City, well stocked, some carrying a trade of over $300,000 annually, besides shops of all kinds.

[12] This claim was taken on the north side of the Arkansas river, on a creek whose name is not given. Two brothers named Costans took claims on the south side, 7 miles below Cañon City. On the record they were described as 'situated in Mexico." The names of M. V. B. Coffin and B. F. Allen occur among the inhabitants of Cañon City precinct in 1860.

[13] Towns and settlements of Fremont county, besides those mentioned, are Badger, Barnard Creek, Carlisle Springs, Clelland, Coal Junction, Copper Gulch, Cotopaxi, Fairy, Fidler, Florence, Galena, Galena Basin, Glendale, Grape Creek Junction, Greenwood, Hayden, Hayden Creek, Haydenville, Hillsdale, Howards, Juniper, Labran, Lake, Marsh, Mining Camp, New Chicago, Oak Creek, Parkdale, Park Station, Pleasant Valley, Rockvale, Salesburgh, Spike Buck, Texas, Texas Creek, Titusville, Tomichi, Twelve Mile Bridge, Vallie, Webster, Williamsburgh, and Yorkville. Among the contributors to this part of my work are Eugene Weston, W. A. Helm, and Anson S. Rudd. Weston was born in Maine in 1805, and came to Colorado in 1860, and to Cañon City the same year, where I found him in 1884. He is the author of *The Colorado Mines*, MS., treating of placers and early transportation. Helm was born in Pa in 1831. After migrating to several of the western states, he came to Colorado in 1860, and in 1861 settled in Cañon City with his family. On the 'resurrection' of that town he opened a hotel. He is the author of *The Gate of the Mountain*, MS., well filled with reminiscences. Rudd, who furnished *Early Affairs in Cañon City*, MS., and whose account forms the basis of early history here, was born in Erie co., Pa, in 1819, and after learning the printer's trade visited Kansas, Mexico, and California, coming to Colorado in 1860, and settling at Cañon City. How he acted his part as pioneer, I have said.

Belt, Catterson, Cyrus Warren, Ed. Cozzens, J. Wright,[14] Albert Bearcaw, W. H. Green, and others. It was surveyed by Buell and Boyd, who laid it out on a broad scale, and the former name was retained. It did not at first, however, extend over the bottom land in front of the town subsequent additions having been made by other companies and railroad corporations.[15]

[14] *Stone's Gen. View*, MS., 19. Wright built the first house in Pueblo, on the corner of Front street and Santa Fé avenue. Dr Catterson's cabin was on Second street, near the avenue. The first family in Pueblo was that of Aaron Sims, and the second that of Josiah F. Smith. Jack Allen opened a small grocery and drinking saloon. A stock of other goods was opened in a store on Santa Fé avenue, over which Dr Catterson presided, and the town was launched upon the sea of commerce. Emory Young, son of W. H. Young, was the first male child born in Pueblo, and Hattie Smith the first girl. *Rice's Politics in Pueblo*, MS., 1; *Rudd's Early Affairs in Cañon City*, MS.; *Weston's Colorado Mines*, MS.; *Helm's Gate of the Mountains*, MS.

[15] Of the pioneers of Arkansas valley the following mention may be made in this place; Harry Youngblood came out with Robert Middleton, and went under an assumed name from some connection he was alleged to have had with the death of Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism. George W. Hepburn, a native of N. Y., in 1855 went to Omaha, where he owned an interest first in the *Nebraskian*, and then in the *Times*. In 1867 he settled in Pueblo, where he started, in 1871, a newspaper called *The People*. Charles Nachtrieb, a German, brought a small stock of goods to Colorado in 1859. Jesse Frazer, from Mo., settled in the spring of 1860 on the Arkansas, 8 miles below Cañon City, and was the first to turn a furrow in that region, which he did with a forked cottonwood limb. Reuben J. Frazier, a native of Ind., started a farm in the upper Arkansas valley in the spring of 1860.

There are many more pioneers, known and unknown, of 1859. Of those of whom something is on record, not elsewhere mentioned, are the following: Lewis W. Berry, a capt. in the Mexican war, was born in N. Y., mined at Central City, and finally settled at Idaho Springs. Corbit Bacon, born in N. Y., erected a plank house with a shake roof in Denver in the winter of 1858–9, and went to Central City in the spring. John W. Edwards, a Welshman, resided at Idaho springs. Then there were Thomas Cooper, an Englishman, miner; David D. Strock of Ohio, miner. Anthony Tucker, from Pa, set up a saw mill engine for Bentley and Bayard of Central City—the first steam mill in Colorado; Andrew H. Spickerman, from N. Y., stock raiser on Turkey creek. D. D. McIlvoy, from Ky, farmer and miner; Frank J. Wood, from Chico, opened the first drug store in Georgetown; William M. Allen, of New Brunswick, farmer; Joseph S. Beaman, from Germany, brewer, Central City; Reuben C. Wells, from Ill., purchased the Golden Paper mill, the first establishment of the kind in the state; Jay Sternberg, from N. Y., erected the Boulder City Flouring mills in 1872; Hiram Buck, from Ohio, farmer; August Burk, a Swede, opened a bakery in Denver in 1859; William Arbuthnot from Pa, farmer; Norman R. Howard, from Ill., farmer; Robert Niver, a native of N. Y., farmer; Henry B. Ludlow, from Ohio, farmer; Thomas J. Jones, born in Ill., merchant; John Reese. from Pa, farmer; L. A. Williams, from Vt, erected a steam saw mill at Denver; George C. Griffin, born in Ct, farmer; Edwin Lobach, born in Pa, freighter and farmer; Henry Burnett, from Mass, farmer; Francis R. Ford, from Maine, miner and farmer; B. F. Sahaffer, from Pa, carpenter; Robert L. Lambert,

Late in the autumn a party of prospectors consisting of C. F. Wilson, Rafferty, Stevens, Abram Lee, Currier, Slater, and two others, crossed the range on the west of South park, and discovered good diggings in a gulch on the headwaters of the Arkansas, river, which they named California,[16] and which attracted thousands to that locality[17] in the spring following. The first house erected in the new mines was on the present site of Leadville, and the place was called Oro City. The post-office, which was established at this place, being removed in 1871 two and a half miles up the gulch, the name followed it, and Oro City left its first location open for subsequent development by other town locators. California gulch was thickly populated for six miles,[18] and had two unimportant towns besides Oro; namely, Malta and

freighter and stage owner; Aaron Ripley, from Ohio farmer; Emmett Nuckolls, a native of Va, stock dealer, N. C. Hickman, born in Mo., miner; David Clark, born in Ill., stock raiser; Rufus Shute, a native of N. Y., cattle raiser; J W. Lester, born in Pa, miner. George Rockafellow, was a capt. in the 6th Mich. cavalry during the war, and served afterward under Gen. Conner in the Powder river expedition against the Indians.

[16] Three men in three months took out $60,000. *Weston's Colo Mines*, MS., 2.

[17] Among the first were H. A. W. Tabor and wife, S. P. Kellogg, and Nathaniel Maxey. They came up the Arkansas from Cañon City with an ox-team, and encamped a month at Cache creek, where Granite city now is, finding gold; but being unable to separate it from the black sand without quicksilver, of which they had none, they were compelled to abandon the diggings. Word then came from the discoverers of Cal. gulch to move up to their camp, and as provisions were scarce, the oxen had to be killed. The men in camp soon erected a cabin for Mrs Tabor; and by and by a second woman, Mrs C. L. Hall, came, and a third, Mrs Bond, whose husband afterward became blind. *Tabor's Cabin Life in Colorado*, MS., 114. Tabor was afterward elected to the state senate, and became one of the wealthiest and most prominent citizens of Denver, which city is in no slight measure indebted to him for its prosperity.

[18] Says Wolfe Londoner, in his *Colorado Mining Camps*, MS., 7. 'California gulch, in 1860 and 1861, had a population of something over 10,000, and was the great camp of Colorado. It was strung all along the gulch, which was something over 5 miles long. . . There were a great many tents in the road and on the side of the ridge, and the wagons were backed up, the people living in them. Some were used as hotels. They had their grub under the wagons, piled their dishes there, and the man of the house and his wife would sleep in the wagon. Their boarders took their meals off tables made of rough boards. . . . Gamblers had tables strung along the wayside to take in the cheerful but unwary miner. The game that took the most was three-card monte.' Indeed, one mining camp differed little from another in this respect. See also *Chipley's Towns*, MS., 2; *Rand's Guide to Colo*, 30; *Bayle's Politics and Mining*, MS., 3.

Slabtown. Twenty miles below, on the Arkansas river, the town of Granite was started not long after, rich mines being at this place, which were first discovered by H. A. W. Tabor, in the spring of 1860. They required quicksilver in separating the gold from the black sand, and were afterward owned by Bailey and Gaff of Cincinnati.[19]

During the summer of 1860 gold was discovered in Frying Pan gulch, at the base of Mount Massive, opposite the mouth of California gulch, by C. F. Wilson, the diggings receiving their name from the circumstance of a frying pan being used to pan out the first metal. These mines did not prove of much value until 1863, when the name was changed to Colorado gulch. Chalk creek mines were also discovered this season by Stephen B. Kellogg and others. A pretended discovery was made in 1860 in the San Juan country by one Baker, which drew 1,000 persons to that region, who found no gold, although it was there, as subsequent exploration and development proved.

Some improvements were made in 1859 in the matter of roads and mining ditches. There was a road from Denver into the mountains via Golden Gate, and another via Bradford; also one into South park, via Mount Vernon and Bergen's rancho, under construction. Three others were surveyed, the St Vrain, Golden, and Colorado wagon road, and the roads into South park via Cañon and Colorado cities. A mining ditch eleven miles long was constructed at Missouri flats by a company of which W. Green Russell was president. Boulder, South Boulder, and Four Mile creeks were diverted from their channels for some distance.

[19] Some of the pioneers on the head waters of the Arkansas were the following: Samuel Arbuthnot, from Pa; David C. Dargin, from Me; Robert Berry, from Ohio; Charles F. Wilson, from Ky; Charles L. Hall, from N. Y.; John Riling, from Ohio; George W. Huston, from Pa; and Philo N. Weston, from N. Y.

Those who returned to the states carried reports sufficiently confirmed by the gold they exhibited to re-arouse the gold fever, causing an immigration the following summer equal to, if not exceeding, that of 1859.[20] The settlements already founded were greatly enlarged, and new ones made, both in the mining and agricultural districts.[21] Over the 600 miles of road from the Missouri to the mountains, a stream of material wealth rolled, which was expected to flow back again in a stream of gold dust a few months later. Contrary to the usual practice of the eastern journals, the *New York Tribune* contributed to the furore for emigration to the mines by advertising Colorado climate and scenery in terms of lavish praise, its editor-in-chief, Horace Greeley, and others of its staff having visited the mountains in 1859, at which time Greeley

[20] *Sopris' Settlement of Denver*, MS., 3. By the middle of July an arastra was running at the mouth of Gregory gulch, owned by Lehmer, Laughlin, and Peck, which was the pioneer quartz mill in Colorado. In September Prosser, Conklin, and co. had a small steam stamp mill in operation. The following month there were five arastras running on north Clear creek, and two small wooden stamp mills, all operated by water power. Another steam, mill, belonging to Coleman, Le Fevre, and co., started up the same month but broke down, and took a month for repairs. When it started again, however, running on Gunnell quartz, it produced 1,442 pennyweights of gold in seven days, the rock being taken out at a depth of fifty-six feet. At the depth of seventy-six feet, fifteen tons of rock yielded $1,700. A rude three-stamp quartz mill, owned by T. J. Graham, was in operation at Gold hill during the summer, and a large mill, run by water, was erected there in the autumn. Where no mills had been erected, miners were busy getting out ore for those that were expected to be built the coming spring. As winter approached, many, under the impression that mining in the cold season would be impracticable, returned to their former homes to spend the interval in more comfortable quarters, and prepare for future enterprises; but many there were who stayed by their claims in the mountains, fortifying themselves against the expected cold by banking up the earth around their cabins, and filling them with a store of provisions sufficient to outlast the anticipated snow blockade, which never came. Some mining was carried on throughout the entire season, even in the mountains, and there was almost uninterrupted travel, to the surprise and delight of the imperfectly sheltered inhabitants of the different towns.

[21] At the close of 1860 there were 71 steam quartz mills in the Clear creek region running 609 stamps, of an average weight of 416 pounds; and 38 water mills, with 230 stamps, weighing 352 pounds, besides 50 arastras, the total power employed being equal to 960 horse power. In the Boulder region there were four steam mills, five water mills, and 29 arastras, equalling 150 horse power. South park and California gulch had also a number of mills and arastras in 1860. *Collins' Rocky Mountain Gold Region*, 51–3. This is an emigrant's guide, containing tables of distances, maps, and a business directory, with information concerning mining and a miner's outfit.

extended his visit to Nevada and California, Fortunately for the prosperity of Colorado at this period. there was nothing to interrupt the influx of people or property. The freight trains of Russell and Majors dragged their winding length along the Arkansas or Smoky hill route day after day, bringing cargoes of goods, which were stored at their depots and sold to retail merchants on their own account,[22] or carrying the goods of others. Many thousand wagons stretched in a continuous line along the Platte also, from its mouth to its source.[23] Prices were necessarily high, and likewise high because everybody who had anything to sell desired to become rich out of it without loss of time. Mail facilities were introduced, and more quickly than could have been anticipated correspondence with the east became established.[24] On the 4th of March, 1860, Kehler and Montgomery started a line of coaches from Denver to the mining

[22] *Helm's Gate of the Mountains*, MS., 2; *Aux' Mining in Colo*, MS., 6–7.

[23] According to Davis, *Hist. Colo*, MS., there were between 8,000 and 10,000 men of the freighting class, mostly drivers, in Colorado, whom he describes as 'turbulent fellows, spending most of their leisure and all of their money in saloons.'

[24] Besides the many who travelled with conveyances of their own, there were some who took passage with transportation companies, of which Russell and Majors, of St Joseph, were the chief firm. This company organized a line of stages in the spring of 1859, the first coach for Denver leaving Leavenworth March 9th, carrying the mail. They called themselves the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express company, and charged an extra postage of 25 cents on a letter, having post offices of their own at Auraria and other towns. The postmaster at Leavenworth was directed to deliver all mail matter for Pike's peak to the express company so long as they would carry it without expense to the government. Nelson Sargent was superintendent of this company. He resigned in the autumn. In the winter of 1859–60 a charter was obtained from the Kansas legislature incorporating the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express company, which was a reorganization of the former company, the principal men in it being William H. Russell, John S. Jones, William B. Waddell, Luther R. Smoot, Alexander Majors, and J. B. Simpson. The route pursued by the express companies in 1859 was via the Smoky hill fork of the Kansas river, on the line adopted by the Kansas Pacific railroad. I have already given the history of the California and Salt Lake mail in my *Nevada*. Chorpening owned the line in conjunction with Holladay. In the winter of 1859–60 the fertile brains of W. H. Russell and B. F. Ficklen, president and superintendent of the C. O. and P. P. Express co., conceived a plan of rapid communication with the Pacific coast and intermediate points by means of the pony express, and having prepared the stations, started out their first pony, April 3, 1860, from St Joseph. The route connected with the mail near Atchison, passing through Troy and Marysville to Fort Kearny, keeping on the south side of the Platte

camps. In May, Sowers and company established a line, and in June the Western Stage company another, all together being insufficient to carry the increasing crowd of passengers. To this point of progress had the Pike's peak region arrived in its second year of growth.

to Julesburg, where it sent a branch to Denver, crossing to the north side of the Platte, and continuing to Salt Lake, via Scott Bluff, Fort Laramie, and Fort Bridger. From Salt Lake it followed the route by Ruby valley and Carson to Sacramento, California. The success of this enterprise caused the transfer of the C. O. and P. P's stages and freight wagons to this route; and the successful operations of this company on the central route is said by its friends to have led to its adoption by the first overland railroad. It demonstrated that it could be travelled in winter, which had hitherto been doubted; but it was the attitude of the southern states, more than anything, which caused the central route to be adopted. These causes together, in the summer of 1861, caused the transfer of the overland mail from the southern or Butterfield route to the Platte route. In that year, also, the Overland Mail co. purchased the interest of Chorpening in the western half of the overland route. Later in the year the C. O. and P. P. Express company and pony express were sold to Ben Holladay, the western half being retained by the Overland Mail, under the management of Fred Cook, Jacob King, H. S. Rumfield, general agent and superintendent. Holladay afterward secured mail contracts through the north-west.

CHAPTER V.

ORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT.

1858–1861.

BLEEDING KANSAS—REPRESENTATIVE FROM ARAPAHOE COUNTY—PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—TERRITORY OR STATE OF JEFFERSON—ELECTIONS AND CONVENTIONS—GOVERNOR STEELE—DIVERS GOVERNMENTS—POPULAR TRIBUNALS—THE TURKEY WAR—SQUATTERS—THE NAME COLORADO—TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION—GILPIN, GOVERNOR—BOUNDARIES—CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY—SEAL—MINT—LEGISLATIVE PROCEEDINGS—GILPIN'S MILITARY OPERATIONS—THE COLORADO REGIMENTS IN THE CIVIL WAR.

WHILE gold was the spirit of the mountain miner's dreams, there was a desperate political struggle going on in Kansas between the advocates of free soil and slave soil. There were alternating territorial legislatures and state legislatures, and it was a question under which form of government the people were living. If Kansas were a territory it extended to the summit of the Rocky range, and embraced the Pike's peak country. If it were a state, its western boundary did not reach within three degrees of the historic mountain.

The little handful of Americans gathered at Auraria in the autumn of 1858, with that facility for politics which distinguishes our people, took into consideration these questions as affecting their future, and proceeded in a characteristic manner to meet the difficulty. A mass meeting was held to organize a county, to be named Arapahoe, after one of the plains tribes of Indians, with the county seat at Auraria; and an informal election was held for a representative from this county to proceed to the capital of Kansas and

procure the sanction of the legislature to its establishment, the representative chosen being A. J. Smith. He was not admitted to the Kansas legislative body, but was successful in his mission, Governor Denver, without waiting for the action of the legislature, appointing county commissioners, who proceeded at once to the performance of their duties.[1] The county being divided into twenty-three precincts or districts,

[1] I find that all the writers who mention this subject speak of Arapahoe county as having been actually established, which was not the case. Another error is apparent, the date of Smith's election being given as Nov. 6th in *Hollister's Mines of Colorado*, 18; *Colorado Gazetteer*, 1870, 24; and *Corbett's Directory of Mines*, 38; while in the *History of Denver*, 631, the commissioners appointed by Gov. Denver are represented as arriving Nov. 12th, 6 days after the election. Probably Smith was sent on his errand some time in advance of Graham, whose mission was an afterthought. Denver, comprehending the situation of the miners 600 miles from law, with no chance of an organization by the legislature for several months, simply commissioned H. P. A. Smith probate judge, and appointed for county commissioners E. W. Wynkoop, Hickory Rogers, and Joseph L. McCubbin—see *Clear Creek and Boulder Val. Hist.*, 468—persons about to start for the mines. There was no other organization than this informal one of Arapahoe county, Kansas. The legislature Feb. 7, 1859, passed an act creating 5 counties; namely, Montana, in which Denver was situated, El Paso, Oro, Broderick, and Fremont out of the mountain region where gold might be found. Montana county began on the 40th parallel, 20 miles east of the 105th meridian, and embraced the territory south to within 20 miles of the 39th parallel, and west to the summit of the Rocky mountains. Oro county lay in an oblong shape east of Montana, and also El Paso, which was south of Montana. Broderick county lay south of Oro and El Paso; and Fremont took in the South park and all the territory west of Broderick and El Paso to the summits of the Rocky mountains. The commissioners appointed were J. H. Tarney, William H. Prentice, and A. D. Richardson for Montana county; D. Newcomb, William J. King, and George McGee for Oro county; Simon C. Gephart, W. Walters, and Charles Nichols for Broderick; T. C. Dixon, A. G. Patrick, and T. L. Whitney for Fremont; and William H. Green, G. W. Allison, and William O. Donnell for El Paso. The commissioners were required to establish the county seats, and to offer for sale by public notice 200 lots in each of these towns, the proceeds of which should be applied to liquidating the expenses of location, any excess over expenses to be paid into the county treasury. They were also required to call an election for county officers at as early a day as practicable, the officers elected, in view of the distance from the capital, being authorized to qualify and proceed to the discharge of their duties before being commissioned. The county commissioners were to be paid $5 per day and expenses for their whole term of 9 months, but the money was to come from the sale of the lots before mentioned, from which arrangement it may be inferred that not more than one, if any, could have received full payment. *Kansas Laws*, 1859, 57–60. Whether on this account or some other it does not appear that these counties were organized; but at the election of March 28, 1859, the following officers of Arapahoe county, having no legal existence, were chosen: probate judge S. W. Wagoner, sheriff D. D. Cook, treasurer John L. Hiffner, register of deeds J. S. Lowrie, prosecuting attorney Marshall Cook, auditor W. W. Hooper, assessor Ross Hutchins, coroner C. M. Steinberger, supervisors L. J. Winchester, H. Rogers, R. S. Wooten, clerk of supervisors Levi Ferguson. *Byers' Hist. Colo*, MS., 49.

sheriff and other officers were chosen for the time from among the population of the county.

On reflection, and in view of the peculiar situation of Kansas, the politicians of Auraria conceived the idea of a separate government under the name of the Territory of Jefferson, and on the 6th of November elected Hiram J. Graham and Albert Steinberger delegates to proceed to Washington with a petition to effect this object. Graham was from New York, but had lived in Illinois and was one of the projectors of Pacific City, Iowa, from which place he went to the Pike's peak country. He was a man of excellent traits and fair ability, but not likely to carry out so extraordinary a scheme as that on which he was bent, of persuading congress to erect a territory in the Rocky mountains to oblige a few hundred persons who did not yet know of any gold diggings of much value, whatever their faith that they should find them. Graham gained nothing by his delegateship but an enlarged experience of the ways of congressmen and the machinery of government. Steinberger was a young man, and dropped out of the delegation at Omaha. He was afterward king of a group of islands in the Pacific, but was deposed by a British man-of-war.

During the winter the isolated community of Arapahoe county governed itself without friction, by the observance of some simple regulations, and the authority of their chosen magistrates; but on the 28th of March, 1860, an election was held, under the laws of Kansas, for the choosing of county officers. There were 774 votes polled, the population having increased at least 500 since the last election. Continuing to increase rapidly, a public meeting was held on the 11th of April at Auraria, which resolved that the different precints should be requested to appoint delegates to meet in convention on the 15th, to take into consideration the propriety of organizing a state or territory; and a central committee was appointed, one

of whose duties was the designation of as many new precincts as the spreading population required.

On the 7th of May an address was issued by the committee, appointing an election on the first Monday in June, to choose delegates to a convention to draft a constitution for the state of Jefferson. The election was held, but in most precincts by acclamation only, no returns ever being made. Fifty delegates met in June, in Wooten's hall, Denver, representing thirteen precincts. W. N. Byers was chosen temporary chairman; but on the permanent organization of the convention, S. W. Wagoner was made president, Henry Allen, E. P. Stout, R. Sopris, Levi Ferguson, and C. B. Patterson vice-presidents, Thomas Gibson and J. J. Shanley clerks.

After a two days' session, in which the chief business transacted was the appointment of committees to draft a constitution, it adjourned to meet again on the first Monday in August, the long interval being taken to observe the course of events. A. F. Garrison was chosen president. A committee was appointed by the convention to form new precincts, so that when that body reassembled there were present 167 delegates, representing forty-six precincts.

The convention was now about equally divided in favor of and against a state constitution, and discussion ran high. Three sets of resolutions were offered, one by H. P. A. Smith, providing that the convention should dissolve, and memorialize congress for a territorial organization; another by Beverly D. Williams, providing for a committee to report to the convention on the expediency of forming a constitution, or memorializing congress; and a third by S. W. Beall, in favor of forming a constitution. The resolutions of Smith and Beall were finally withdrawn, and Williams' resolution adopted. A committee was appointed, a majority of whose members reported in favor of a constitution.[2]

[2] *Extracts from Early Records*, MS., 4–6. Among those engaged in early

The convention remained in session one week, the constitution of the state of Jefferson being formed, with limits similar to the present state of Colorado. It was submitted to the people on the first Monday in September, with the alternative, in case of its rejection, that an election should be held in October to choose a delegate to congress, who should endeavor to have the gold regions set off in a territory to be called Jefferson. The constitution was rejected by a vote of 2,007 to 649, demonstrating by the lightness of the vote that gold, and not politics, absorbed the public mind.

And yet there was a party which found time to press the scheme of a provisional government, and which called a mass meeting at Auraria on the 24th of September to consider the subject. An address to the people was prepared, requesting them at the October election to vote for delegates who should meet a little later for the purpose of forming an independent government.[3]

The election took place on the 5th of October, when, owing to the return to the states of a large part of the population, and the indifference of those who remained, only about 8,000 votes were polled. Beverly D. Williams was chosen delegate to congress, and Richard Sopris representative from Arapahoe county to the legislature of Kansas. As on the previous attempt to secure a hearing in congress, Williams accomplished nothing more than to impress the government with the pertinacity of this far off and ambitious political bantling, variously known as Pike's peak, Arapahoe, county, and Jefferson territory. Sopris was given a seat in the Kansas legislature, Governor Denver hav-

government affairs were: E. H. N. Patterson, delegate from Left Hand creek, born in Va, and was at one time formerly editor of the *Placer Times*, of Sacramento, in California early days, and again of the Georgetown *Miner* 10 years afterward; Charles C. Post, miner and lawyer from Missouri gulch; George M. Chilcott, and I. J. Pollock.

[3] The leaders in this movement were Frank De La Mar, S. W. Wagoner, R. D. Williams, G. M. Willing, A. Sagendorf, H. P. A. Smith, Henry Allen, and M. C. Fisher. *Byers' Hist. Colo*, MS., 55.

ing issued a proclamation to the voters of Arapahoe county to elect a representative—although no such county was known to that body.[4]

According to the plans arranged by the provisional government or territorial party, the election of their delegates took place, and on the 10th of October the convention met at Auraria, when eighty-six were found to be present. They adopted a constitution and proceeded to district the mining region, providing for a legislature consisting of eight councilmen, and twenty-one representatives. An election was ordered for the 24th, to choose a governor, secretary, members of the legislature, and other territorial officers, which was done with one unimportant exception, the vote standing about 1,800 to 300. R. W. Steele was elected governor of the territory of Jefferson, and Lucian W. Bliss secretary. Steele's message was creditable, and so was the action of the legislature, which met on the 7th of November and lasted forty days, during which many general and special laws were passed. Among the latter was a charter for the city of Denver. Nine counties were organized, for which probate judges were appointed by the governor, to hold until the first county elections in January 1860.[5] A tax of one dollar per capita was levied to defray expenses; and the assembly adjourned to the 23d of January.

[4] In Sopris, *Settlement of Denver*, MS., 13, he says that he obtained a charter for a ditch to bring the water of the Platte into Denver, which was perpetual, the city of Denver owning it; that he also obtained charters for roads, banking, insurance, and telegraph companies, and much necessary legislation of like character.

[5] The other officers of the provisional government were: C. R. Bissell, auditor; R. L. Wooten, treasurer; Samuel McLean, attorney-general; Oscar B. Totten, clerk of sup. court; A. J. Allison, chief justice; S. J. Johnson and L. W. Borton, associate justices; Hickory Rogers, marshal; H. H. McAfee, supt of public instruction. The members of the council from the 8 council districts were N. G. Wyatt, Henry Allen, Eli Carter, Mark A. Moore, J. M. Wood, James Emmerson, W. D. Arnett, D. Shafer, in the order in which they are named. The members of the lower house were John C. Moore, W. P. McClure, W. M. Slaughter, M. D. Hickman, D. K. Wall, Miles Patton, J. S. Stone, J. N. Hallock, J. S. Allen, A. J. Edwards, A. McFadden, Edwin James, T. S. Golden, J. A. Gray, Z. Jackson, S. B. Kellogg, William Davidson, C. C. Post, Asa Smith, C. P. Hall.

The supporters of the Kansas government who had sent their representative to the capital of that territory, refused to pay a tax to support the provisional government, in a remonstrance signed by six or seven hundred miners. The men of Gregory district, which the new government had erected into Mountain county, held an election on the 3d of January 1860, and rejected the county organization by a vote of 395 to 95. On the other hand, Arapahoe county, as created by the provisional legislature, acknowledged the new government, and held its election according to the law by which it was established.

On the 2d of January, a mass meeting was held at Denver, at which a memorial was adopted, addressed to the president, asking for a territorial organization, and S. W. Beall was delegated to carry it to Washington, but no notice was taken of the petition. The assembly met again on the 23d, pursuant to adjournment, and completed a civil and criminal code, which was observed and enforced in some parts of the "Territory of Jefferson," while in others the miners' courts held sway, and the Kansas government was least observed of any.[6]

The miners had invented a system of regulations, and were satisfied with them, and inclined to reject innovations. Each district had its president or judge, recorder, and sheriff, elected by ballot,[7] the rules laid down for their governance being simple and expeditious. Claim clubs, for the protection of agricultural or town site claims, with similar regulations, served the purpose of legal statutes, the expounding of which was too often accompanied by aggravating delays and ruinous costs. There was little anxiety therefore for change, except among professional politicians and their friends. But the people being generally order loving

[6] In the autumn of 1860 Edward M. McCook was elected to the Kansas legislature, but secured no benefits, and probably no pay. *Corbett's Dir. of Mines*, 42.

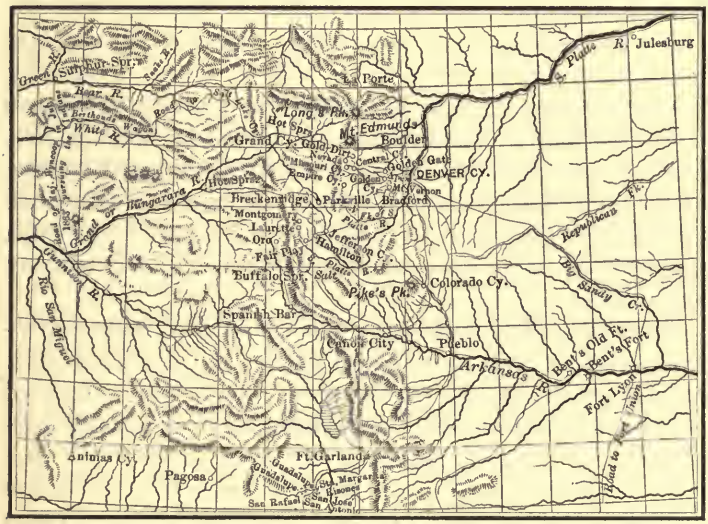
[7] Jack Keeler was elected sheriff of Arapahoe district in 1860, and his deputy was William Z. Cozens.

and law abiding, obeyed without question either form of government, whose officers happened to be established in their midst, which obedience averted any injurious collision of authorities. Occasionally a change of venue was taken from one government to the other, when the litigants suffered by having heavy costs to pay. And occasionally crimes were committed, which demanded a strong and recognized government for their punishment. In the absence of that, the people defended themselves as those of California and each of the new mining territories had done, by committees which dispensed a rude and vigorous justice without appeal.[8] They acted spontaneously and openly, and were known as the people's courts, electing their judges and marshal as required, and taking no notice of any but felonious offences. In some parts of the country they became, from the necessities of the case, vigilance committees, and dealt with horse and cattle thieves. The penalties inflicted were in accordance with the crime, and might be either hanging, whipping, or banishment. Of the first three homicides, one escaped, one was tried before Judge H. P. A. Smith and hanged, and the third was tried before Judge Hyatt and acquitted.

Denver being the principal town had most need of the people's courts. In the latter part of January the unruly element became alarmingly conspicuous. Among the disturbances occasioned by this portion of the population was what was known as the Turkey war. It originated in the plundering by them of a party of hunters from the southern part of the territory with a great number of wild turkeys for sale. A committee was organized to punish the thieves; but it was found that they had many defenders, and it was with difficulty that a bloody conflict was avoided.

[8] Previous to April 1860 there were two duels in Denver. In one of them J. S. Stone, a member of the provisional legislature, was killed by L. W. Bliss, secretary and acting governor of Jefferson territory, who at a public dinner made an offensive remark in allusion to Stone, which called out the challenge.

The next excitement was over the jumping of town lots by squatters who had settled on the outskirts of Denver, and claimed the land under the agricultural preëmption law. Several times deadly weapons were discharged in altercations over town property, though no lives were sacrificed. This led to the organization of a claim club at Denver, the members being bound to defend the town company against squatters, several of whom were banished. In July a still more threatening affair warned the people to be on their



COLORADO IN 1863.

guard. The office of the *Rocky Mountain News* was attacked by a desperate man named Carl Wood, because the paper had condemned the killing of a negro named Starks by a confederate, Charles Harrison, and Byers narrowly escaped being killed. Wood was taken, tried, and banished by the decree of Judge H. P. Bennett.

So determined were the people that justice should be done that Sheriff Middaugh pursued and brought

back from Leavenworth for trial James Gordon, who had, without provocation, killed Jacob Gantz in July. He was prosecuted by Bennett, before a judge appointed for the occasion, defended by able lawyers, pronounced guilty by a jury of twelve responsible citizens, and hanged. Four other homicides were tried and acquitted, and three tried and hanged between March and September. Several horse thieves were also punished and banished. It could not be said that there was no law and no government, but rather that government was triple-headed in these mining regions.

At the second annual election of the provisional government, October 22d, its officers were elected by a vote so insignificant as hardly to deserve the name of an election. The legislature, however, met in November, and held its second session, unnoticed by the people, its doings never being published. It would hardly have survived to a third session had it not been supplanted as it was by a government erected by congress.*

That the effort to firmly establish a provisional government was well meant and patriotic I do not doubt. Its failure depended partly upon one of the causes of its creation, the conflicting claims of five several territories, whose boundaries were included in the Pike's peak region; namly the eastern part of Utah, the northern part of New Mexico, and the western parts

* Robert W. Steele, governor of the provisional territory of Jefferson, was an energetic, sanguine man, tall, angular, rather rough, but possessing good common sense and honesty. He was born in Ohio in 1820; removed in 1846 to Iowa, where he studied law; and to Omaha in 1855, where he was a member of the legislature of 1858–9. Then he went to Denver and to Central City, where he was president of the Consolidated Ditch Co. He was governor until June 1861, when the duly appointed officers of Colorado territory arrived. He settled his family at Golden, but removed to Empire in 1862, and afterward to Georgetown. In 1864 he was one of the party which discovered the Argentine district and Belmont lode—the first paying silver deposit in Colorado. This mine was named after August Belmont of New York, and brought $100,000. It was later called the Johnson.

Theodore P. Boyd, justice sup. ct prov. govt, was from Pa; in 1849 came to Cal., and finally to Golden, where he erected the third house. In the winter of 1859–60 he located farms for himself and sons on Clear creek, 7 miles east of Golden.

of Kansas, Nebraska, and Dakota.[10] Had every man in the mines been willing to yield allegiance to the independent government, these other governments were likely to interfere, and probably would have done so, had time been given or complaint been made. There were other reasons, in the instability of the population and the avoidance of the cost of a government. There was nothing in the public acts of the officers or legislators of "Jefferson territory" which was not intended for the public good. They were a portion of the same people who, in their people's courts, settled all matters of law and justice as efficiently as it could have been done anywhere.[11]

[10] That part of Kansas which lay west of the east boundary of New Mexico was confined to the territory between the 38th and 40th parallels. St Vrain and Boulder creek mines, and many farms, were therefore out of this jurisdiction. Breckenridge was in Utah, and California gulch was on debatable ground.

[11] The first people's court at Cañon City was organized by Wilbur F. Stone, who drafted a code for the government of that community. Stone was born at Litchfield, Conn., in 1833, but removed to western New York at the age of 6 years, and later to Mich., Ind., and Iowa. He was educated at Asbury university, and the state university of Indiana, where he graduated from the law department. Settling at Evansville, he practised his professiou and edited the *Daily Inquirer*. For a short time he resided at Omaha, editing the *Nebraskian*, but came to Colorado in the spring of 1860. He was a member of the Colorado legislature from Park county in 1862, and again in 1864–5. In 1866 he returned to Ind., and married Minnie Sadler, after which he settled at Pueblo until 1877, when he was elected to the bench of the supreme court. From 1862 to 1866 he was assistant U. S. atty for Colorado. In 1868 he was appointed by the gov. 1st dist atty of the 3d judicial dist of Colo. In 1868 he gave a portion of his time to editing the *Pueblo Chieftain*, the only newspaper south of the divide at that time; and afterward wrote for the *People's Newspaper*, and other journals until 1874. He aided largely in building up Pueblo during a 12 years' residence, and was one of those who secured the completion of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé railroad to that place. He was a member of the state constitutional convention, and judge of the supreme court. He had ever at command a vast fund of information, which during my researches in Colorado in 1884 were generously placed at my disposal, and which kindness resulted in valuable manuscript contributions to history, entitled *General View of Colorado* and *Land Grants*.

Another high authority on early government matters is *Hallett's Courts, Law, and Litigation*, MS. Moses Hallett was born in Daviess county, Ill., in 1834, and resided there, with the exception of a few years spent away from home in acquiring an education, and in the study of the law in Chicago, until the spring of 1860, when he came to Colorado. He settled at Denver, and after a trial of mining entered upon the practice of his profession. He served two terms in the territorial council. In 1866 he was appointed chief justice of the territory, which position he held for 10 years, after which he was appointed judge for the U. S. dist. of Colorado. Tall and dark complexioned, with an intellectual face and affable manners, he enjoyed the

So many petitions had gone forth for a territorial organizatian by congress that a bill to provide for the

friendship and admiration of the best men. Hallett explains even more fully than Stone the peculiarities, merits, and eccentricities of the people's and miner's courts. He tells us there were arbitrary executions every year, down to 1877. In that year a man name Musgrove, the leader of a gang of horse thieves, was hanged off the end of Larimer street bridge, in open day, without concealment of any sort. The people seldom interfered with the administration of the laws. One instance is, however, given of a territorial judge, who was on his way to Golden to make some order affecting a railroad company, being taken from a train, carried off, and kept 24 hours in durance to prevent the order being made. *Courts, Law, and Litigation*, MS., 6-7.

Wolfe Londoner, in a manuscript on *Vigilance Committees in Colorado*, giving an account of 'all the judgments of capital punishment, and all the executions of the people's courts in Denver,' is a valuable authority. He explains that there were other trials by the same kind of courts, but no other sentences or punishments. The first murder was committed by John Stofel, son-in-law of a German named Beincroff. Stofel killed one of his young brothers-in-law, on Vasquez fork or Clear creek, April 7, 1859. He was suspected, arrested, examined before H. P. A. Smith, admitted his guilt, and, as there was no prison in the country, it was determined to hang him. The examination was held in the second building below what is now Holladay street, east side of Ferry, now 11th street. The execution took place at the corner of Holladay and 10th streets, where Stofel was hanged on a tree; by Noisy Tom, executioner for the occasion. On the 12th of March, 1860, William West was shot by Moses Young, on the west side of Cherry creek, near Larimer street bridge. Young was tried next day, found guilty, a scaffold erected on the spot where the murder was committed, and the day after the trial and conviction he was hanged. On the 12th of June, 1860, Jacob Roeder and family passed through Denver en route for South park, in company with Marcus Gredler and others. Roeder and Gredler quarrelled, and Roeder was killed and buried by Gredler in revenge. The murderer was arrested, and on compulsion showed the grave of his victim. He was tried, sentenced, and hanged the next day, on a scaffold at the foot of the bluff where Curtis street enters Cherry creek bottom on the east side. On the 20th of June two freighters quarrelled, and, on the road near Denver, Hadley stabbed Card so that he died. Hadley was brought back on the 22d, a court organized under a clump of cottonwood trees which stood on 16th street, opposite the Planter's house, this being the only court held in the open air. He was sentenced to be hanged on the 25th, but escaped from his jailers. On the 20th of July, 1860, occurred the murder of Jacob Gantz, by J. A. Gordon, of which I have given an account. Gordon was executed at the same place as Gredler. On the 30th of Nov., 1860, Thomas R. Freeman was killed by Patrick Waters. Freeman lived alone, 2 miles below Denver, and was one of the few who attempted farming that year, raising vegetables for market. Waters was a hanger-on of better men, and accompanied Freeman down the Platte to buy hay, murdering him for his money, near Fort Lupton. The body being discovered, Welters was arrested in Neb., tried at Denver, and executed on a gallows at the farther end of 15th street bridge. The prosecution in this case made the first presentment in writing, as follows: 'The people of the Pike's peak gold region *versus* Patrick Waters. The people of the Pike's peak gold region, assembled at the city of Denver the 19th day of Dec., 1860, do find and present that on the 30th of Nov., A. D. 1860, at the said Pike's peak gold region, one Patrick Waters did make a felonious assault on one Thomas R. Freeman, then and there being, and him, the said Thomas R. Freeman, with premeditated malice, did murder and slay, contrary to all the laws of God and man.

erection of a new territory was at length introduced,[12] which passed both houses and became a law February 28, 1861. The name of Colorado was given to it at the suggestion of the man selected for its first governor.[13] The boundaries of Colorado, as described in the organic act, included all the territory between the thirty-seventh and forty-first parallels of north latitude, and the twenty-fifth and thirty-second meridians of west longitude, forming an oblong square containing 104,500 square miles, or 66,880,000 acres of land, with the usual proviso, that nothing contained in the act should be construed to impair the rights of the Indians while they remained unextinguished by treaty, or prevent the government from again dividing the territory at pleasure, the act in all respects resembling other organic acts establishing temporary governments. The territorial officers commissioned by the president were William Gilpin governor, Lewis Ledpard Weld secretary, Benjamin F. Hall chief justice, S. Newton Pettis and Charles Lee Armor associate justices, Copeland Townsend marshal, James D. Dalliba attorney-general, and F. M. Case surveyor-general. They arrived May 29th, and were cordially welcomed, even by the unpaid officers of the provisional government, whose functions ceased with the appearance of the presidential appointees.

Governor Gilpin was a man capable of inspiring enthusiasm upon occasions. He visited all the principal settlements[14] as rapidly as possible, making him-

[12] *U. S. Sen. Doc.*, 15, 36th cong., 1st sess.; *U. S. Sen. Jour.*, 839, 231, 36th cong. 1st sess.; *Cong. Globe*, 1859–60, 1502; *Id.*, 1860–1, 639–45, 728–9, 763–4, 1205–6; *Id.*, v.; *Id.*, xvii.; *Id.*, xxi.

[13] *Gilpin's Pioneer of 1842*, MS., 8. 'Some,' says Gilpin, 'wanted it called Jefferson, some Arcadia. . . . I said the people have to a great extent named the states after the great rivers of the country . . . and the great feature of that country is the great Colorado river. . . "Ah," said he (Wilson of Mass.), "that is it;" and he named it Colorado.'

[14] I learn from *U. S. H. Ex. Doc.*, v., no. 56, 37th cong. 2d sess., and the *History of Gunnison County*, MS., by Sylvester Richardson, that Gilpin, with the assistance of old mountaineers, made a map of the territory in 1861, which was found to correspond remarkably with the subsequent surveys. Richardson was a native of Catskill, N. Y., and a man of cultivated mind, as well as an able mechanic. He came to Colorado in 1860, and resided 12 years

self acquainted with the condition and wants of the territory, and everywhere was received with festivity and favor.[15] On the 8th of July he took the oath of office, and, the census being completed,[16] proceeded on the 10th to assign the judges to their districts, that the supreme court might be immediately organized.[17] On the 11th he issued a proclamation declaring the territory to be one congressional district, which was divided into nine council and thirteen representative districts, in which was ordered the election of delegate to congress and members of the legislative assembly to take place on the 19th of August.

In the matter of dates Colorado's history has been

in Denver. In 1873 he helped to explore the Gunnison country, and the following year organized a colony to settle it, of which the history will be given hereafter.

[15] William Gilpin was born Oct. 4, 1822, on the battlefield of Brandywine, and appointed to the military academy of West Point in 1836. Upon completing his studies he was commissioned lieut in the 2d dragoons, and fought in the Seminole war under Gen. Jessup, and accompanied Frémont's expedition of 1843 to Fort Vancouver. Gilpin was designed by his maker for a man of mark. Full six feet in height, of a slight frame and nervous temperament, with a fine head and expressive eyes, rather military bearing and French gestures, he was enthusiastic, while his shrewdness and courtesy were sometimes overshadowed by his generalizations. Said one of his friends to me, 'There never was a man like him, and there never will be another; for 20 minutes or so he can talk as closely to the point as any man, but after that he begins to generalize.' On the breaking out of the Mexican war, Gilpin, being again in Mo., was chosen major of the first regiment of Missouri cavalry, and moved south along the great central plateau with his force until he made a junction with the main army in Mexico. In 1847, the Indians of the plains having confederated to cut off immigration westward and to make war on the frontier settlements, Gilpin, by direction of the president, led a force of 1,200 cavalry, infantry, and artillery against them to open up communication. This expedition did not leave Leavenworth until Oct., the troops wintering at Pike peak and fighting the Indians the following summer. *Gilpin's Pioneer of 1842*, MS.; *Pitkin's Political Views*, MS.; *Bradford's Hist. Colorado*, MS.; *Elbert's Public Men and Measures*, MS.

[16] The census showed a population of 25,329, four-fifths of which were men. *Corbett's Legis. Manual*, 57. The count did not really show the whole number of inhabitants, many being prospecting in the mountains. *Rocky Mountain News*, July 17, 1861.

[17] Byers says in his *Centennial State*, MS., 10, that a proclamation was issued on the 23d of July appointing a term of the sup. ct on the first Monday in Sept. following, to be held at Denver. He also says that the first grand jury impanelled in Colo was upon the 4th of Sept., 1861, at Denver, and consisted of Nelson Sargent, foreman, Charles A. Wright, John W. Smith, Alexander M. Smith, John L. Bogg, John G. Vauter, William D. Davis, John B. Ashland, Jonathan U. Price, Milton E. Clark, Warren Hussey, J. F. Gordine, James M. Iddings, Milton M. Delano, Edward H. Hart, P. H. Smith, Andrew Sargendorf, and John M. Clark. See also *Rocky Mountain News*, Sept. 4, 1861.

marked by periods of national importance. It was the business depression of 1857–8 and the Kansas troubles which inspired so many with a willingness to seek new homes and fortunes farther west. The territory was organized just previous to and while the civil war was impending; and lastly the state was admitted on the 100th anniversary of our independence. It is with the coincidence of the territorial organization and the sudden and great strain put upon the government that I am chiefly impressed; in connection with which must be considered the manner in which the affairs of the new commonwealth were managed. Gilpin, although appointed governor by President Lincoln, was without instructions and without money. Washington was threatened; there were a dozen cabinet meetings a day; and when the appointee begged for writtten orders he was told there was no time to attend to such matters, but to go and do as well as he knew how and the bills would be paid. His verbal instructions, taken in the vestibule of the white house, or in the portico, conferred broad powers. He was to see that the new territory was kept in the union. If soldiers were needed, he was to call them out and command them.[18] He was loyal, he was a soldier, he would be quick to see the need of an appeal to arms; but was he a statesman, and might he not be too quick to discern a danger? These were questions the cabinet had no time to ask.

The period elapsing between the arrival of the executive and the August election was made use of to ascertain the political bias of the majority, the population being almost evenly divided between those who would support the government and those whose sympathies were on the side of the confederates. This equality warned the republicans to make haste slowly, and to adopt a liberal and conservative platform, lest the loyal part of the democracy should be driven to encourage disloyalty. A convention was held at

[18] *Gilpin's Pioneer of 1842*, MS., 5–6.

Golden City on the 1st of July for the purpose of nominating a delegate to congress, Hiram P. Bennett being chosen from among eleven candidates.[19] On the 24th a 'union convention' was held by the democrats for the same purpose, which nominated B. D. Williams. The newspaper press was divided, and issued campaign sheets, as might be expected, but were guarded in their utterances.[20]

Williams was beaten by the republican candidate, on election, by 3,801 votes, the total number of votes cast being 9,597.[21]

The legislature, which was also chiefly republican, met at Denver, and held its first session of sixty days, beginning on the 9th of September, adopting and enacting a full code of laws, civil and criminal. The original acts of the legislature recognized the legality of the miners' courts, confirmed their decisions, and provided for the transfer of their cases to the regular courts, thus avoiding all conflict over previous judgments.[22] The adoption of the Illinois practice

[19] Amos Steck was president of this convention, and L. N. Tappan secretary. *Byers' Centennial State*, MS., 8.

[20] The *Rocky Mountain News*, though loyal, opposed drawing party lines too strictly. The publishers issued a second journal, the *Miner's Record*, at Tarryall, during the campaign, which did good work in preserving the loyalty of the people and determining the result of the election. The *Denver Mountaineer*, owned by Moore and Coleman, was a disunion journal, and was bought by Byers and Daily, and silenced in the spring of 1861. *Byers' Newspaper Press of Colorado*, MS., 13.

[21] Hiram P. Bennett was born in Mo. in 1826, and removed to Nebraska, where he was elected to the first territorial legislature in 1854. In 1859 he removed to Denver, where he practised his profession, being associated with Moses Hallett, and distingnishing himself by his successful prosecution of criminals. He served two terms in congress, obtaining the branch mint for Denver, with other benefits to the territory. He resumed his law practice in 1869, but was appointed postmaster soon after, which office he held until 1874. He was a member of the first state legislature from Arapahoe co.

[22] The members of the council representing their districts in the following order were Hiram J. Graham, Amos Steck, C. W. Mather, H. F. Parker, A. U. Colby, Samuel M. Robbins, E. A. Arnold, R. B. Willis, and John M. Francisco. *Colo. Jour. Council*, 1861, 3. Members of the lower house, in the order of their districts, were Charles F. Holly, E. S. Wilhite, Edwin Scudder, William A. Rankin, J. B. Chaffee, J. H. Noteware, Daniel Witter, George F. Crocker, Daniel Steel, Corydon P. Hall, Victor Garcia, Jesus Barela, and George M. Chilcott. *Colo. Jour. House*, 1861, 3, 19. E. A. Arnold of Lake co. was chosen president of the council, S. L. Baker, sec., David A. Cheever asst sec., E. W. Kingsbury sergeant-at-arms. Charles F. Holly of Boulder co. was elected speaker of the house of reps, F. H. Page chief clerk, E. P. Elmer sergeant-at-arms. *Corbett's Legis Manual*, 212.

code was another wise act, giving the territorial courts a system of practice which had been ably expounded by the supreme court of that state. No subsequent legislation was had upon this subject while the territorial form of government was in existence.

The territory was divided into counties [23] and judicial districts,[24] the election of county officers provided for, and a complete organization effected. The capital of the territory was located at Colorado City, and commissioners appointed to select the actual site within the surveyed limits of that town, the commission to perform its duty within a month after the adjournment of the legislature.[25] The location was chosen with the view of making the capital central to the future state. That it was subsequently abandoned was because it was found to be inconvenient. It was fixed at Golden City [26] in 1862, where it remained

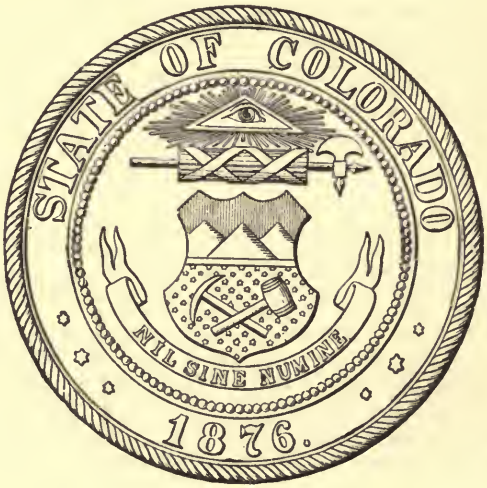
[23] The following counties were organized, with county seats temporarily located, as follows: Costilla, county seat at San Miguel; Guadalupe, county seat at the town of Guadalupe (the name of this connty was changed to Conejos the same session); Huerfano, county seat at Autubee; Pueblo, county seat at the town of Pueblo; Fremont, county seat at Cañon City; El Paso, county seat at Colorado City; Douglas, county seat at Frankstown; Arapahoe, county seat at Denver; Weld, named after the secretary of territory, county seat at St Vrain; Larimer, named after George William Larimer, county seat at La Porte; Boulder, county seat at the town of Boulder; Jefferson, county seat at Golden City; Clear Creek, county seat at Idaho; Gilpin, named after the governor, county seat at Central City; Park, county seat at Tarryall; Lake, county seat at Oro City; Summit, county seat at Parkville. *Colo Gen. Laws*, 1861, 52–7.

[24] The territory was divided into three judicial districts, the counties of Larimer, Weld, Arapahoe, Boulder, Douglas, and El Paso constituting the 1st, to which Chief Justice Hall was assigned; Jefferson, Clear Creek, Gilpin, Park, and Summit the 2d district, to which Judge Armor was assigned; Lake, Fremont, Pueblo, Huerfano, Conejos, and Costilla, the 3d district, to which was assigned Judge Pettis. *Gen. Laws Colo*, 1861, 395–6.

[25] The committee consisted of S. L. Baker, E. B. Cozzens, and M. Holt.

[26] There were certain rivalries to be considered, as is always the case; but the chief aim seemed to be to prevent Denver having the capital, that town being accused of a desire to secure everything; therefore, at the next session, the legislature, being dissatisfied with Colorado City as a place of meeting, having to camp out and do their own cooking, adjourned to Denver, and removed the capital once more, this time to Golden City. Says Stone, 'The southern men were opposed to adjourning to Denver, and they went away and hid in the woods, and the sergeant-at-arms couldn't find them. Finally we sent men out with flags of truce to bring them in, and getting them together in Mother Maggart's hotel, under pretense of compromising the matter, locked the doors on them, finished the vote, and got the adjournment to Denver.' *Land Grants in Colo*, MS., 11.

until 1868, when it was taken back to Denver; but the feeling in the southern counties being strong against this point, and Pueblo being prevented from getting it in 1872 only by bribery, the constitutional convention provided that the vote of the whole people should be taken five years after the adoption of the constitution, the place receiving the greater number of votes to be declared the permanent capital. The vote was taken in 1881, and Denver, which had been growing in influence, received the majority of votes,



SEAL.

thus ending, to the chagrin of the southern counties, the long struggle for that division of power which will only come with the development of the resources of the south.

The seal adopted for the territory was an heraldic shield, bearing in chief, or on the upper portion of the same, upon a red ground, three snow capped mountains, above surrounding clouds; upon the lower part of the shield, upon a golden ground, a miner's badge, being the same badge prescribed by the regular her-

aldic rules; as a crest above the shield the eye of God, being golden rays proceeding from the lines of a triangle; below the crest, and above the shield, as a scroll, the Roman fasces, bearing on a band of red, white, and blue, the words Union and Constitution; below the whole, the motto Nil Sine Numine; the whole to be surrounded by the words Sigillum Territorii Coloradensis, and the figures 1861. This design was adopted by the state in 1876.

The message of Governor Gilpin to the legislature contained much good advice, with many original ideas. He recommended a thorough organization by counties, townships, districts, and precincts, and advised a system of "social police" laws for the protection of property, enforcement of contract, taxation, roads, education, and charities; but particularly he desired them to recognize the importance of the judiciary and military departments of the government, which constituted "the bulwark of their liberties." Acting somewhat upon the suggestions made, and also on their own good sense, the first legislature of Colorado, as I have said, did some excellent work in establishing good government, both civil and military. Among their acts was a joint resolution expressing sympathy with the government, and pledging support. Another resolution indorsed the acts of the governor which had reference to preserving the loyal attitude of the territory. Joint memorials asked for the establishment of a branch mint at Denver,[27] for a mail route along the upper portion of the Platte river, from which the mail had been withdrawn by the opening of a cut-off, for a daily mail between Denver and Mountain City (Central City), which, it was alleged, distributed more mail than any office in the territory. An act was passed increasing the rep-

[27] The amount of gold coined at the U. S. mint from Colorado mines in 1859 was $622,000; in 1860 it was $2,091,000. Large amounts were in circulation without coinage, and a certain amount was used in manufactures. On this showing the Coloradans thought themselves entitled to a mint. *Colo Gen. Laws*, 1861, 513.

resentation in the legislative body to thirteen councilmen and twenty-six representatives, the whole number allowed by the organic act, and congress was asked to increase the per diem from three to six dollars, which it did not do until 1867. By the act increasing the membership, it was provided that these additional legislators should be chosen at the general election in December 1861, and another session of the legislature held, commencing on the first Monday in June 1862, but that thereafter the territorial legislature should meet on the first Monday in February of each year. The adjournment took place on the 8th of November.[28]

Meanwhile Governor Gilpin, relying upon the informal permission given him to do whatever he thought right and proper for the good of Colorado and the preservation of the government, had exceeded the powers ordinarily invested in a territorial executive. Believing that the exigencies of the times required the raising of a regiment, he proceeded to raise and send it into the field.[29]

[28] The additional councilmen elected for the 2d session were H. R. Hunt, William A. H. Loveland, N. J. Bond. J. B. Woodson, and Henry Altman. The additional representatives were Joseph Kenyon, D. C. Oakes, C. G. Hanscome, William M. Slaughter, H. B. Hayes, J. W. Hamilton, Wilbur F. Stone, John Fosher, M. S. Beach, José Raphael Martine, José Francisco Gallejos, and D. Powell. Of the council E. A. Arnold was president, S. L. Baker chief clerk, D. A. Cheever asst clerk, E. W. Kingsbury sergeant-at-arms. Of the house, Charles F. Holly was speaker, P. H. Page chief clerk, E. P. Elmer sergeant-at-arms. *Corbett, Legis. Manual*, 212–14.

[29] Owing to the presence in the territory of a large number of southern men, he felt the importance of avoiding a conflict, and the necessity of proceeding secretly to the accomplishment of his purpose in order not to provoke opposition from those who, while not openly disloyal, had confederate proclivities. Two infantry companies were first raised, of picked men, armed with weapons quietly purchased wherever they could be found. Lead was obtained from a Colorado mine, and three loads of gunpowder from Topeka, through the friendship of John Burke. Having now the nucleus of a regiment, a call was made for eight more companies, which were rapidly formed, and promptly furnished by the governor, who paid the Denver merchants for supplies by drafts on the treasury, which he had authority for drawing in the fully given word of the president and secretary of war. But that it was a fortunate forecast in the executive became apparent when it was discovered, after the call had been made, that the disloyal part of the population was proceeding with equal caution to gather a force to plunder the banks and business houses of Denver and escape into Texas, there to join the confederate army. At the head of this conspiracy was McKee, a Texan ranger. He was arrested with about forty of his followers, and confined in jail. The

southerners had their rendezvous about forty miles from Cherry creek, near Russellville, where the first Colorado infantry was sent to capture the remainder. Some prisoners were taken, but about one hundred escaped and went into camp near Fort Wise, on the Arkansas river, where they captured a government train, but were overtaken and forty-one brought back to Denver, where they were a source of infinite vexation, nobody knowing what to do with them, while they had to be guarded and fed at considerable expense.

The 1st Colorado regiment was composed of good material in the main. The regiment was organized as follows: J. P. Slough colonel, S. F. Tappan lieut-col, J. M. Chivington major; captains, E. W. Wynkoop, S. M. Logan, Richard Sopris, Jacob Downing, S. J. Anthony, S. H. Cook, J. W. Hambleton, George L. Sanborn, Charles Malie, C. P. Marion. It was presented with a handsome silk flag by the women of Denver. *Rocky Mountain News*, Aug. 21, 1861. But it contained a certain proportion of undisciplined, strong, and restless men, who had volunteered in the hope of being called upon to go to the front. Their presence in Colorado at this time was a standing menace to confederate sympathizers; but it was not the kind of service which they desired; enforced idleness soon bred a mutinous spirit, and discipline became difficult to maintain, the presence of the regiment in Denver requiring an extra police force to preserve the property of citizens from the nightly prowling of squads of mischievous or drunken soldiers. In November they were removed to Camp Weld, two miles from Denver, where they continued to fret at their bondage and threaten desertion. Two companies were sent to Fort Wise, afterward Fort Lyon, where they were no better pleased. This post, which was in part Bent's new fort, was built by Sedgwick's command of 350 U. S. troops in the winter of 1860-1, after a summer campaign among the Indians. The quarters were of stone laid up in mud, with dirt roofs and floors. Bent's portion was used as a commissary. The post was commanded by Lieut Warner, of the regular army, who regarded the manners of the voluuteers with great disfavor, a view which was entirely reciprocated.

In Feb. Major-general Hunter, in command of the department at Fort Leavenworth, yielded to the represeutations of the officers of the Colorado 1st, that unless the men were put into the field they would desert in the spring. Chivington says that it was his influence that procured the change. *First Colorado Regiment*, MS., 3-4. An occasion was opportunely furnished of making them useful by the advance on New Mexico of 4,000 Texan troops, under Gen. H. H. Sibley, and permission was granted Slough to take his regiment south to the relief of the threatened territory. On arriving at Fort Wise orders were received to hasten to the assistance of Gen. Canby, who was being overpowered, the Texans having taken forts Bliss and Fillmore, fought Canby at Valverde, and driven him back to Fort Craig. They were preparing to march on Fort Union, the principal depot of supplies in New Mexico. The Colo troops hastened forward through the Raton pass, and after a brief rest made a forced march of 64 miles in 24 hours the baggage being left at Red river, and the wagons used to relieve the men in squads to prevent their giving out. By great exertion the regiment reached Fort Union on the 13th, where were 400 men, under Col Paul of New Mexico. There were at this time two independent Colorado companies in New Mexico, which had been formed by the governor's permission in the southern counties, and sent to Fort Garland. The captains were James H. Ford and Theodore H. Dodd, a nephew of Gov. Todd of Ohio. These two companies became the nucleus of the 2d Colorado regiment.

The day following the arrival of Slough at Fort Union news was received from Canby of the capture of a large train of supplies, and that Sibley was at Santa Fé with recruits pouring in. Upon this information the Coloradans determined to march on Santa Fé. On the 22d the army set out, consisting of the 1st Colorado, two light batteries, one of the independent companies under Capt. Ford, and two companies of the 5th infantry, in all about 1,300 men, commanded by Col Slough. One company was mounted for scouting

purposes, and divided into detachments, under captains Howland of the regular army and Ford. On the night of the 24th the scouts captured a picket guard, and learned that a force of 800 Texans were advancing on Santa Fé. Preparations were at once made to intercept them. Maj. Chivington was ordered to make a night march from Bernal springs, to encamp by day, and to march again by night to Santa Fé, spike the enemy's guns, and do as much as possible to cripple him. All the mounted men in the command, and two companies of foot troops, were detailed, amounting to 400 men. On the first night out, at the Pecos river, Lieut-col Tappan surprised and captured a party of confederate scouts, who were sent to Slough's camp. Chivington continued his march by daylight (there was not a man in the regiment, from the col down, who knew how to obey oders), and met the advanced guard of the enemy a little after noon, which surrendered.

He was now in the Apache cañon, a pass of the mountains ten miles long, between hills from 1,000 to 2,000 feet high, and proceeding at a leisurely pace, when the picket came running back, informing Chivington that he was confronted with a column of double his strength and furnished with artillery, while his batteries were with Slough in the rear. Cannonading was begun, and Chivington deployed his foot as skirmishers on the sides of the mountains out of range of the battery, and held the horse, under Captain Howland of the regular army, as a reserve, under cover, with orders to charge when they saw the enemy in retreat. But when he did retreat Howland failed to charge. His troops parted either way and filed to the rear in confusion. Fortunately for the fame of the 1st Colorado he was not of it. Another troop under Cook awaited orders with the shells whistling and screaming over them. The skirmishers soon made the position of the Texans in the road untenable, and they retired to a better one a mile below, concealing their infantry in the rocks, and posting their howitzers to command the road. Chivington followed cautiously until within an eighth of a mile of the battery, when he halted to get the infantry and horse together, except Cook's, deploying them right and left to outflank the new confederate position. In these movements Chivington, who had hitherto been a man of peace, a methodist preacher in fact, behaved well. He was a native of Ohio, born in 1821, migrated to Ill. in 1848, where he entered the conference of the M. E. church, being transferred to the Mo. conference, and in 1855 to Omaha, Neb. While in Mo. he was a missionary to the Wyandottes. In 1860 he came to Denver as presiding elder of the Rocky mountain district. Of a commanding presence, and in full regimental dress, he was a conspicuous figure as he galloped through the rain of bullets. Further retreat of the Texans was the signal to Cook, who came forward with his 99 horsemen. The road was unfavorable for cavalry, but the charge was successful, resulting in a large number of killed, wounded, and prisoners. On the other hand, the Texans fought bravely and inflicted severe injury. A storm of lead poured down on the enemy from their infantry, but the Colorado regiment was posted above them, and soon drove them down the hillside into the road and to flight. The loss in the battle of Apache cañon was five killed, thirteen wounded, and three missing on the union side. The Texans had sixteen killed, forty wounded, and seventy-five taken prisoners. At sunset Chivington fell back to Pigeon rancho—Pigeon being the name given to a Frenchman named Vallé who owned it—where the wounded were attended to and the dead buried. The prisoners, including seven commissioned officers, were sent to Fort Union under guard of Ford's company of dragoons, and the command fell back to a former camp at Coslasky's for water.

On the 28th, two days after the battle, Col Slough came up with the reserve from Bernal springs, and Chivington was again sent forward across the mountain, with six companies of infantry, to harass the enemy's rear, and a company of dragoons was ordered to scout toward Galisteo. The remainder of the 1st regiment, two batteries, and two small companies of regular cavalry, numbering altogether 600, also moved forward on the road to Santa Fé, not doubting that their passage would be disputed. While halting at

Pigeon's rancho the pickets came in with the information that the Texans were advancing in force, less than half a mile away. Quickly the bugles sounded, the men fell in line, and had gone but a few hundred yards when the firing began.

Had the Texans been aware how greatly they outnumbered the union troops, instead of defeat, they would have prevailed. As it was, after a day's fighting, they called for time to bury their dead. The following day they asked to have the armistice extended to 36 hours. At this moment an order arrived from Canby to stop fighting, and return to Fort Union. The Coloradans were astounded. Canby had so far been driven by the enemy. The loss on the Texan side, in the two battles, was 281 killed, 200 wounded, and 100 prisoners, a total of 581. On the union side 49 were killed, 64 wounded, and 21 captured, a total of 134. Col Slough, on returning to Fort Union, tendered his resignation, being offended, it was said, by Canby's order. The troops were allowed three day's of rest, when information came that Canby had left Fort Craig on the 1st of April, and was having a running fight on the Rio Grande with Sibley's army in retreat to Texas. Orders to march south to divert the enemy's attention, or assist in driving him out of the country were received. On the 6th, the regiment, now commanded by Tappan, set out again on the same road it had lately marched over. Canby and Col Paul were found at a small village at the head of Carnuel pass, endeavoring to make a junction with Slough, while the Texans were at Albuquerque, whither they had fallen back on a feint from Canby looking like an attack. Slough's resignation being accepted, Canby promoted Chivington to the colonelcy over Tappan, who waived his rank in Chivington's favor, and Gilpin approved. On the 14th of April the united commands moved down the pass, and the Rio Grande valley to a point eighteen miles below Albuquerque, and one mile from Peralta, where Sibley was encamped, the Texan army in ignorance of the approach of Canby. Chivington desired the privilege of attacking with the Colorado regiment alone, but was restrained by his superior. The Colorado troops reposed on their arms, in the hope of being called to surprise the confederates, but no such order came. The bugles sounded on the morning of the 15th, within hearing of Sibley's brass band, and the now superior union forces proceeded openly to the conflict. The battle began in the morning by the capture of a train coming from Albuquerque. After breakfast Peralta was attacked; but Canby having to fight in the open field, while Sibley was sheltered by the walls of the town, the fighting was of the mildest ever seen. At two o'clock a high wind having arisen, and the air being filled with sand, Canby withdrew to camp. That afternoon and night Sibley crossed the river, and proceeded down on the west side.

Much dissatisfaction was felt by the Colorado troops concerning the general's failure to attack Peralta. On the 16th, Canby entered Peralta, and marched leisurely down the river on a line parallel with Sibley, but unable to cross until the 20th, at Limitar, when it was learned that the Texans had buried their artillery except two pieces, burned their wagons, and were going through the mountains by Cook springs to Mesilla. Canby then proceeded to Fort Craig, Chivington going into camp at Valverde, a battle-field where a company of the 2d Colorado, before mentioned as being in New Mexico with Canby, had distinguished itself for bravery, losing forty per cent of its number in a vain effort to save the lost battle of the 21st of February. Here the 1st regiment remained inactive until August, waiting for orders and pay, after which it was sent to Fort Union. In July Chivington obtained leave to proceed to Washington, to endeavor to have his regiment transferred to a field of active service, and Col Howe of the 3d U. S. cavalry was placed temporarily in command. He succeeded in securing an order converting the regiment into the 1st Colorado cavalry, with headquarters at Denver. In midwinter it was concentrated at Colorado City, mounted, when it proceeded to Denver, and was received with enthusiasm by the citizens.

The history of the 2d Colorado regiment has less connection with the political history of the state. The first two companies were recruited under

the order of Gilpin. They were marched to Fort Garland, and mustered into the service of the U. S. in Dec. 1862. They experienced great hardships in crossing mountains to New Mexico, not to mention the fighting at the battle of Valverde. In Feb. 1862 Col J. H. Leavenworth was authorized by the secretary of war to raise six companies of volunteer infantry in Colorado, which with these two, and two others of a later organization, were to constitute the 2d Colorado regiment. T. H. Dodd was appointed lieut-col. The captains of the new companies were J. Nelson Smith, L. D. Rowell, Reuben Howard, George West, E. D. Boyd, and S. W. Wagoner. In Aug. the regiment was ordered to Fort Lyon, where it remained until April 1863, when six companies were marched to Fort Leavenworth. In June Leavenworth was placed in command of all the troops on the Santa Fé road, with headquarters at Fort Larned. The Indians and the confederates together gave him plenty of employment. On the 2d of July occurred the battle of Cabin creek, with a loss to the enemy of about forty killed and wounded. On the 16th they were joined at Fort Gibson by Gen. Blunt commanding the district of Colorado and western Kansas, and their united force numbering 1,400 met the confederate force of 6,000, under Gen. Cooper, at Honey springs, attacked it and in a battle of two hours routed it, with a loss of 400 killed, wounded, and missing. To prevent his stores falling into Blunt's hands, Cooper burned them. The loss on the union side in this engagement was 14 killed and 30 wounded. From July to October, Leavenworth was in command at Fort Larned. In the latter month he was dismissed the service on account of having enlisted a company, without authority, to act as artillerymen, but the order was subsequently revoked and his record cleared. Dodd succeeded him in command of the reg. During the same month the 2d and 3d Colorado inf. reg. were consolidated into the 2d Colorado volunteer cav. All detachments were ordered to Missouri, and thence sent east. Ford, who had been major of the 2d inf. was promoted to the command of the 2d cav., Dodd being lieut-col. Curtis, Smith, and Pritchard were made majors of three battalions. Ford was appointed to command subdistrict No. 4 of central Mo., with the Colorado vol. cav., the Mo. militia, and a reg. of inf. The reg. consisted of twelve companies, and numbered 1,240 men. It remained in service until 1865, fighting guerrillas chiefly, but taking an energetic part in the destruction of Price's army. In Dec. the regiment was concentrated at Fort Riley, refitted, and put on a footing as winter scouts to protect the road as far west as Fort Lyon. The following spring Ford was promoted to be a brig. gen. by brevet, and took command of the district. In April, May and June 1865, a force of 5,500 men, and two batteries was distributed in this district, prepared for a summer campaign against the Indians south of the Arkansas river. When everything was ready the interior department interfered, and arrested the movement. Irritated at this policy, Ford resigned, and General Sanborn took the command. Again, as he made ready to chastise the hostile Indians, the campaign was broken up by the same interference. In Sept. the reg. was mustered out at Fort Leavenworth. It had done faithful service, and lost about 70 men killed and many more wounded.

The 3d Colorado volunteer infantry was raised in 1862 by Gov. Evans. By the 1st of Feb. 1863, the first battalion was mustered in, Curtis commanding. James H. Ford was made colonel, and James L. Pritchard major. The captains were R. R. Harbour, E. W. Kingsbury, E. P. Elmer, G. W. Morton, Thomas Moses, Jr. In March they set out for the States via the Platte route, reaching Fort Leavenworth on the 23d of April. They shared the hardships of border warfare with the 2d regiment, to which they were finally joined.

Besides the presence of confederate sympathizers, the territory was visited in the summer of 1863 by a small band of Mexican guerrilas, who spread terror through the South park by emulating the sanguinary deeds of the traditional Mexican banditti. The bloody Espinosas they were called. Much mystery surrounded their actions and their motives, since it was not for

gain that they committed their crimes. They are supposed to have been outlaws from Chihuahua, and that they were brothers or cousins. One was a large, iron-framed man, with a villainous countenance, the second a smaller man, with nothing marked in his appearance. There was also a third, a mere boy. On their journey to Colorado they killed a merchant of Santa Fé, and a soldier at Conejos. During three weeks in the vicinity of Cañon City they killed 9 men, William Bruce of Hardscrabble creek being the first victim; then Harkins on Fontaine creek; and Alderman at his farm, on the road from Colorado City to South park. Then fell Shoup, a brother of George L. Shoup, Binckley, Carter, Lehman, and others. A company was raised in California gulch, by John McCannon, which followed and traced them to a camp on the head waters of Oil creek, in El Paso co., where the larger man was killed by Joseph Lamb. The other Espinosa escaped to New Mexico. He wrote a letter in Spanish to Gov. Evans, stating that he had killed 22 men, and for that reason demanded the restitution of his property captured by the volunteers. He was finally killed, together with a nephew, by Tom Tobins of Costilla co. *Hollister's Miners of Colorado*, 302–3; *Brickley and Hartwell Southern Colo*, 29–30; *Baskin's Arkansas Vol. Hist.*, 575–6; *Fowler's Woman's Experience*, MS., 1–2; *Hill's Tales of Colorado Pioneers*, 290–2; *Overland Monthly*, v. 526; *Folsom Telegraph*, Oct. 28, 1871; *El Paso County, etc.*, MS., 30–40. In the spring of 1864 James Reynolds, a pioneer of Colorado, turned guerilla, and picking up a company of 22 confederate deserters in Texas invaded Colorado. On the way they captured a train, which furnished them ample subsistence, arms, and ammunition, $5,000 in drafts, and a larger sum in money. They quarreled over the spoils, and separated, 13 turning back. The other half secreted their plunder, and proceeded to the South park, the former home of Reynolds, capturing a stage coach going from Buckskin Joe to Denver, and robbing the mail. They continued to infest the road for a few days longer, seeming to invite observation, as if they gloried in their valiant deeds of theft and outrage. But they were soon pursued by parties of citizens, and finally overtaken by a squad of volunteers from the mines in Summit co., under Jack Sparks on the north fork of the Platte. Reynolds was wounded and one man killed, named Singleterry. In the flight of the band, one Holliman was captured, who turned state's evidence. Five others were caught by parties lying in waiting on the Cañon City road. They were brought before a military commission, and ordered to Fort Lyon, but attempting to escape, were fired on and all killed.

CHAPTER VI.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

1861–1886

GILPIN'S HEROIC SUCCESSES—SUPERSEDED BY JOHN EVANS—WELD AND ELBERT—LEGISLATIVE ACTION—COINAGE—BENNETT—FAILURE TO ESTABLISH STATE GOVERNMENT—FURTHER EFFORTS AND FINAL SUCCESS—CURRENT TERRITORIAL AFFAIRS—ORGANIC LAW—GOVERNOR CUMMINGS—BRADFORD—CHILCOTT—HUNT, MCCOOK, AND ELBERT—GOVERNOR ROUTT—CHAFFEE—POSTAL ROUTES—PATTERSON, BOONE, AND BROMWELL—THE JUDICIARY—POLITICS UNDER STATE ORGANIZATION—TELLER—POPULATION AND LANDS—GOVERNORS PITKIN, GRANT, AND EATON—SENATORS HILL AND BOWEN.

GOVERNOR GILPIN'S confident measures for the preservation of peace and loyalty in the territory, with the boldness of his demands on the treasury, brought him into trouble. An audacious temperament is often the best possession of a man in emergencies. If any one refused to accept his drafts[1] they were told, "It is simply a question of whether you will take this evidence of indebtedness, or give up your goods without any such evidence; for the articles we need we must and will have." Several hundred thousand dollars of the governor's orders[2] were on the market, and, as at first they were not recognized by the government,

[1] A copy of one of these orders is preserved in *Extracts from Early Records*, MS., which is copied from the archives of the Historical Society of Colorado, and runs thus: 'Executive Department, Colorado Territory, Denver, Sept. 18, 1861. At sight pay to the order of Mrs Julia A. Ford thirty dollars, value received, and charge the same to the account of William Gilpin, Governor of Colorado Territory. To the Secretary of the United States Treasury, Washington, D. C., Number 220.'

[2] The whole appropriation for the expenses of Colorado for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1862, was $32,000. *U. S. H. Ex. Doc.*, no. i. 44, 37th cong. 2d sess.; *Cong. Globe*, 1860–1, ap. 340. The direct tax levied on the territory by congress for the same period was $22,905. *Laws Rel. Direct Tax*, 37th cong. 1st and 2d sess., 8.

financial distress followed, and a strong faction clamored for Gilpin's removal. The record made by the 1st regiment justified his acts so far as to secure the payment of his drafts, but in the meantime much dissatisfaction existed. Those who could not afford to hold, sold them at a loss to speculators; and, though ultimately redeemed, the losers were naturally disaffected, and labored for the removal of the author of their misfortunes.[3] He was succeeded in office April 19, 1862, by John Evans of Evanston, Illinois, who served the people acceptably for more than three years.[4] Secretary Weld, an able young man, but of irregular habits, was removed to make way for Samuel H. Elbert, son-in-law of Evans. Weld died early; but Gilpin lived to see his acts justified.[5] United States Marshal Townsend was removed in June 1862, and A. S. Hunt appointed in his place.

It will be remembered that the first legislature adjourned, to meet again with the full complement of councilmen and representatives allowed by the organic act in June. But it was discovered that a blunder had been committed, as the two sessions would fall within the same fiscal year, while two appropriations would not; and, by permission of congress,[6] another adjournment was made to the 7th of July, when the assembly met at Colorado City, where, as I have

[3] *Byers' Hist. Colo,* MS., 17, 23, 26; *Elbert's Public Men and Measures,* MS., 4–5; *Gilpin's Pioneer of 1842,* MS.

[4] John Evans was of Quaker parents, born in Ohio in 1814. He studied medicine, and practised in Ill. and Ind. He was elected to the chair of the Rush medical college, then organizing in Chicago, and became one of the editors of the *Northwestern Medical and Surgical Journal,* besides being chairman of the committee on public schools of Chicago. He donated $25,000 for the endowment of a chair of mental and moral philosophy in the Northwestern university, the trustees naming the university town in his honor, and electing him president of the board. As a railroad projector and keen politician he was long conspicuous. His daughter Josephine married his secretary, S. H. Elbert, in 1865. Dying soon after, her father erected a chapel in Evans' Addition to Denver to her memory. *Routt, Terr. and State,* MS., 5; *Pitkin's Political Views,* MS., 9–10; *Elbert, Public Men and Measures,* MS., 7.

[5] Weld was a Connecticut man. He went east, and was appointed lieut-col in a colored regiment, and died of fever in the south during the war. *Elbert, Public Men and Measures,* MS., 1.

[6] *Acts and Res.,* 351, 37, 2.

already stated, it remained in session but four days before returning to more comfortable quarters in Denver. Besides revising and perfecting the work of the first session, the legislature asked congress to increase the jurisdiction of the probate courts, and that the laws be printed in Spanish, for the benefit of the Mexican population. The postmaster-general was requested to provide for a tri-weekly mail from the east, and from Denver to Boulder City; the Union Pacific Railroad and Telegraph company was asked to locate its road through Colorado, and to select one of its board of directors from among its citizens, Evans being recommended. The secretary of the treasury was urged to put a United States mint in operation at an early day, by purchasing the private mint in Denver,[7] which prayer was granted; and the secretary of the interior was solicited to treat with the Indians for lands, chiefly mineral, to which their title had not been extinguished. A joint resolution was passed relating to the Colorado volunteers, commending them to the favorable notice of the president. The election law provided that the general election for delegate for congress, members of the council and assembly, and county officers, should be held on the first Tuesday in September; but as the appropriation for 1862–3 would be exhausted by the July session of 1862, the election of a legislature before 1863 was by joint resolution postponed to that year.

[7] According to the memorial, a private mint had been in successful operation for more than two years when the petition was made. Byers relates that the private banking-house of Clark, Gruber, and Co., Denver, began coining $5, $10, and $20 gold pieces July 20, 1860; and Parsons and Co. also coined some at Hamilton at a later period. The $10's coined at Denver by Clark, Gruber, and Co. were 17 grains heavier than the coin of the U. S. mint *Centennial State*, MS., 1. The bill establishing a branch mint in Denver appropriated $75,000, and was approved April 21, 1862. *Cong. Globe*, 1861–2, ap. 349. In March 1863 a resolution was passed to purchase the lots and assaying house or houses of Clark, Gruber, and Co. The chamber of commerce of Denver, on May 8, 1861, adopted the following rates for gold dust as a circulating medium: Blue river gold, $20 per ounce; French gulch, Humbug gulch, Fairplay gulch, Nigger gulch, and McNulty gulch, $17 per ounce; California gulch, $16 per ounce. Central City adopted the rate of $17 per ounce for Clear creek gold dust, and $15 per ounce for Russell gulch dust. Best retorted gold, $15 per ounce; common retorted and dirty gold,

In July the democratic party attempted to organize, holding a convention on the 10th, but did not become possessed of any power or coherency until after the close of the civil war. At the September election of 1862, Hiram P. Bennett was again chosen delegate to congress, the *News* summing up his services during one session as follows: A mail service and new post routes; post-offices throughout the settled portion of the territory; a land district and removal of the surveyor-general from Utah to Denver;[8] appropriations for surveys; military posts; a branch mint at Denver; payment of the Gilpin war debts;[9] besides laboring for the passage of the Union Pacific railroad bill, and bills for various wagon-roads. With such a record his reëlection was assured,[10] and he resumed his seat, to retain it in the thirty-eighth congress. The amendments made to the organic act by congress in 1863, referring to the judiciary system, gave the justices' courts jurisdiction in matters of controversy involving not more than three hundred dollars, and the probate courts jurisdiction in cases where the sum claimed did not exceed two thousand dollars; besides which the probate courts were given chancery as well as common law jurisdiction, with authority to redress all wrongs against the laws of the territory affecting persons or property. The same act modified the power of the governor, made absolute as to the approval of laws by the organic act, the amendment

$12 per ounce. Before the establishment of these rates the price of all gold dust had been uniform at $18. Fraudulent gold dust and gold bricks were manufactured by counterfeiters in 1861. The bricks had one corner made of genuine metal, from which the sellers cut a chip which they offered for assay. One banker bought $20,000 worth of these counterfeit bricks.

[8] *Cong. Globe*, 1861–2, ap. 345. Colorado was consolidated with Idaho and Nevada in 1863–4.

[9] The actual amount of the Gilpin drafts was $306,000, added to which was about $100,000 of debts where the drafts had been refused. Congress assumed the whole amount early in 1862. *Rocky Mountain News*, March 20, 1862.

[10] There were three candidates in the field: Bennett representing the Douglas democracy, indifferent to the fate of the negro, but true to the union; Gilpin, supported by the abolitionists, and J. M. Francisco, Breckenridge democrat.

permitting the legislature to pass an act by a two thirds vote over the governor's veto.[11]

On the 2d of November, 1861, a convention was held in Denver to memorialize congress for a homestead law for the protection of squatters on the public domain, and the same rights allowed to the settlers of Oregon, including holding their claims as bounded by lines drawn by themselves instead of the government survey. To this proposition no answer was returned. But in June 1862 the right of preëmption was extended to the territory, with the appointment of a register and receiver, and the repeal of the graduation act.[12]

There had been from the first a party in Colorado, though not constituting a majority, which desired a state government. The promoters of state organization in early territorial times are usually ambitious men, desirous of place and power, and Colorado offers no exception to the rule. In compliance with the demands of this portion of the electors of the territory, an effort was made at the third session of the thirty-seventh congress, 1862-3, to have an enabling act passed allowing Colorado to form a constitution, which was defeated. But in March 1864, by representing the population to be between fifty and sixty thousand,

[11] *Cong. Globe*, 1862–3, ap. 200; *Corbett's Legis. Manual*, 51–4; *Acts and Res.*, 88, 37, 3; *S. Jour.*, 471, 487, 37, 3.

[12] 'An act to graduate and reduce the price of the public lands to actual settlers and cultivators.' An act approved in May constituted Colorado and Utah one surveying district, with the office of the sur-gen. at Denver. The appropriations for surveys was $10,000. No special land laws were enacted in favor of Colorado. The status of land titles was exceedingly simple, after the extinguishment of Indian rights, except in a few cases of Mexican grants; a Mexican grant, like Indian territory, being of such indefinite dimensions as to invite a contest of wits, if not of weapons, in the settlement. *Hallet's Courts, Laws, and Litigation*, MS., 7–8. In 1873–4 a disturbance arose in Lake co. over the possession of some government land near the present site of Buena Vista. Elijah Gibbs was attacked by a mob calling themselves vigilants, and killed in self-defence one of their number, George Barrington. At another time he killed a man named Coon who belonged to an attacking party and had to escape, the friends of the men who were killed taking up the quarrel, which was carried on for several years, and in which 7 or 8 persons were killed, including Judge Dyer of Granite City, who was assassinated while trying one of the cases which grew out of it. *Byers' Centennial State*, MS., 32–3.

or double what it really was, and by other devices, congress was induced to pass an enabling act, permitting the delegates elected by the people to meet on the first Monday in July to form a constitution, to be submitted to the people at an election to be held on the second Tuesday in October. The campaign was a stirring one, several newspapers being devoted to manufacturing a favorable public opinion; but the people, knowing there was an empty treasury, and not being desirous of replenishing it to the requirements of a state government, decided that it was inexpedient, and voted against it.[13]

There was yet another reason why many rejected the constitution. The organic act of the territory, formed ere yet the civil war had burned its bill of rights so terribly into the conscience of the nation, provided that the right to vote at the first election should be extended to "every free white male citizen of the United States, including those recognized as citizens by the treaties of 1848 and 1853 with Mexico." The first legislature, in an act regulating elections, decreed that only citizens of the United States, persons of foreign birth who had declared their intention to become citizens, and persons of Indian blood who had been declared by treaty to be citizens, should be deemed qualified voters. On the 11th of March, 1864, this act was amended so as more plainly to exclude "a negro or mulatto," and the constitution perpetuated all the territorial laws.

[13] The framers of this rejected constitution were W. A. H. Loveland, president of the convention, Samuel E. Browne, John Q. Charles, J. Bright Smith, James M. Cavanaugh, Richard Sopris, Joseph M. Brown, George T. Clark, John A. Koontz, D. H. Goodwin, A. C. Hunt, Charles A. Cook, G. W. Miller, David H. Nichols, P. M. Hinman, D. Pound, A. Lumry, W. E. Sisty, J. T. Herrick, Robert White, C. B. Patterson, John Locke, D. P. Wilson, Ed S. Perrin, Wm E. Darby, B. C. Waterman, Rodney French, A. J. Van Deren, H. F. Powell, F. H. Judd, C. W. Mather, B. F. Lake, George E. Randolph, W. S. Rockwell, O. J. Hollister, W. R. Gorsline, T. Whitcomb, G. B. Backus, T. C. Bergen, T. P. Boyd, H. H. DeMary, N. F. Cheeseman, C. Nachtrieb, H. Anderson, John McCannon, Thos Keys. W. J. Curtice, Alex. Hatch, A. DuBois, H. Henson, J. D. Parmelee, G. W. Lechner, H. B. Haskell, John T. Lynch, G. W. Coffin, J. E. Washburn, F. Merrill, J. L. Pritchard, G. W. Hawkins, C. C. Hawley, B. F. Pine, W. G. Reid. *Corbett, Legis. Manual*, 225–6.

Though beaten, the state government party was not disheartened. A convention was called in 1865, in which eleven counties were represented out of seventeen; a constitution was submitted to the people, which, without any law to sanction it, was adopted—another illustration of the vox populi vox dei saw. Gilpin was elected governor. The legislature assembled and made choice of two senators, John Evans and Jerome B. Chaffee, who proceeded to Washington to urge the admission of Colorado under the constitution to which a majority of those who voted on the question had assented, if not a majority of all the voters in the territory. Nor did they urge their wishes in vain. Congress again consented to admit the state of Colorado to the union, as Governor Cummings affirmed, in the face of the principles for which the nation had been contending during four years of war, and in the face of their own legislation at the same session;[14] for the constitution still excluded persons of negro blood from participating in the elections, an example of the power which flaunts itself in the lobby of the national capital, though acting in this instance in the right direction as against that most monstrous of American absurdities, African voting. But President Johnson vetoed the bill.[15] A similar bill was vetoed again in 1867–8, which failed by only one vote in the senate from being passed over his head. The matter was revived periodically for ten years. On the 3d of March, 1875, an enabling act was passed, authorizing the electors to vote, in July 1876, upon a constitution, to be formed in convention to be held at Denver before that time The period

[14] *H. Jour.*, 1865–6, 622, 657, 668, 672. On the 1st of Feb. 1865, Delegate Bennett had headed a written resolution of the territorial delegates, approving the proposition to amend the federal constitution forever prohibiting slavery in the U. S. *Cong. Globe*, 1864–5, 596.

[15] *Byers' Centennial State*, MS., 31. Elbert says that the ostensible reason for vetoing the bill was that the population was insufficient, but the real reason was that the two senators, Evans and Chaffee, would not pledge themselves to vote against Johnson's impeachment. *Pub. Men and Measures*, MS., 10–11. The reason which Johnson gave was that the proceedings were irregular. *Cong. Globe*, 1865–6, 210.

was ripe for its acceptance; the political sea was calm; there was nothing in the new instrument at variance with the amendments to the federal constitution, and both congress and the people of the commonwealth were satisfied that Colorado was entitled to become a sovereign state,[16] with boundaries as ample as in its territorial days.[17]

The constitution-makers of Colorado were, by this time, skilled artificers.[18] It was a noble document, with those errors only which the course of events develops.[19] An attempt was made for universal suffrage by introducing a clause making it obligatory upon the first legislature to pass a law conferring the elective franchise upon women, which was, however, to be submitted to a vote of the male citizens at the first election thereafter.

To return to the regular march of events under the territorial régime. Bennett's delegateship terminated with the thirty-eighth session of congress. With the exception of having secured the payment of the Gilpin drafts, and an appropriation for a branch mint, which was really no more than a United States assay-office,

[16] The vote stood 15,443 for, to 4,039 against acceptance. *Corbett, Legis. Manual*, 119.

[17] A joint resolution of the legislature of 1864 protests against the reduction of territorial limits in accordance with the endeavors of the delegate from New Mexico in congress, and instructs the Colorado delegate to be especially watchful and oppose all such attempts. *Gen. Laws Colo*, 1864, 256.

[18] Their names were J. C. Wilson president, H. P. H. Bromwell, Casamiro Barela, George Boyles, W. E. Beck, Byron L. Carr, William H. Cushman, W. M. Clark, A. D. Cooper, H. R. Crosby, Robert Douglas, L. C. Ellsworth, C. P. Elder, F. J. Elbert, W. B. Felton, J. M. Garcia, Daniel Hurd, John S. Hough, Lafayette Head, William H. James, William R. Kennedy, William L. Lee, Alvin Marsh, William H. Meyer, S. J. Plumb, George E. Pease, Robert A. Quillan, A. K. Yount, Wilbur F. Stone, W. C. Stover, H. C. Thatcher, Agapeta Vigil, W. W. Webster, G. G. White, E. T. Wells, P. P. Wilcox, J. S. Wheeler, J. W. Widderfield, Lewis C. Rockwell. Secretaries, W. W. Coulson, Herbert Stanley, and H. A. Terpenning. *Corbett, Legis. Manual*, 116–17.

[19] See Pitkin, in *Political Views*, MS., 13. Only one article of the constitution could be amended at any one session, the sessions being biennial. One foolish provision in the constitution was the publication of the laws in Spanish and German. It would seem that the foreigners we import to govern us might at least learn our language. Sessions were limited to forty days, and every bill was to be read three times before each house for the benefit of stupid members.

nothing had been done for Colorado beyond what the actual wants of the people demanded.[20] Bennett was succeeded by Allen A. Bradford, who in 1862 was appointed associate justice in place of Pettis, serving in the second judicial district until elected to represent the territory in the thirty-ninth congress.[21] He labored for the passage of a homestead law, for a mineral-land law, for increased pay for the supreme judges, and members of the legislature, and for payment of the mounted militia employed in opening communication through the Indian country in 1864, of which I shall speak hereafter. At the close of this congress the salaries of the judges were raised to $2,500.[22] Previously, and by the efforts of the Montana delegate chiefly, an act was passed appropriating the net proceeds of the internal revenue of 1866–8 to the erection of penitentiaries in seven several territories, including Colorado. At the beginning of the fortieth congress an act amending the organic law of Colorado made the sessions of the legislative assembly biennial, the election for four years for councilmen, and two years for assemblymen, and the pay six instead of three dollars per diem.[23]

[20] The appropriation for 1863, including $5,000 for a territorial prison, and $2,500 for a territorial library, aggregated $69,960. The appropriations for 1864–5 amounted to $54,700. This was exclusive of post-routes, which were of general use. The routes established in 1863–4 were from Denver to East Bannack, in Idaho; from Denver via Poncha pass and Conejos to Santa Fé; from Denver to Bijou basin; and from Golden City via Ralston creek, and Boulder city to Burlington. A wagon road was in process of construction in 1863–4 from the headwaters of Clear creek, through Middle park, and the valleys of Bear, Uintah, and Timpanogas river to Provo in Utah.

[21] A. A. Bradford was born in Maine in 1815, went to Mo. in 1841, studied law and was made judge. In 1855 he removed to Nebraska, where he was a member of the legislative council in 1856–8, and came in 1859 to Central, settling finally at Pueblo. He was a man of many experiences, some of which I was fortunate enough to secure in a manuscript.

[22] The organic act gave the governor $1,500 with $1,000 more as supt of Ind. aff., and gave the judges $1,800.

[23] The appropriation for 1866 was $43,000 including $15,000 for surveying. The post-routes secured were from Georgetown to Argentine; from Gold Dirt to South Boulder; and from Denver via Mt Vernon and Idaho to Empire City. The appropriation for 1867 was $47,090. The post-routes opened were from Badito to Spanish peaks; Pueblo to Hermosillo; Pueblo to Carson City, via Rock Cañon Ridge and Frazier settlement to Jamestown; and from Eureka to Breckenridge via Argentine and Pera.

In October 1865 President Johnson appointed Alexander Cummings governor of Colorado in place of Evans. Cummings was famous about 1862 as founder of the *N. Y. Daily World*, and notorious afterward for his peculations in a contract with the war department. The Coloradans disliked him, and made his administration unpopular by all the ways known to journalists and politicians, even to requesting the president to remove him. It was not shrewdness or intelligence that he lacked, but the knowledge of how to inspire confidence by putting them to a beneficent use. He remained in office about a year and a half. In November, George M. Chilcott[24] was elected representative to congress under the state constitution, which, as I have already stated, the president refused to recognize, lest congress should use the two senatorial and one representative vote of the new state against him in his impeachment trial. In the following August Chilcott was reëlected, and took his seat as delegate, after some loss of time through having his election contested by A. C. Hunt. He secured the passage of a bill repealing the act which discriminated against the whole region west of Kansas and east of California by charging letter postage on printed matter within those boundaries. He was also fortunate in securing important action concerning certain land-grants, and appropriations for the public surveys.[25] He was succeeded in 1868 by A. A.

[24] Chilcott was born in Pa, in 1828. moved in 1844 to Iowa, and was elected sheriff in 1853, and in 1856 to Neb. when he was sent to the legislature. The wave of migration caught him in 1859, and carried him to Colorado, where he arrived in May. He was a member of the constitutional convention of that year at Denver, returning to Omaha to spend the winter. In the autumn of 1860 he settled in what is now Pueblo co., engaging in farm work for a livelihood for two years, after which he took a claim for himself 12 miles east of Pueblo and brought out his family. He was elected to represent this region at the first two sessions of the territorial legislature, and was appointed by Pres. Lincoln register of the U. S. land office for the district of Colorado in 1863, which position he held until he was elected to congress. Republican in politics, Chilcott was an energetic, cheerful worker, with a fine physique, and universally successful in his undertakings.

[25] The appropriations for 1860 were greatly in excess of any before made, amounting for every purpose, excepting mails and Indian department, to $183,446.51. *Rocky Mountain News*, Aug. 5, 1868.

Bradford, elected a second time, who introduced bills for grants of land to two railroad companies, for appropriations for public buildings in Colorado, for the settlement of the southern boundary of Colorado, and for increasing the pay of officers of the supreme courts of Colorado and New Mexico.

Meantime, the territory had twice received a new executive, A. C. Hunt being appointed by President Johnson in May 1867, and Edward M. McCook by President Grant in June 1869. Hunt had been United States marshal, was familiar with the physical and social aspect of the territory, and gave an administration satisfactory to the people; but he was removed to make place for a protegé of another president, according to usage.[26] His successor, McCook, lacked nothing in ability. He was charged with peculation in office as superintendent of Indian affairs, and the charges were investigated, leaving the impression on the public mind that a powerful interest had screened him from just punishment.[27] He held the office from June 1869 to March 1873, when Samuel H. Elbert was appointed.[28] A scheme of this governor's was the reclamation of all the lands west of the Missouri river by irrigation. He called a meeting of delegates from the western states and territories, and had fairly set the matter in motion, looking to secure congressional legislation, when he was removed and McCook reappointed. For several months the senate refused to confirm this action, and Elbert continued to administer the government.[29] On the final issue between

[26] Hunt became interested in railroads, was one of the projectors and constructors of the Denver and New Orleans road. He would ride 100 miles a day on horseback, superintending railroad work. He became largely interested in mines in Texas, and railroads in Mexico, but continued his residence in Denver. *Elbert, Public Men and Measures*, MS., 12; *Pitkin's Polit. Views*, MS., 11; *Bradford, Hist. Colo*, MS., 5.

[27] See Salt Lake *Herald*, Aug. 24, 1874; and in Deer Lodge *New Northwest*, Sept. 5, 1874.

[28] Elbert, a native of Ohio, came to Colorado in 1862 as ter. sec. under Evans, after practising law and politics in Iowa and Neb. After his 4 years of secretaryship had expired, he entered into a law partnership with J. Q. Charles, and was elected to the territorial legislature in 1869.

[29] Elbert went east, and John W. Jenkins, territorial secretary, became

federal republicans and territorial republicans the party was divided into factions, and lost the election to the democrats for the first time in the history of the territory. During the excitement of these political squabbles the plans for public improvements on a large scale were abandoned.

McCook's second term extended over little more than one year, the administration deciding that it could not bear a rebuke which came in the form of a democratic majority, even in a territory, and in March 1875 appointed John L. Routt governor of Colorado. Although a stranger in the territory, he soon became known as its friend, and received the highest indorsement his official conduct could have when he went out of office with the territory, to resume it under the state organization in 1876.[39] While these events were in progress the office of delegate had been filled by Jerome B. Chaffee, after Bradford's second term, until the election of a democrat, Thomas M. Patterson, in 1874. Chaffee had been a delegate in every presidential nominating convention since that of the free soil party in 1856, and was the leader of the

acting-governor in his absence. On the return of Elbert, after the confirmation of McCook, Jenkins addressed a letter to him which he signed as 'acting-governor.' Elbert resented this and returned the document indorsed 'not recognized,' signing himself 'governor of Colorado.' A spicy correspondence followed, Jenkins asserting that he had been notified of Elbert's removal, and Elbert that he had never been officially notified, and that he was governor until the arrival of his successor with a commission. Elbert kept his office at his block on Larimer street, and Jenkins his in McCook's block on Blake street. In the same building was the national bank, delegate Chaffee president, who opposed McCook's comfirmation. D. H. Moffat, Jr, cashier and territorial treasurer, was accused of fraud in connection with his office. Such is politics. *N. Y. Times*, July 28, 1874.

[39] John Long Routt was born in Ky in 1826, but removed to Ill., where in due time he was elected sheriff of McLean co. In 1862 he was captain of Company E of the 94th Ill. volunteers, and remained in the service until the autumn of 1865. Being offered the position of chief clerk of the bureau of the 2d asst postmaster-general, he accepted the office in 1869. The following year President Grant appointed him U. S. marshal for the southern district of Ill., and in 1871 to the post of 2d asst postmaster-general, which position he filled until appointed governor of Colorado. A thorough business man, his own and the public affairs intrusted to him have always prospered. In mining operations he acquired a fortune, becoming largely the owner of the Morning Star and Waterloo mines in Leadville. He was short and strongly built, with great power of endurance. *Bradford, Hist. Colo*, MS., 5; *Routt's Territory and State*, MS., 1–9.

republican party in Colorado, a capitalist, and liberal in dispensing money for the uses of his party. Only the split that occurred through the McCook-Elbert imbroglio could have unseated him.[31] On taking his place in congress he began the demand for the admission of Colorado as a state, and persisted in it through both terms. He secured the authorization of a treaty with the Utes for the cession of that portion of their lands in the San Juan country whose mineral wealth had made it coveted by miners. One of his most important measures was advocating a change in the rules of the house of representatives so as to give the territories a representation in the committee on territories, establishing a precedent which greatly increased the influence of delegates. Under this rule he was the first delegate to report a bill directly from a committe to the house. He was the author, and secured the passage, of a bill enlarging the power of territorial legislatures ; and was instrumental in establishing a mining code, besides greatly extending the mail service,[32] and laboring for the interest of pro-

[31] Jerome B. Chaffee was born in Niagara co., N. Y.. in 1825, removing while young to Michigan, and later to Mo., where he engaged in banking. In 1860 he came to Colorado, and in company with Eben Smith erected the Smith and Chaffee stamp-mill, to develope gold lodes near Central City, his success encouraging other miners in that district. He subsequently became principal owner in the Bob-tail Lode and Tunnel company, from which there was from $300,000 to $500,000 annual income. The name is said to have been derived from a bob-tailed ox being used to haul a drag made by stretching a rawhide across a forked stick, for conveying pay-dirt to the gulch for sluicing. Besides this property, Chaffee became interested in nearly a hundred gold and silver lodes in different stages of development. In 1865 he purchased the banking business of Clark & Co., Denver, and established the First National bank, of which he was president until 1880. His political career began with his election to the territorial legislature in 1861, and again in 1863, when he was chosen speaker of the house of representatives. His election as senator under the constitution of 1866, which was vetoed by President Johnson, and the long controversy over it, brought him conspicuously before the people as a man fit to be a leader, and caused his election in 1870 and 1872. *Byers' Hist. Colo,* MS , 21. A daughter of Senator Chaffee married a son of President Grant.

[32] I will make one more mention of the post-routes, to show the gradual extension southward of settlement. Routes were opened from Badito, via Crestone, San Isabel, and Bismarck, to Villa Grove; from Cañon City, via Greenwood, Mace's Hole, and Dotson's to Greenhorn; from Greenwood to Colfax; from Badito, via Gardner, to Colfax; from Trinidad, via San Francisco, to La Trinchera; from Fort Garland to Zapato; from La Loma to Capote; from Colorado Springs to Fairplay; from Colorado Springs via Easton,

jected railroads. Finally, in the last weeks of his term, he effected the passage of an enabling act for Colorado—March 3, 1875—which was amended, however, so as to postpone the date of admission to July 1876.[33] The career of Patterson, begun under the embarrassment of being in a certain sense an accidental rather than a legitimate and voluntary choice of the people, was creditable. The republican party was divided into two factions, one designing to rebuke and the other to sustain the administration. Nor were the democrats altogether harmonious, many being dissatisfied with the nomination of a late-comer in their midst ;[34] to show their displeasure they induced a pioneer of note, A. G. Boone, to announce himself an independent candidate,[35] but he withdrew before the election, leaving the field to H. P. H. Bromwell,[36] the administration republican candidate, and Patterson, on whom the anti-administrationists united with the democrats, with the result already indicated.

Before proceeding to the history of the state organization it is due to the territorial judges and other officers to make mention of them individually as far as space will permit. Chief Justice Hall was succeeded in 1863 by Stephen S. Harding. In 1866 President Johnson appointed in his place Moses Hallett, who was twice reappointed to the same position,

to Gomer's Mill; from Pueblo via Huerfano junctions, Baggsville, and Las Animas, to Fort Lyon; from Creswell, via Bergen park, to Junction; from Fort Collins to Livermore.

[33] *H. Jour.*, 43 cong. 2d sess., 577, 632, 644, 679, 43, 2; *Colo Gen. Laws*, 23–7; *Statutes U. S.*, 44 cong. 1st sess., pp. vii.–viii.

[34] Patterson was an arrival of 1872, a native of Ireland, born in 1840. He was elected city attorney by the common council of Denver in the spring, 1874.

[35] Boone was the eldest son of Jesse Boone of Ky, who was the eldest son of the renowned Daniel. While he possessed those half military and wholly brave and generous traits which distinguish the class to which he belonged, he was not trained to the sinuous ways of legislation, and was moreover about 70 years of age.

[36] Bromwell was born in Md, moved early to Ohio, and then to Ill., where he began the practice of the law in 1853, at the same time publishing a newspaper, the *Age of Steam and Fire*. After a political career in Ill. he came to Colorado in 1870, was a member of the territorial council in 1874, of the constitutional convention of 1875, and of the state legislature in 1879. He was a fine scholar and fond of literary pursuits.

and after the admission of the state again appointed by President Grant to the higher post of United States district judge, being commended generally by his fellow-citizens for honor, ability, and personal qualifications.[37]

The associate justices appointed in territorial times were, after Bradford, Charles F. Holly and William H. Gale in 1865; William R. Gorsline and Christian S. Eyster in 1866; James B. Belford in 1870, reappointed in 1874; Ebenezer T. Wells in 1871; Amherst W. Stone and Andrew W. Brazee in 1885.[38] The United States district attorneys appointed after Dalliba were Samuel E. Brown, 1862; George W. Chamberlain, 1865; Henry C. Thatcher, 1868; Lewis C. Rockwell, 1869; H. C. Alleman, 1873, and C. D. Bradley, 1875. The territorial secretaries after Elbert were Frank Hall, appointed in 1866, and reappointed in 1869 and 1873,[39] who was often virtually governor, and conducted the affairs of the executive office in a worthy manner, presiding over the legislature and defending the territory from Indian hostilities; John W. Jenkins, appointed in 1874; and John Taffe, appointed in 1875.[40] The history of Colorado

[37] Says Pitkin: 'His record is the most remarkable of any judge in the state. As a lawyer his character is irreproachable; he is an honest, upright judge, a man of great learning, and has shaped the law of Colorado.' *Political Views*, MS., 8; *Colo Pub. Doc.*, Set E.

[38] Brazee was born in N. Y. in 1826. During the civil war he was in the army, holding successively commissions as lieut, capt., and maj. of the 49th N. Y. regt. He also filled the office of judge advocate of the 2d division of the 6th army corps. In 1867 he was appointed brig.-gen. of the N. Y. Nat. Guards, 32d brigade. In 1871 he was appointed asst U. S. atty for the northern district of N. Y., which office he resigned to accept the appointment to Colorado.

[39] Frank Hall was born in N. Y., in 1836. In 1860 he came to Colorado, mining for 2 or 3 years at Spanish bar and Central City. In 1863 he was associated with O. J. Hollister in the Black Hawk *Mining Journal*. He was elected to the legislature in 1864. In 1865 he purchased an interest in the *Miner's Register*, at Central City, of which he was editor for ten years, when he removed to Denver and entered the office of the U. S. marshal as chief deputy. In 1878 he became managing editor of the *Daily Times*, from which position he retired to open the Great Western Mining Agency with Prof. J. Alden Smith, state geologist. During his editorial and official career he has done much to advance the material interests of Colorado.

[40] The territorial treasurers appointed by the executive were George T. Clark, 1861; Alexander W. Atkins, 1864; A. C. Hunt, 1866; John Wanless, 1866; Columbus Nuckolls, 1867, reappointed 1868; George T. Clark, 1870,

does not afford those scenes of discord among legislators and disrespect of officials which darken the record of some of the cotemporary territories.[41] Neither

reappointed 1872; David H. Moffat, 1874; and Frederick Z. Salomon, 1876. Auditors, Milton M. Delano, 1861; Richard E. Whitsitt, 1864, reappointed in 1866; Hiram J. Graham, 1866; Nathaniel F. Cheeseman, 1868; James B. Thompson, 1870, reappointed 1874; and Levin C. Charles, 1874, reappointed 1876. Sup'ts public instruction, William J. Curtice, 1861; William S. Walker, 1863; A. W. Atkins, 1865; John Wanless, 1866; Columbus Nuckolls, 1867 (the last three ex-officio as ter. treasurers); Wilbur C. Lathrop, 1870; and Horace M. Hale, 1872, reappointed in 1874 and 1876.

[41] The members of the 1st and 2d legislatures have been named heretofore. The 3d legislature, which met at Golden, Feb. 1, 1864, and adjourned to Denver on the 4th, consisted of councilmen Charles W. Mather, president; Amos Widner, Moses Hallett, Richard E. Whitsitt, Robert Berry, A. J. Van Deren, E. A. Johnson, William A. H. Loveland, Lewis Jones, R. O. Bailey, J. B. Doyle, C. Dominguez, and H. E. Esterday; representatives Jerome B. Chaffee, speaker; A. O. Patterson, David A. Chever, J. A. Koontz, John A. Nye, John H. Eames, David Ripley, James Kelley, Leon D. Judd, John Kipp, Alvin Marsh, Samuel Mallory, E. F. Holland, J. E. Leeper, M. C. White, John T. Lynch, Henry Henson, J. B. Stansell, Joel Wood, J. McCannon, Pablo Ortega, José Victor Garcia, N. W. Welton, B. J. McComas, L. D. Webster, and A. Z. Sheldon. Sec. of council, C. B. Haynes; asst sec. W. T. Reynolds; eng. clerk, E. C. Parmelee; enr. clerk, O. B. Brown; sergt-at-arms, C. A. Bartholomew.

The 4th legislature, which held its session at Golden, Jan. 2, 1865, was: council, J. Wentz Wilson, president; Amos Widner, Moses Hallett, Richard E. Whitsitt, George R. Mitchell, E. K. Baxter, Lewis Jones, William A. H. Loveland, H. L. Pearson, Robert Berry, Robert B. Willis, C. Dominguez, H. E. Esterday; representatives, L. H. Hash, speaker; Hiram J. Bredlinger, Rufus Clark, Baxter B. Stiles, F. M. Case, D. H. Nichols, A. O. Patterson, Thomas D. Worrall, Benjamin Lake, A. Mansur, C. M. Tyler, E. F. Holland, B. F. Pine, John T. Lynch, A. Hopkins, Wilbur F. Stone, James Thompson, C. North, J. G. Ehrhart, Miles M. Craig, O. H. P. Baxter. Sec. of council, Ozias Millett; asst sec., James O. Allen; enr. clerk, W. B. Felton; eng. clerk, W. Adams; sergt-at-arms, Marshall Silverthorne. Chief clerk of the house, C. H. Grover; eng. clerk, N. S. Hurd; enr. clerk, A. D. Cooper; sergt-at-arms, Henry Gibson.

The 5th legislature, convening at Golden, Jan. 1, 1866, and adjourning to Denver on the 4th, was composed as follows: council, Henry C. Leach, president, Joseph M. Marshall, John Q. Charles, George R. Mitchell, Ebenezer Smith, Benjamin Woodbury, William A. H. Loveland, Robert Douglas, George W. Mann, H. H. DeMary, O. H. P. Baxter, Jesus María Valasquez, George A. Hinsdale; house of representatives, E. Norris Stearns, speaker; B. F. Johnson, David Gregory, Louis F. Bartels, James F. Gardner, H. J. Graham, S. M. Breath, T. C. Bergen, Perley Dodge, Frank Hall, Columbus Nuckolls, C. M. Grimes, J. W. Watson, David J. Ball, B. R. Colvin, John Fosher, A. D. Bevan, George W. Norris, Thomas Keys, J. G. Ehrhart, José Gabriel Martine, M. Mandrigan, Jesus María Barela, Matt. Riddlebarger, William Lock, John W. Henry. Sec. of council, Charles G. Cox; asst sec., George H. Stillwell; eng. clerk, Benjamin P. Thompson; enr. clerk, N. F. Cheeseman; sergt-at-arms, Marshall Silverthorne. Chief clerk of house, C. J. McDivitt; enr. clerk, A. D. Cooper; eng. clerk, A. Hopkins; sergt-at-arms, Charles Bartholomew.

The 6th legislature, which convened at Golden Dec. 3, 1866, adjourned to Jan. 11, 1867. The council was the same as at the previous session, Robert Douglas president. The house consisted of E. L. Berthoud, speaker; Peter Winne, C. H. McLaughlin, Edwin Scudder J. E. Force, C. J. Goss, James

did it become notorious by defalcations in office in the formative period of its territorial existence, a character which the state has sustained.

The admission of Colorado as a state was the signal for a struggle for political control. Both parties organized, the republicans at Pueblo on the 23d of

S Doggett, J. E. Parkman, Columbus Nuckolls, E. T. Wells, J. Y. Glendinen, C. M. Grimes, Charles B. Patterson, R. W. Davis, Ziba Surles, W. W. Webster, Charles L. Hall, F. C. Morse, Julius C. Hughes, Jacob E. Ehrhart, Juan B. Lobato, S. Valdez, Juan Miguel Vijil, Matt. Riddlebarger, M. Mills Craig, W H. Young. Sec. of council, Robert Berry; asst sec. J. A. Miller: enr. clerk, N. F Cheeseman; eng. clerk, William B. Rines; sergt-at-arms, B. R. Wall. Chief clerk of house, C. J. McDivitt; asst clerk, W. J. Kram; eng. clerk, Root; enr. clerk, Grey; sergt-at-arms, E. H. Brown.

The 7th legislature convened at Golden Dec. 2, 1867, and adjourned to Denver on the 9th. The council consisted of William W. Webster president. James H Pinkerton, Amos Steck, Charles A. Cook, Hugh Butler, David D. Belden, J. Wellington Nesmith, William A. H. Loveland, E. Norris Stearns, Wi liam W. Webster, Julius C. Hughes, B. B. Field, Jesus María Velasquez, Francisco Sanchez; the house, of C. H. McLaughlin, speaker, H. Stratton, Baxter B. Stiles, J. E. Wurtzebach, G. W. Miller, H. L. Pearson, F. O. Sawin, T Haswell, D. M. Richards, S. F. Huddleston, C. R. Bissell, W. M. Slaughter, J. C. McCoy. J. E. Wharton, Stephen Decatur, J. A. Pierce, Ansel Bates, W. J. McDougal, J. Gilliland, B. Fowler, J. Lawrence, Pablo Ortega, Silverio Suaso, Thomas Suaso, Thomas Macon, E. T. Stone. Sec. of council, Ed C. Parmelee; asst sec., W. J. Kram; eng. clerk, E. R. Harris; enr. clerk, A. Hopkins; sergt-at-arms, Ziba Surles. Chief clerk of house, C. J. McDivitt; asst clerk, M. L. Horr; eng clerk, Joseph Sharratt; enr. clerk, A. Cree; asst enr. clerk, Charles F Leimer; sergt-at-arms, Wells.

The 8th legislature held its entire session at Denver, from Jan. 3, to Feb. 11, 1870. The council was the same as at the previous session, with the exception that George A. Hinsdale was president, and that Pinkerton's place was filled by Jesse M. Sherwood, and Belden's by Silas B. Hahn. The house consisted of George W. Miller speaker, Matthew S. Taylor, Samuel H. Elbert, H. B. Bearce, C C. Gird, John H. Wells, Allison H. De France, Thomas J. Graham, Thomas J. Campbell, H. E. Lyon, A. E. Lea, John F. Topping, John T. Lynch, D. B Myers, George W. Mann, A. D Bevan, C. M Mullen, J. G. Randall, D. L. Vandiver, J. C. Hall, Manuel Lucero, Clement Trujillo, William H. Meyer, Felipe Baca, William Sheppard, J. B. Rice Sec. council, A. O. Patterson; asst sec., George T. Clark; eng. clerk, J. E. Cobb; enr. clerk, Henry Bell; sergt-at-arms, E. T. Stone. Chief clerk of house, W. M. Slaughter; asst clerk, A. M. Barnard; eng clerk, A. M. McCrystal; enr. clerk, John D. McIntyre; sergt-at-arms, W. W. Remine

The 9th legislature held its session at Denver from Jan. 1 to Feb 9, 1872. The councilmen were George M. Chilcott president, Joseph E. Bates, Francis Gallup, William C Stover, Allison H. De France, Nathaniel P Hill, Benjamin W. Wisebart, Edward C. Parmelee, Madison W. Stewart, J. Marshall Paul, Jesus María Garcia, Silverio Suaso, José Victor Garcia. The representatives were Alvin Marsh speaker, Frederick Steinhauer, Isaac Bachellor, Clarence P. Elder, John G. Tilley, J. W. Bacon, B. H. Eaton, John D. Patrick, James P. Maxwell, Charles C. Welch, George E. Randolph, John F. Topping, W. W. Webster, James F. Gardner, Thomas O Boggs, J. M. Givens, B. F. Crowell, A. D. Cooper, John G. Randall, Casimiro Barela, Lorenzo A. Abeyta, Mariano Larrogoite, John A. Manzanares, Pedro Raphael Trujillo, José A. Valasquez, Francisco Sanchez. Sec. of council, Edward L. Salisbury; asst sec., Chase Withrow; eng clerk, E. H. Starrette; enr. clerk,

August, and the democrats at Manitou on the 29th, with full tickets for state officers. The election was held on the 3d of October, 30,000 votes being polled, the entire republican ticket for the executive and judicial departments being elected, with a republican majority in both houses of the legislature, and a rep-

S. N. Sanders; sergt-at-arms, Robert N. Daniels. Chief clerk of house, James G. Cooper; asst clerk, Joseph L. Boyd; eng clerk, Rollin Morrow; enr. clerk, C. W. Baldwin; sergt-at-arms, Uriah M. Curtis. A. W. Archibald successfully contested the seat of Abeyta.

The 10th legislature met at Denver Jan. 5, 1874. In the council were Madison W. Stewart president, H. P. H. Bromwell, R. G. Buckingham, Thomas Sprague, John B. Fitzpatrick, Hugh Butter, H. C. McCammon, William M. Clark, George M. Chilcott, Jarius W. Hall, Daniel L. Taylor, Juan B. Jaquez, Lafayette Head. In the house, David H. Nichols speaker, Frederick Steinhauer, Alfred Butters, R. S. Little, J. H. K. Uhlhorn, Joseph C. Shattuck, John McCutcheon, Levi Harsh, James P. Maxwell, David H. Nichols, Henry Paul, Bela S. Buell, William J. Buffington, Benjamin F. Napheys, Charles W. Perry, John W. Prowers, Joseph C. Wilson, William Moore, Joseph Hutchinson, William A. Amsbury, Mariano Larragoite, Casimiro Barela, Alexander H. Taylor, J. A. J. Valdez, William H. Meyer, Manuel S. Salazar, Juan Esquibel. Sec. of council, Foster Nichols; asst sec., D. C. Limberger; enr. clerk, George H. F. Work; sergt-at-arms, George R. Ward. Chief clerk of house, Joseph T. Boyd; asst clerk, E. P. Drake; eng clerk, J. A. Koontz; sergt-at-arms, O. H. Henry.

The 11th legislature convened Jan. 3, 1876, at Denver. The council consisted of Adair Wilson president, Bela M. Hughes, Baxter B. Stiles, B. H. Eaton, John C. Hummel, Silas B. Hahn, E. L. Salisbury, Robert S. Morrison, Andrew D. Wilson, James Rice, James Clelland, P. A. McBride, Silverio Suaso; the house, of Alfred Butters speaker, Edmund L. Smith, Edward Pisko, W. B. Mills, Norman H. Meldrum, J. C. McCowan, M. N. Everett, David C. Patterson, George Rand, John C. McShane, Frederick Kruse, William Larned, John H. Yonley, J. M. Nimerick, Frank Bingham, Albinus J. Sheldon; H. O. Rettberg, James Y. Marshall, I. N. Peyton, Donaciano Gurule, Nicauora D. Jarramilla, Mauricio Apadaca, Herman Duhme, Jr, Francisco Sanchez, T. M. Trippe, Reuben J. McNutt. Sec. of council James T. Smith; asst sec., Frank Fassett; eng clerk, James D. Henry; enr. clerk, William Barchert; sergt-at-arms, J. A. J. Bigler. Chief clerk of the house, Joseph T. Boyd; asst clerk, C. L. Peyton; eng clerk, James W. Galloway; enr. clerk, W. B. Dickinson; sergt-at-arms, James D. Wood.

The legislature of 1865, which convened at Golden Dec. 12th, under the state constitution framed that year, but vetoed by the president, adjourned to Denver on the 16th, and sine die on the 19th. The senate was composed of George A. Hinsdale president, Leander M. Black, Charles A. Cook, L. B. McLain, Truman Whitcomb, L. L. Bedell. A. G. Langford, W. A. H. Loveland, James Castello, Adam B. Cooper, H. H. De Mary, John W. Henry, Jesus M. Velazquez, J. L. Casper. The house of representatives was composed of D. P. Wilson speaker, A. Lumry, Robert L Hatten, G. H. Greenslit, William Garrison, D. G. Peabody, A. Wright, T C. Bergen, David H. Nichols, Isaac Whicker, Jason E. Scobey, Stephen Goodall, Lyman W Chase, Charles B. Patterson, B. R. Colvin, James A. Pierce, Aaron Hopkins, George W. Lechmer, Charles L. Hall, Thomas Keys, F. C. Hughes, Pedro Arragon, José Gabriel Martine, Pedro Lobato, Matt. Riddlebarger, George A. Bates. Sec. of the senate, John Walker; asst sec., Edwin H. Brown, sergt-at-arms, H. B. Haskell. Chief clerk of the house, L. H. Shepherd; asst clerk, C. J. McDivitt; sergt-at-arms, Charles Bartholomew. *Corbett, Legis. Manual*, 226–7.

resentative to the forty-fourth congress, while the democrats elected a representative to the forty-fifth congress.[42] John L. Routt was chosen governor, Lafayette Head[43] lieutenant-governor. William G. Clark[44] secretary of state, D. C. Crawford[45] auditor, George C. Corning[46] treasurer, A. J. Sampson[47]

[42] It is not a little singular that, for the second time, Patterson was elected to represent Colorado in congress through a blunder of the dominant party. The territorial secretary had ordered an election for representatives for the 44th congress, to be held on the 3d of Oct., and another election for the 45th congress on the 7th of Nov. But the people voted for James B. Belford for both congresses on the 3d of Oct, thinking to save themselves trouble. On the 7th of Nov., however, the democrats voted, and elected Patterson by almost the entire vote The canvassing board refused to count it, but after a long contest in congress, Patterson gained his seat, and was, as he had been before, a useful representative

[43] Lafayette Head was born in Mo. in 1825, enlisted in the 2d regt, Mo. vol., and fought in the battles of La Canado, Embudo, Taos, and Santa Clara springs. After the peace he settled in New Mexico as a merchant at Abiquiú, and was appointed U. S. marshal of the northern district of that territory for three years. In 1861 he was sheriff of Rio Arriba co. for two years, and was elected to the legislature from that co. in 1863. In 1855 he was commissioned a lieut in Col St Vrain's regt of volunteers, which served 6 months against the Utes and Apaches. The following year he was elected from Taos to the legislature, and was subsequently chosen to fill a vacancy in the council, of which he was president in 1857. He received the appointment of special agent for the Utes and Apaches in 1859, holding the office 9 years. He was elected councilman in the Colorado legislature from Conejos co. in 1874, and delegate to the constitutional convention in 1875. He received 14,191 votes, against 13,093 given to the opposing candidate, Michael Beshoar, for lieut-gov.

[44] William G. Clark was born in Pa, enlisted in 1861 as a private in company F, 28th regt, afterward E of the 47th regt, Pa volunteers. He was captain of his company when he was mustered out in 1865. He came to Colorado in 1866, settling in Clear Creek co., and engaging in mining, soon becoming known, and being elected to be supt of schools, appointed clerk of the district court, elected member of the legislature, appointed brig.-gen. of militia, and elected a member of the constitutional convention. He received at the first state election 14,582 votes, against 12,843 for James T. Smith, democrat.

[45] David C. Crawford was a native of Canada, removed to Mich. and Wis., and in 1860 came to Colorado. He first engaged in mining in Gilpin and Boulder counties, in 1862 in merchandising in Park co., and in 1865 in farming in Jefferson co. He was elected clerk and recorder for the latter county in 1867, and afterward opened a real estate and insurance office, becoming in 1875 proprietor of the Crawford house at Colorado Springs. He married Amanda J Thornton of Golden. His opponent for the office of auditor was J. F. Benedict, whom he beat by 922 votes.

[46] George C. Corning was born in Ohio in 1837, organized the bank of Topeka, Kansas, in 1868, and in 1870 settled at Boulder in Colorado, where he opened a bank. The republican vote for treasurer stood 14,038 against 13,310 for Thomas M. Field, democrat

[47] Archibald J Sampson was born in Ohio, and entered the union army in 1861. He was promoted to a captaincy, but at Hatcher's Run, Va, was disabled for life and discharged. He then studied law in the Cleveland law school, beginning to practise in 1866 at Sedalia, Mo., and married the

attorney-general, Joseph C. Shattuck [48] superintendent of public instruction. James B. Belford [49] was elected representative in the forty-fourth and forty-fifth congresses, although his seat in the latter was successfully contested by Thomas M. Patterson, owing to a misapprehension concerning the day of election.

On the 1st of November the General Assembly of the state of Colorado convened at noon. On the 3d, Judge Brazee administered the oath of office to the executive officers. Early in the session two United States senators were chosen—Jerome B. Chaffee and Henry M. Teller [50]—and three presidential electors, Herman Beckurts, W. L. Hadley, and Otto Mears. The assembly did not adjourn until March 20, 1877.

Three judges of the supreme court were elected by the people; namely, Henry C. Thatcher, Samuel H. Elbert, and Ebenezer T. Wells, Thatcher drawing the short term of three years, which made him the first chief justice,[51] Elbert the six years' term and the

daughter of Judge Allen C. Turner of his native town the same year. He declined office in Mo., and the consulate of Palestine, but was presidential elector in 1872. He came to Colorado in 1874, settling at Cañon City in the practice of his profession, until elected attorney-general of the new state, against G. Q. Richmond, by 963 votes.

[48] Joseph C. Shattuck was born in N. H. in 1835, and educated at the Westminster seminary, Vt, and Wesleyan university, Conn., but without completing the course. He married Hattie M. Knight of Marlborough in 1858, and migrated to Mo., where he was a teacher. In 1870 he came to Colorado with the Greeley colony, of which he was vice-president and manager. He was elected to the legislature from Weld co. in 1874. His majority over G. B. Groesbeck, democrat, in 1876, was 1,831.

[49] James B. Belford was born in Pa, and came to Colorado in 1870, having been appointed associate justice of the supreme court, which position he held until the admission of the state.

[50] *U. S. Official Register*, 1877, 2. Teller drew the long term ending 1883. He was born in N. Y. in 1830, and practised law in Ill. He had been a republican since the organization of the party, and taken part in the campaign of 1860 for Lincoln. In 1861 he came to Colorado, settling at Central City in the practice of his profession, in partnership with H. A. Johnson, and subsequently with his brother, Willard Teller. He was appointed by Gov. Evans maj.-gen. of the territorial militia in 1863. He organized in 1865 the Colorado Central railroad company, of which he was for five years president, and has promoted many business enterprises. In the U. S. senate he distinguished himself, while laboring for Colorado, by his report on the election frauds in southern states, which he, as chairman of a committee, was forced to investigate. He was also chairman of the senate committee on civil service reform.

[51] Henry C. Thatcher was born in Pa in 1842, completed his law studies in the Albany university, from which he graduated in 1866, coming directly

chief justiceship for three years, and Wells the term for nine years. Wells was a man of fine character and ability, but resigned soon after election. The bar of Colorado, in convention, nominated Wilbur F. Stone to fill the vacancy, a nomination which met the hearty approval of the public, and which was confirmed at the next general election. Four district judges were elected for six years; namely, William E. Beck, Victor A. Elliott, John W. Henry, and Thomas M. Bowen, in the order in which they are here given. The attorneys for the four districts were Edward O. Wolcott, David B. Graham, James M. Waldron, and Columbus W. Burris. A full set of regents for the university, trustees of the school of mines, managers of the penitentiary, trustees of the deaf and mute institute, and members of the state board of agriculture, were also elected, such was the care of those having affairs in charge that the state should commence its career in the possession of all its dignities.

The population of Colorado, when admitted, was 135,000, the disproportion of the sexes remarked upon a decade earlier having in a great degree become adjusted. Its boundaries remained the same. Its assessed valuation, exclusive of untaxable mining property, amounted, in real and personal property, to $44,130,205. Upon this the legislature fixed the limit of taxation, for all purposes, at twenty-three mills. In 1879 the state tax had been reduced to one and a half mills on the dollar, while the local taxes were correspondingly reduced. There was no funded debt, and the floating indebtedness was small, owing to a clause in the constitution prohibiting the state,

to Colorado, and settling at Pueblo. He was appointed, in 1868, U. S. atty for the district of Colorado, holding the office but little more than a year, when he resigned. He was an active member of the constitutional convention in 1875, being chairman of several of the most important committees. In person he was six feet in height, with bright blue eyes, and possessed of genial manners. 'Thatcher,' says Pitkin, 'made one of the ablest judges ever on the bench. He declined reëlection. He died at San Francisco, while on a visit there, at the age of 41, of Bright's disease.' *Political Views*, MS., 8; *Hallett's Courts, Law, and Litigation*, MS.

counties, or cities from loaning their credit. These were magnificent measures for a young commonwealth to adopt.

The public lands received through the enabling act were the 500,000 acres granted to all the new states by the law of 1841; 50 sections for the erection of public buildings; 50 sections for a penitentiary; 72 sections for a state university; six sections adjacent to twelve salt springs; the sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections for common school purposes, besides the usual five per centum of the proceeds of the sale of agricultural public lands to be applied to internal improvements. I have shown how this dower of some of the north-western states was wasted. Governor Routt had witnessed the same fraudulent use of the school and other lands in Illinois, Iowa, and Nebraska. The constitution of Colorado made the governor and secretary a board to select the state lands. To their everlasting honor, instead of squandering these lands upon party favorites, they labored to make them produce the highest amount for the purposes for which they were intended. The plan adopted was not to offer the school lands for sale, the chief part being so situated as not to be irrigable, and therefore not worth more than the minimum price of $2.50 an acre, but to lease them for an amount equal to the interest on their present value, and hold them for pasturage, or for any purposes. It was found they brought between $40,000 and $50,000 annual rental. Seventy-eight miles of land along the Republican river was also entered for the state. The legislature then passed a bill authorizing the sale of alternate sections of state land, the purchasers contracting to construct ditches of sufficient capacity to water their land and the state land through which the ditch was carried. By this means also the value of the unsold land was raised in some situations to $30 per acre, and the school lands of Colorado acquired a value of many millions more than they were worth when the state

received them. Wisely the public institutions of the state, instead of being supported by legislative appropriations offering temptations to jobbing members, are sustained by a direct tax for the purpose designed. The result of this care for the public funds is the rapid accomplishment of those beneficent objects for which the gifts of the general government were intended or for which the state is taxed.

The successor of Routt in the executive office was Frederick W. Pitkin, during whose administration the Ute war took place, of which I shall speak in another place. A serious riot in Leadville and another in Denver were the chief events in 1879–80. In the former instance martial law was proclaimed in Leadville to bring to reason the miners who had organized a strike, and suspended every branch of business. It was expected that the governor's action would destroy all chance of his reëlection; but such proved not to be the case. During his first term he had become a sort of Admirable Crichton to the people, and if he lost any of his former influence in his second term, it was through being a candidate for the United States senatorship and having active rivals in the race. The lieutenant-governor during his administration was Horace A. W. Tabor,[52] and the secretary of state N. H. Meldrum.[53] Belford was elected rep-

[52] Tabor was elected lieut-gov. in 1878, and became such for Pitkin's second term by succession, the vice-governor elect, George B. Robinson, having been assassinated, and the president of the senate by law succeeding him.

[53] Frederick W. Pitkin was born in Manchester, Conn., in 1837 of an honorable line of ancestry, the Pitkins and Griswolds of Conn., and educated at the Wesleyan university of Middleton, from which he graduated in 1858. He studied law at the Albany law school, and after graduating removed to Milwaukee, Wis., in 1860, where he enjoyed a lucrative practice until failing health compelled him to seek a change of climate. He visited Europe in 1873, and subsequently Florido without benefit, and in 1874 came to Colorado, where he has obtained a degree of health which has enabled him to reëngage in business pursuits. George B. Robinson was assassinated Nov. 27, 1880, a few weeks after his election, under the following circumstances: Some miners had taken offence at certain tyrannies practised by the manager of the Robinson consolidated mine in Summit co., and Robinson had been appealed to for the removal of the obnoxious manager without effect, he having no power to remove without the consent of the other trustees. On the evening of the 27th Robinson, with two other men, visited the mine, and was challenged by the guard, who hearing no answer, discharged his gun. An autopsy, how-

resentative to congress in 1878, by a majority of more than 2,000 over the democratic candidate, Patterson, and twice reëlected, his majority at his last election being 2,737 over the democratic candidate, Wallace. In 1884 George G. Symes was elected representative in congress.

The governor who succeeded Pitkin was James B. Grant, a man of large means, fine ability,[54] educated, methodical, even-tempered, and strong enough to act upon his own convictions. He was the first democrat honored with an election to the executive office.[55] The lieutenant-governor elected with him was William H. Meyers. Grant was succeeded by Benjamin H. Eaton, elected in 1884,[56] a man of strong and quiet character, and acquainted with the history and the requirments of the country. The lieutenant-governor elected with Eaton was P. W. Breene. Na-

ever, revealed a number of wounds from bullets and shots fired from a position in the rear, while the guard swore that he fired upward in such a manner as not to have hit the murdered man. Other testimony confirmed the suspicion of foul play. He came to Colorado in 1877 from Mich., and engaged in wholesale and retail grocery business. He was a man of education and culture, and was worth $2,000,000. *Denver Tribune*, Nov. 28, 1880.

[54] James B. Grant was born in Ala, in 1848. On the breaking out of the civil war, although but 13 years of age, he joined the confederate army, spending several months in the field, after which he went to reside with his uncle, Judge Grant, of Davenport, Iowa, who sent him to the agricultural college of that state, where he spent 6 years, subsequently taking a course at the university of Cornell, and finishing his education by travel and study in a German university.

[55] *Routt's Territory and State*, MS., 6. Grant's opponent, E. L. Campbell, was defeated by political legerdemain, though it was said it was on account of unfitness. He was fairly nominated in the republican convention. Among the candidates for nomination was H. R. Wolcott, asst manager of the Argo Smelting works, of which N. P. Hill was manager. Chaffee was chairman of the republican state committee, and Hill, who was in the U. S. senate, and who had been opposed by Chaffee, wished to defeat his measures and lessen his power, in order to get an enemy out of the way before the next senatorial contest. Hill and Wolcott, with their friends, bolted from the republican party with the object of weakening Chaffee, rather than with regard to the fitness of the candidate for governor. It was fortunate that their antagonism elected so good a man, and unfortunate that the reason they gave for it was prejudicial to the defeated candidate.

[56] Benjamin Harrison Eaton was born in Ohio in 1834, and brought upon a farm. Being ambitious he studied and taught school until the Pike's peak fever carried him to Colorado. He began mining in California gulch, but soon turned his attention to farming, being the first settler near the town of Greeley. He later owned and cultivated 7,000 acres of land, all of which he irrigated. Irrigation in Colorado owes much to him. He was also interested in cattle raising and mining.

thaniel P. Hill was chosen in 1879 to succeed Chaffee in the United States senate.[51] His services to the state during six years in the senate were not unimportant. He secured the removal of the White river and Uncompahgre Utes to Utah, and the opening of the reservation to settlement, which added 12,000,000 acres of land to the wealth of the state. He obtained a land office at Gunnison for the convenience of settlers on these lands; an appropriation of $20,000 to bore artesian wells in the arid regions of the state; the exchange of such sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections of school land as fell in the mineral regions for agricultural land; $300,000 to erect a United States court-house in Denver; improvements in the mining law, enabling miners to make adverse claims before the clerk of the district where they happened to be, instead of in the district where the claim was located, as before, and also enabling them to take the oath of citizenship without the trouble and expense of a journey to some distant point; made Denver a port of delivery, enabling merchants to import direct from foreign countries through the seaports; secured the Hot Spring reservation to settlers; procured authority for the postmaster-general to extend mail facilities in rapidly increasing settlements without waiting for congressional action; and secured on increased rate of fees in certain cases where the old law worked a hardship to witnesses in the United States courts. Nor was his labor given altogether to local affairs, but he combatted the great land stealing corporations, which upon one pretense and another were wheedling congress out of the public domain; he labored for the

[51] *Colo Jour. House*, 1879, 111–12. Hill was born in Orange co., N. Y., in 1832, and brought up on a farm, of which he was left in charge at the age of 16 years. He was the son of an old-time democrat, who had represented his county in the general assembly, and held the office of county judge, and notwithstanding unusual responsibilities for his years, found time to fit himself for college which he entered at the age of 21, at Brown university, Providence, R. I. In 1856 he was made tutor in the chemical department, and in 1860 professor of chemistry, a calling which led directly to his usefulness in and his connection with Colorado, as has already been indicated in the history of mining.

postal telegraph bill, for a tariff on wool, and for a better national financial policy. But nothing more commended him to the people of Colorado than his attitude on the silver question, as the advocate of a bi-metallic currency. Upon this subject he became the peer of senators Stewart and Jones of Nevada, and many republicans desired his reëlection in 1884[58] on this ground. But having in 1882 used some political weapons against a rival, these were turned upon himself at last, cutting him off from a career for which he was well qualified. Henry M. Teller, senator from 1877 to 1883, was appointed to the cabinet when Arthur came to the presidency. To fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Teller, Governor Pitkin appointed George M. Chilcott, who had been prominently before the legislature in 1879 as candidate with Hill for the senatorship. In the contest for the appointment in 1883 the principal candidates were Routt, Tabor, and Bowen, three millionaires, and each fought hard for the position, but Pitkin chose Chilcott. Pitkin himself was an aspirant, and the political gossips said that a strong pressure was brought to bear upon the governor by the others, they promising that if his choice should fall upon one of them for the appointment they would use their influence with the legislature when it met to have him elected to the senate. Pitkin, however, resisted the combination, which punished him by defeating him when he became openly a candidate. Tabor was elected for the thirty days remaining of the Teller-Chilcott term, and

[58] *Denver Tribune*, Oct. 26, 1884; *Senate Miscel.*, 47th cong. 2d sess., i. no. 8, p. 10. A silver congress was held at Denver in January 1885, to which Belford and Symes were delegates from Colorado. The points laid down in the resolutions were 1st the doctrine of bi-metalism, as embodied in the U. S. laws previous to 1873; 2d that the interests of trade demanded free coinage at the existing standard; 3d a demand that congress should withdraw from circulation $1 and $2 bills; 4th censure of the secretaries of the treasury for unlawful evasions of the provisions of the Bland bill; 5th a demand for amendments to the National bank act, compelling them to keep 15 per cent of their legal reserve in silver; 6th that congress should restore silver to its ancient and rightful equality with gold in respect to coinage, and asking protection for the silver industry.

Thomas M. Bowen of Del Norte for the term from 1883 to 1889.[59] The legislature in 1885 elected Teller to succeed Hill, who had now a strong combination against him. A large amount of money was used in the struggle for place, and the people of Colorado begun to question whether it was well that the capitalists of the state should decide political preferment. The election of 1884, which gave the first democratic president in twenty-four years was strongly republican, the plurality for Blaine being nearly 9,000. The presidential electors chosen were F. C. Goudy of Gunnison, F. F. Obiston of Idaho Springs, and B. F. Crowell of Colorado Springs. Goudy was chosen as the messenger to carry the certificate to Washington. Some amendments were made to the constitution of the state at this election by a majority of nearly 11,000.

Of the justices of the supreme court elected in 1876, only Elbert in 1886 was on the bench. Wells, who drew the nine years' term, resigned after serving one year, and Wilbur F. Stone was elected to fill the vacancy. Elbert, whose term expired in 1882, was elected in 1885 to succeed Stone. He will go out of office in 1897. Thatcher, whose term expired in 1879, was succeeded by William E. Beck. The judge who took the bench at the expiration of Elbert's first term was Joseph C. Helm, who will go out of office in 1891. The supreme judges are not nominated by political parties, but by the bar association, and the character of the Colorado courts has seldom been as-

[59] Thomas M. Bowen, born in Iowa in 1835, elected to the lower house of the legislature at the age of 21 years. He served in the union army from 1861 to 1865, first as captain of Neb. volunteers, 1st regiment, afterward as colonel of the 13th Kansas infantry, and lastly as brevet brigadier-general in the army of the frontier, and later in the 7th army corps. After the war he was justice of the supreme court of Arkansas for four years, and accepted the executive appointment for Idaho in 1871, but resigned and returned to Arkansas, where he was defeated for the U. S. senate by S. W. Dorsey. He came to Colorado in 1875, resumed the practise of law, and was elected judge of the 4th judicial district on the admission of the state, and held the office for 4 years. He engaged in large mining enterprises and became wealthy. In 1882 he was elected to the state legislature which made him senator.

sailed. The most serious accusation ever made was against the United States judges in the case of a strike among the employés of the Denver and Rio Grande railroad, in May 1885, under the direction of the knights of labor, some members of which order had been dismissed from the company's service. Arms were carried by a part of the strikers, when persuading their associates to desist from labor, and although no violence was offered, the fact of arms having been shown was considered as sufficient evidence of the intent. The men were arrested, tried for contempt, and imprisoned from three to six months. The charges brought by the knights of labor against the judges were that the receiver of the road was appointed by one of them; that the men arrested were not allowed to call witnesses, unless they paid the expenses, which would be over $160 each, or swore that they were paupers, neither of which could they do. That they had not been tried by a jury; but that in fact the judge had made the complaint, tried, and sentenced them without a hearing, being at the same time concerned in the road, thereby construing the law in the interest of a rich corporation against the constitutional rights of other men. The order made threats of impeachment when congress should meet.

Whether or not there was found sufficient proof to sustain the complaint of the knights of labor in this case, it is evident that the danger which threatens society is the overweening influence of wealth. The temptation to men who have acquired millions, rightfully or wrongfully, in a few years is to consider themselves better than their neighbors, and less regardful of the rights of men. At bribery or any moral or political corruption they do not hesitate. They would constitute themselves a privileged class, and return toward feudalism by surrounding themselves with the largest number of dependents in the form of ill-paid laborers, that being the only form of

serfdom at present known under our government. How long they can maintain that position in political economy and ethics will depend upon the nerve of the working classes to resist the tendency; and nowhere is the struggle more apparent than in mining states, not even in manufacturing states, where tender childhood is pressed into the service of the capitalist, and made to earn its daily bread at the sacrifice of its future manhood and womanhood.

It is difficult to determine which class exercises the more baneful influence upon public morals, the low ignorant foreigner, or the unprincipled monied monopolist. But aside from these, Colorado has a larger proportion of men of culture among its men of business and affairs than any of the intra-montane commonwealths; and, in proportion to its population, more college bred men than most of the older states. In its people, its climate, its impressive scenery, natural wealth, and liberal institutions it is altogether a noble state, needing no encomiums from its historian other than the simple narrative of the achievements of its founders.

CHAPTER VII.

INDIAN WARS.

1860–1880.

TRIBES AND TREATIES—ABORIGINAL BRIGANDAGE—UNRECORDED OUTRAGES OF THE WHITE MEN—APPROPRIATIONS—WHITE FORCE IN THE FIELD—THE COLORADO REGIMENTS—DEPREDATIONS ON THE OVERLAND MAIL COMPANY—COMMUNICATION CUT OFF—THE SAND CREEK MASSACRE—CHIVINGTON CENSURED BY CONGRESS, BUT THANKED BY THE PEOPLE OF COLORADO—FORTS AND RESERVATIONS—WEST OF THE MOUNTAINS WIDE-SPREAD HOSTILITIES AND BATTLES.

WHEN the territory of Colorado was organized, its governor and Indian superintendent found there several powerful tribes, with which the government had already had dealings. As early as September 17, 1851, a treaty was made at Fort Laramie with the Ogalalah and Brulé Sioux, and the Arapahoes and Cheyennes, by which the country claimed by them should be included within the following limits; commencing at Red Buttes, on the south side of the north fork of the Platte river, at the crossing of the immigrant road, following this stream to its source in the Rocky mountains, thence along their summits to the head waters of the Arkansas river, down the Arkansas to the crossing of the Santa Fé trail, thence northwesterly to the forks of the Platte, and up the north branch to the place of beginning. It was estimated that the area contained in the Upper Platte agency, as it was called, was 122,500 square miles, while the population did not exceed 5,500, not more than 2,000 of these being warriors. The treaty required them to keep in their own country, to avoid

wars with the neighboring tribes, to refrain from robbing travellers, and for this righteousness they were to receive annuities, to be distributed at Fort Laramie. Of the region here designated, the Sioux and one band of Cheyennes ranged the portion lying north of the present state of Colorado, while the Cheyennes and Arapahoes occupied the country next the Arkansas.

That part of the country south of the Arkansas was traversed by the Kiowas, Apaches, and Comanches, with whom a treaty, similar to the Laramie treaty, had been made in 1853, but with whom the government had now and then occasion to display armed force, in order to punish or prevent depredations upon persons and property upon the Santa Fé trail, which was traversed by the caravans of the Santa Fé traders, the supply trains en route to the military posts in New Mexico, the United States mail for California, and frequent companies of immigrants and travellers. These Indians also were looked after by the incumbent of the Platte agency.

That portion of Colorado lying west of the Rocky mountains was inhabited by the Utes, branches of which great nation extended to the Sierra Nevada, as I have shown. In Colorado there were three divisions; two in the southern portion yearly presented with goods at the New Mexico agencies, but the more northern tribes were still wild and shy, although numerous and warlike. The whole number was estimated at 10,000.

It would have required greater diplomacy than the average superintendent of Indian affairs can command to adjust the yoke of civilization to the necks of 15,000 free-born American savages without galling. The task was made more difficult by the animosity between the Utes of the mountains and the Arapahoes and Cheyennes of the plains; but in a double degree by the feeling already engendered by the action of the military in punishing the plains people for attacks

on travellers.[1] And, while the retaliations of the savages are written in letters of blood, the outrages of the white men upon the Indians must go forever unrecorded.

In June 1860 congress appropriated $35,000 for the purpose of making a new treaty with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and also with the Kiowas and Comanches, who for three years previous had occupied the country on the south side of the Arkansas, which was crossed by the Santa Fé trail, to the peril of travellers. Commissioner A. B. Greenwood arrived

[1] The history of aboriginal brigandage on the plains has never been written, and only now and then related, in part as a frontier experience, to enliven some traveller's tale. From the authorities in my possession I learn that following the Mexican war certain tribes made an alliance to war on the traffic of the Santa Fé trail. They succeeded in cutting off the connections between the troops in New Mexico and their base of supplies in the United States. In 1847 the southern Utes were pursued into Fremont county by Mexican troops, and, making a stand in the defile of the Arkansas above Cañon City, sustained a heavy loss; hence the name of the gorge, Ute cañon. Londoner relates that 8 out of a party of 9 trappers were murdered by the Utes in California gulch in 1854. *Colorado Mining Camps*, MS., 8. On Christmas day of that year all the inhabitants at the Pueblo, on the Arkansas river, were massacred in a drunken revel by a wandering band of Utes, who had been invited to partake of the hospitalities of the season. *Thomb's Mex. Colo*, MS., 1–3. The authorities differ as to whether there were 17 or 29 of the victims, all of whom were Mexicans. In 1855 I find the troops from Fort Massachusetts, now Fort Garland, pursuing and punishing the Utes of southern Colorado, for their raids into New Mexico. When en route to the Platte agency point of distribution, with annuity goods in 1854, the agent met at the crossing of the Arkansas from 1,200 to 1,500 lodges of Kiowas, Comanches, Osages, Arapahoes, and Cheyennes, being a war party en route to wipe out, as they expressed it, all frontier Indians on the plains. When near the Kansas River they were defeated by 100 Sacs and Foxes, in a three hours' battle. The Mexicans of New Mexico were their chief source of supply, and as long as these could be made to furnish horses, mules, and captives to the United States Indians, with which they carried on a profitable trade among themselves, they were comparatively well-behaved towards travellers on the great western highways; but when New Mexico became a part of the United States, and they were forbidden to rob and kill its people, they quarrelled with those tribes who made and observed treaties, and began robbing and killing anywhere to make up the loss.

In 1855 Agent Thomas S. Twiss, on arriving on the ground, found that the Arapahoes had been charged with killing cattle and sheep to the amount of $15,000, which would stop their annuity for some years. They admitted the thefts, but excused them on the plea of sickness in their band, and famine consequent on not being able to go after buffalo, and submitted cheerfully to the loss of their annuities. A war was going on between the United States troops, under Harney, and the Sioux, which had put an end to Indian trade in buffalo skins, etc,. so that the prospect looked dark for the coming winter. In March 1856, Harney entered into a peace treaty with all the Sioux of the plains, which was intended to restore the former equilibrium in affairs; or, rather, he proposed to improve the condition of the Sioux and other tribes by teaching them agriculture. But before the plan could be carried out a

at Fort Wise—formerly Bent's fort—about the middle of September, but finding only the Arapahoes on the ground, appointed A. G. Boone special agent to carry out the intentions of the government, and returned to Washington. In February 1861 Boone concluded a treaty with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, by which one third of the area claimed by them between the South fork of the Platte and Arkansas rivers was ceded to the United States. Their reser-

collision occurred at Platte bridge, beyond Laramie, where a company of troops were stationed to protect immigrants to California and Oregon. The commandant accused the Cheyennes of having stolen some horses which they had in their possession, and imprisoned them. The savages attempting escape were fired at and one killed. Later the Cheyennes were attacked by a body of United States troops, and six killed. They then sued for peace, which was granted. Nevertheless, some of them continuing hostile, Colonel E. V. Sumner, with United States troops, in July 1857, destroyed their principal village. Meanwhile the agent coming to Bent's fort with annuity goods, and desiring to leave them there, Bent refused, but finally rented the place to the government, fearing to remain.

On the 18th of August Sumner arrived at the fort, when he ordered the goods distributed to the Arapahoes. In 1859 W. W. Bent was appointed agent for the upper Arkansas. His extensive acquaintance with the Indian tribes gave him an influence over them which a stranger could not have had. In Bent's report for this year he remarks that the Kiowas and Comanches, being driven out of Texas, had for 2 years appeared in full numbers and for long periods upon the Arkansas, and were then permanently occupying the country between the Canadian and Arkansas rivers, with 2,500 warriors; and that so soon as the troops were withdrawn from Fort Riley, a post erected in the region of the Arkansas river in 1852, they had assumed a threatening attitude, for which reason he considered it essential to have two permanent posts for troops, one at the mouth of Pawnee fork, and one at Big Timbers, both on the Arkansas, for the protection of travellers upon that route, that since the gold discovery had become numerous. And this he urged for the sake of the Indians themselves, who were being gradually advanced upon from all sides, and who should be brought into subjection and treated with, to the end that they might be assigned reservations and assisted in learning to support themselves by agriculture and stock-raising. Fort Larned was thereupon established at the mouth of Pawnee fork, and Bent's fort purchased and converted into an army post, under the name of Fort Wise. This year the Utes killed J. L. Shank and J. L. Kennedy in the South park, and a party of 7 unknown men, with 12 horses, in a gulch, to which from this circumstance was given the name of Dead Men's gulch. Byers, in *Dead Men's Gulch*, MS., 1.

In June 1860 a large number of Arapahoes and Apaches, with a few Sioux, met at Denver, and organized an expedition against the Utes. They entered the Ute country midway between Platte cañon and the present town of Morrison, the Ute village being near where the Platte leaves the South park. The Arapahoes were repulsed, and returned to Denver with 5 dead and 32 wounded. Another expedition, organized soon after, fled back in confusion, alarming the white population by representing that the Utes were assembled in great numbers, prepared to attack them, which, as they were encamped in the heart of Denver, was certainly not to be desired, but the alarm proved groundless. Such was the attitude of Indian affairs in Colorado at the period of its settlement.

vation was bounded westward by a line drawn north and south from the mouth of the Huerfano, in what is now Pueblo county; but they did not keep upon it. Meanwhile some of the Arapahoes and Cheyennes who had not been present at the treaty of February, made that an excuse for nullifying it; and the Kiowas and Comanches, who had accepted annuities, had committed depredations in 1862 which called for the interference of troops. Further than this, civil war now came on, and the savages were not willing that the civilized men should have all the battling and butchering to themselves.[2]

The only force in the territory during the summer of this year was the 2d Colorado regiment, commanded by Colonel J. H. Leavenworth. The Indians kept the recruits in practice. In August the headquarters of the regiment was removed from Denver to Fort Lyon, as Fort Wise was now called, where in January 1863 they were joined by the 1st Colorado cavalry, under Chivington. In April the 2d regiment was ordered to Fort Leavenworth, and in June to Fort Larned, to protect the Santa Fé road and watch the Texans, with whom they fought the battle of Cabin creek on the 2d of July, inflicting a loss of forty killed and wounded, with but one man killed and twenty wounded on the side of the Coloradans. These troops, with a few hundred others, on the 16th fought another battle in Kansas, in which the confederates lost 400 killed, wounded, and missing, the loss on their side being 14 killed and 30 wounded. Soon after the 2d regiment was ordered away from Colorado, Governor Evans was directed to raise a third, which was marched to the States as soon as organized. The 2d and 3d regiments were consolidated in October 1863, and formed the 2d Colorado cavalry, which was kept continually moving until the spring of 1865.[3]

[2] See *Fowler's Woman's Experience in Colorado*, MS.; *Gilpin's Pioneers of 1842*, MS.; *Howbert's Indian Troubles*, MS.; *Rocky Mountain News*, passim.

[3] *Chivington's First Colorado Regiment*, MS., 13; *Prescott's Through Cañon De Shea*, MS., 4; *Byers' Hist. Colo*, MS., 85; *Evans, Interview*, MS., passim.

The first regiment remaining in Colorado was the only armed force in the country north of Fort Garland; and, notwithstanding treaties and negotiations conducted with great care and at a great expense, there was a general insolence among the treaty Indians which boded no good. In 1864 affairs culminated. A combination was effected between the several bands of Sioux and all the plains Indians of Colorado and south of the Arkansas in Kansas, to attempt the expulsion or extermination of the white population. Their first overt act in Colorado was to replenish their commissary department by taking 175 cattle frm the herd of Irwin and Jackman, government contractors, who were encamped with their stock in Bijou basin, forty miles south-east of Denver, in April. A detachment of the 1st cavalry, under Lieut Ayre, was sent after them, which recovered only twenty head, having come up with them when night was closing in and snow falling, the Indians running off the stock while the officer in command parleyed with the chiefs. A soldier who became separated from the command was wounded, but no fighting occurred. Being without subsistence, the detachment returned to Denver. Soon afterward a second expedition of 100 cavalrymen and two howitzers, under Ayre, was ordered to go as far as Fort Larned, by the head of the Republican and Smoky Hill forks. When near the fort they encountered the Cheyennes, who charged the troops 400 strong. So desperate was the onslaught that they rushed up to the mouth of the cannon, falling within reach of the gunners. Twenty-five or thirty were killed, among them a chief who had signed the treaty.

In the same month another party of Cheyennes drove off a herd of horses from Kiowa creek, and Lieut Clark Dunn from camp Sanborn, near Frémont orchard, pursued them with twenty men. He found the Indians, about fifty strong, who attacked when the demand for the return of the horses was

made, and killed and wounded four of the soldiers. The troops returned the fire, but being armed only with revolvers and sabres, inflicted but little loss, and after a chase of several miles returned for fresh horses and guns, the Indians in the meantime escaping. A third depredation similar to the others being committed near the junction of South Platte, a detachment under Major Downing, guided by an Indian trader named Ashcraft, surprised the Indian camp at Cedar cañon, where they had fortified, and killed twenty-five, destroying their village and capturing one hundred horses, one soldier being killed in the fight.

In June all the troops were ordered to the Arkansas, east of Fort Lyon, except one squadron, and Governor Evans applied for permission to call the militia of Colorado into the service of the United States, as the territorial law was defective, and the means of arming and equipping them was wanting, at the same time asking leave to raise a regiment of United States volunteers for one hundred days. This last request was finally granted, but not before the occasion for their services had been greatly augmented by repeated and horrible outrages. About the middle of June, when the last company of the 1st cavalry was encamped on Cherry creek, fifteen miles from Denver, under orders to join the regiment on the Arkansas, messengers arrived in Denver from the settlements on Box Elder creek, from two to twenty miles distant, with information of a general stampede of the stock in that region, and the murder of the Hungate family, consisting of the husband, wife, and two children. This event, which brought the war to the doors of Denver, caused great excitement. The remains of the murdered settlers were brought into town, and exhibited to the angry population. Governor Evans applied to the adjutant of the district to have the troops on Cherry creek sent in pursuit of the savages; orders were despatched to camp Sanborn, eighty miles below, to send after them a detachment, and

General Curtis, commanding the department, was telegraphed to allow the cavalry then en route for Fort Lyon to return, which request was granted, but in the interval of delay the Indians made good their escape. The militia were ordered to organize as home guards. The friendly Indians were placed at camp Collins and Fort Lyon.

In July the agent for the upper Arkansas made a visit to Pawnee fork to meet a large concourse of Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Comanches, Apaches, and Kiowas, with whom he held a council. They all expressed the greatest regard for the white people, and disavowed all knowledge of hostile acts. A short time after this friendly council, according to the assertion of the agent, the Kiowas visited Fort Larned, and, while the war-chief was engaged in conversation with the officer in command, his braves stampeded all the horses, mules, and cattle belonging to the post. A few days afterward the Arapahoes made a raid on the settlers along the river, caused, as the agent asserted, by the commanding officer at Larned firing upon them as they were coming, under a flag of truce, to offer their services to recover the stolen stock. The situation was becoming critical. It was estimated that there was not more than six weeks' supply of food in the territory. Mail communication with the east was cut off; mail-bags containing letters, money drafts, land patents, newspapers, and other miscellaneous matter were cut open and their contents scattered over the prairie. But one station was left standing on the overland mail-route for a distance of 120 miles. The farms were all deserted between Fort Kearny and Julesburg, and for 400 miles the movable property of the company was withdrawn as much as possible, leaving a large amount of grain and provisions, which fell into the hands of the Indians. Trains of merchandise, all that were upon the way for hundreds of miles, were seized, their conductors killed, and the property appropriated.

There was this year a large immigration to the Pacific states, numbering, according to a memorandum kept at Fort Laramie, 19,000 persons who passed that post. From this account it would make probably a total of double that number. Among these, how many fell by the hands of savages will never be known. The Coloradans thought they could count 200 victims for the season, over fifty of whom were their own people. On the 19th of August two Cheyennes gave notice to Elbridge Gerry, Indian trader, living at his station, 67 mile below Denver, in the Platte valley, to remove his stock, as on the 21st they would make a raid along the river, and take whatever property came in their way. They would divide into parties of twenty or more, and strike simultaneously at Fort Lupton, Latham, Junction, and the head of Cherry creek, and also at Pueblo. Their rendezvous was appointed for Point of Rocks, on Beaver creek, 125 miles from Denver. Gerry hastened to Denver, arriving at midnight on the 20th, when orders were immediately issued, placing all the militia and recruits of the one-hundred-days' men, under the control of the district commander, Colonel Chivington. Messages were despatched to the threatened localities, and the force at command divided among them. At the appointed time the Indians stealthily approached the points indicated, but finding them guarded, retired.

For thirty days there had been no mails from the east, letters having to be sent round by sea to San Francisco, and being from four to six weeks on the way. No stages or trains moved in Colorado except under escort. Early in September, the hundred-days' regiment was completed, and dispatched by Colonel Chivington to points on the overland route to open communication; while a portion of the home-guards under H. M. Teller, major-general of the militia, patroled the road between Denver and Julesburg, the 1st cavalry being employed as heretofore, chiefly on

the Arkansas. These movements produced two results, the opening of communication with the Missouri, late in October, and the surrender of a small portion of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, who had hitherto refused to make a permanent treaty with the superintendent of Indian affairs. When the outbreak first occurred, the governor issued a proclamation to the friendly Indians to repair to points which he named, to be taken care of by the agents; the Arapahoes and Cheyennes of the Arkansas to Fort Lyon; the Kiowas and Comanches to Fort Laramie; the Sioux to Fort Laramie; and the Cheyennes and Arapahoes of the upper Platte to Camp Collins. In response to this invitation 175 Arapahoes, under a chief called Friday, took up their residence at Fort Collins, and another band of the same tribe, under chief Left Hand, repaired to Fort Lyons but did not long remain. The agent distrusted them, and they distrusted the agent. It has been asserted, and as strenuously denied, that although apparently friendly, some of them acting as spies to give information of the movements of the hostile Indians, that they were go-betweens for their own people as well.

About the time the hundred days' men took the field, the Cheyennes, who had their principal village on the head waters of Smoky Hill fork, 140 miles north-east from Fort Lyon, sent three messengers to that post to inform Major E. W. Wynkoop of the 1st cavalry that Bent, their former agent, desired them to make peace, and that they were prepared to do so, provided peace should also be concluded with the other plains tribes. They also informed him that they had a number of white captives. Wynkoop, who had just been reënforced by a detachment of infantry from the department of New Mexico, sent by General Carleton in command, deemed it his duty to attempt the release of the prisoners, who were women and children. He left Fort Lyon in charge of the infantry, and marched to the Cheyenne village with 130 mounted men and

one battery, finding himself confronted there by from 600 to 800 warriors drawn up in battle array. Making the best display possible of his resources for defence in case of an attack, and putting on a bold front, he obtained a council, at which he urged the Cheyennes to prove their desire for peace by relinquishing the captive women and children. Much hesitation being shown, he left the village and retired one day's march to a strong position, taking with him the three messengers whom he held as hostages, giving the Cheyennes three days in which to determine upon a course of action. At the end of that time the prisoners were delivered up, and several of the chiefs consented to accompany the major to Denver to learn upon what terms peace could be concluded with the Indian department.

Here, however, they met with an unexpected rebuff. It appeared from their own report that the majority of their people were still at war, as well as the Kiowas, Comanches, Apaches, and fourteen different bands of the powerful Sioux nation, including those from Minnesota. A peace made with them would not be binding on the others, as the governor explained to them. He reminded them also of their refusal to meet him in council in the previous autumn, and of their neglect to avail themselves of the protection offered in his proclamation, since which time they had been concerned in the most atrocions crimes, besides destroying a large amount of property. The war was still going on; and while they might surrender to the military authorities, which he advised them to do, he could not make a treaty with them until peace was restored, they being for the present accountable to the war department.

This opinion was not indorsed by the commissioner of Indian affairs, who could not help believing that very much of the difficulty on the plains might have been avoided if a spirit of conciliation had been exercised by the military and others. What the feeling

of the military was at this time appears in a despatch of Major-general S. R. Curtis, commanding the department, to Colonel Chivington, in which he says: "I want no peace until the Indians have suffered more. . . . I fear the agent of the interior department will be ready to make presents too soon. It is better to chastise before giving anything but a little tobacco to talk over. No peace must be made without my directions." Following the advice of Governor Evans, about 400 of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes from the Cheyenne valley surrendered at Fort Lyon to Major Wynkoop, and were rationed at that post. Not long after Major Scott J. Anthony succeeded to the command, and after feeding the Indians for a short time, restored to them a portion of their arms, and ordered them to remove to the region of Sand creek, forty miles distant, where they could hunt, removed from any contact with white people passing along the road.

On the 27th of November Colonel Chivington, with a force of 900 men, attacked this camp, treating it as hostile, and killing 131 persons, men, women, and children, with a loss on his part of 50 killed and wounded. That the attack was premeditated, and intended as a part of the further suffering which General Curtis had said must be inflicted before peace could be made with the hostile Indians, those concerned in it have never denied. But about its moral and political aspect there has been much controversy. A commission was appointed in Washington to investigate the conduct of Chivington, and testimony was taken on both sides. It was called a massacre by the Indian department, and is so called by a large portion of the people of Colorado to this day. Another class would justify Chivington to the fullest extent, a resolution of thanks being passed in his favor by the Colorado legislature.[4]

[4] The facts seem to be that Curtis was urging Chivington to punish the Indians. Winter was coming on, before which it was desirable to strike a

In the spring of 1865 the plains Indians renewed hostilities with all the more fervor that now they had a real grievance, and many persons were killed upon the roads leading from the Missouri westward, and on the Platte; in consequence of which the head of the military department instructed General James H. Ford, commanding the district of the upper Arkansas, to proceed with all his forces against them, and to pay no attention to any peace propositions. But in

blow. It was sufficient excuse, whether true or false, the report that some of the hostile Indians visited the camp of the non-combatants, and shared with them the spoils taken from the white people. It made no difference that these Indians were professedly peaceable, and under the protection of the U. S. flag. Chivington organized an expedition of 650 of Col Shoup's 3d Colorado, or 100-days' men, 175 of the 1st Colorado, and a detachment of New Mexico infantry then at Fort Lyon. He moved secretly and rapidly to the fort, taking care that word should not be carried to the Indian camp. He surprised the camp at sunrise. The Indians, not knowing who they were or what the purpose of an armed force at this hour, sprang to arms, and fired the first shot. The butchery then began, and lasted until 2 o'clock, the Indians being driven up the creek several miles. They fought valiantly, and considering the odds in numbers, killed and wounded about as many as the troops—all of their killing being of fighting men, while the greater part of those killed by the troops were old men, women, and children.

George L. Shoup was colonel of the 3d cav. William L. Allen, farmer and stock-raiser, who came to Colorado in 1859, was one of the 100-days' men. David H. Nichols was captain of a company. He was a member of the legislature of 1864–5, and sheriff of Boulder co. previous to his election to the legislature. He was again sent to the legislature in 1873, and in 1878 was one of the penitentiary commissioners. O. H. P. Baxter of Pueblo was at Sand creek as captain of a company. He was also a member of the legislature the following winter, and a member of the council at the 2 following sessions. He came to Colorado in 1858, and was one of the first locators of the town of Pueblo. Martin Brumbly of Cañon City, who came to Colorado in 1859, was a private at Sand creek. Azor A. Smith, a graduate of Rush medical college, removed to Colorado in 1859, and was appointed surgeon of the 1st Colorado. He has since occupied various public positions, and was elected to the legislature in 1876. In 1878 he was appointed postmaster of Leadville. Irving Howbert, born in Ind. in 1846, and son of William Howbert, the pioneer preacher in southern Colorado, who died in 1871, was in the Sand creek affair. He has furnished me a manuscript on *Indian Troubles in Colorado*. I have drawn from his notes some valuable hints of the early settlement of El Paso and Park counties. *A Woman's Experience in Colorado*, MS., by Mrs W. R. Fowler, also contains incidents of the Indian war, of alarms that were well-founded, and others that were exaggerated by fear. Further authorities are *The Sand Creek Affair*, MS., by Byers; correspondence between Mr Byers and Mrs Jackson in *N. Y. Tribune* of Feb. 5 and 22, and Mar. 3, 1880; *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1865, app., 515, 527; *Id.*, 1867, app.; Speech of Chivington, in *Hett's Tales of Colorado Pioneers*, 88–92; *McClure's Three Thousand Miles*, 358–95; *Elbert's Public Men and Measures*, MS., 6–7; *Howbert's Indian Troubles*, MS., 8; *Gilpin's Pioneer of 1842*, MS., 8; *Dixon's New America*, 49–51; *Townshend's Ten Thousand Miles*, 142; *Beckwith's Rept*, 44; *Cong. Globe*, 1864–5, 250–6; *Newlin's Proposed Indian Policy; Council Jour. Colo*, 1865, 2; *Gen. Laws Colo*, 1864, 259; and many brief allusions by various writers.

May a committee consisting of United States Senator J. R. Doolittle, L. F. S. Foster, and L. W. Ross were, at their own solicitation, appointed to negotiate with the hostile tribes, and an order was issued to suspend the campaign against them. The Indians, however, could not so suddenly be brought to entertain the idea of peace. In the mean time the command of the district of the upper Arkansas was given to General Sanborn, who, with Leavenworth, agent for the lower Arkansas, in the course of the summer, obtained the consent of the Kiowas, Comanches, Arapahoes, and Cheyennes to meet in council early in October at Bluff creek, forty miles south of the Little Arkansas, any commissioners the president might appoint. At this council treaties were entered into between these tribes and the United States. The proposition of Sanborn, as chairman of the commission—Harney, Murphy, Carson,[5] Bent, Leavenworth, and Steele being the other members—was to make reparation for the injury done the Indians at Sand creek, by repudiating the action of the Colorado cavalry, and restoring the property captured or its equivalent, and giving to each of the chiefs to hold in his own right 320 acres of land, and to each of the widows and orphans, made such by that affair, 160 acres, besides allowing them all the money and annuities forfeited by going to war. The amount appropriated as indemnity for the Indian losses at Sand creek was $39,050. A treaty was affected with the southern bands of Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and with the Kiowas and Comanches, by which they consented to allow the president to select a reservation away from contact with white people, a concession which led to their removal to the Indian Territory, where they have since remained, the govern-

[5] Carson, who figured prominently on the Indian side in the investigation, died at Boggsville, Colorado, in August 1868. In Nov. his remains, with those of his wife, were removed to Taos, N. M., where they were honored with a masonic funeral. *Bozeman Avant Courier*, March 24, 1876. He was a colonel in the volunteer U. S. service in New Mexico during the civil war, and was Indian agent before that in N. M.

ment paying them at the rate of $40 per capita, or $112,000 annually, for forty years. A treaty was also effected with the Apaches who were confederated with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes on the same terms.

With the close of the civil war the volunteer regiments were disbanded and the regular army sent to take their place. Notwithstanding the treaties, four infantry and two cavalry companies were stationed at Fort Lyon; two infantry and two cavalry companies at Fort Garland; one cavalry and two infantry companies at Fort Morgan, in Weld county; at other posts in the district of the upper Arkansas twenty-one companies of mixed infantry and cavalry; and in the district of New Mexico thirty-three companies; all these being in the territory formerly roamed over by the treaty Indians. Nor were they suffered to rust in garrison; for between the Sioux and the other plains tribes they were pretty constantly employed. Hostilities were renewed in 1866, and in the winter of that year, as related in my histories of Montana and Wyoming, occurred the defeat of Fettermann's command at Fort Philip Kearny, by the Sioux. In the spring of 1867 a systematic war was begun along the Platte, in which the Cheyennes and Arapahoes were implicated with the Sioux. About the first of September, 1868, Colorado was visited by a party of seventy-five Cheyennes and Arapahoes with passes from forts Larned and Wallace. They went through Colorado City and the Ute Pass, killing a party of Utes, and returning by an unfrequented trail, stampeded and captured a herd of 120 horses. This act being regarded as a declaration of war, the stockade erected in 1864 was hastily repaired, and arms collected for defence. Meanwhile a company of scouts pursued to recover, if possible, the property taken, but were surrounded by the Indians, and only escaped by the arrival of a party from Denver, at whose appearance the Indians fled, their swift horses distancing those of

the volunteers. A few days afterwards a war party appeared in the valley of Monument creek, killing three persons, wounding two others, and driving off all the stock they could gather up. North of here they killed four other persons, and burned one residence. This was the last foray of the plains Indians in the Colorado territory. Two years longer war raged upon the plains. Every mile of the Union Pacific and Kansas Pacific railroads was disputed. But with their completion came peace; for against the despotism of steam and electricity there is no power in the Indian to defend himself.

The Utes, occupying the country west of the Rocky mountains, had taken no part in the hostilities thus far recorded, but rejoiced in whatever punishment was inflicted on their hereditary enemies, the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. Of this people there were seven bands loosely confederated, but having each a chief and council. The most powerful of these occupied the north-west portion of Colorado, and have been most commonly known as the White River Utes. Their chief was Nevava. Their territory bordered on that of the Arapahoes and Cheyennes, with whom, whenever they met, courtesies were exchanged in the form of scalps and horses to the victors. South of the White River Utes were the Uncompahgre Utes, whose chief was Ouray; and south of these were the southern Utes, whose chief was Ignacio. These three bands belonged in Colorado. In New Mexico were three bands, known as the Mowaches, Tabaquaches, and Wemiquaches. In Utah, west of the White River Utes, dwelt the Uintah Utes.

In 1861 the Colorado superintendent of Indian affairs sent Lafayette Head, an experienced agent, to reside at Conejos in charge of the Tabaquache Utes, and to distribute presents to other bands, in order to gain their confidence. In 1862 several chiefs, includ-

ing Ouray of the Uncompahgres, were induced to visit Washington with Agent Head, where they witnessed the movements of troops, the action of artillery, and other impressive demonstrations. But in 1863 the Utes were somewhat troublesome, having been engaged in several raids, which they said were against the Sioux, but in which they carried off considerable property of the white people. To counteract the hostile tendency, agents were appointed to the other bands of Utes, Simeon Whitely being appointed to the northern agency established in Middle park. A council was held with the Tabaquaches, who relinquished their claim to the lands the government desired to purchase; namely, the San Luis valley and mountains, and that portion of the country west of the Rocky mountains in which settlements had already been made. From this time there were no serious troubles between the Colorado Utes and the white population, although depredations were occasionally committed by the New Mexico bands in the southern counties.[6]

A council was held with the Utes in Middle park in 1866. There was the usual dissatisfaction because a treaty had been concluded with one band and not with the others. There was also a very just dissatis-

[6] In 1865 a council was held at Fort Garland to settle the troubles between the Utes and the Mexican population, and a peace concluded by a mutual indemnity. In 1867 a chief of one of the New Mexico bands, Kaneache, had a quarrel with a United States officer, in which threatening language was used on both sides. A collision was averted by the sagacity of L. B. Maxwell. But Kaneache's heart became bad toward the white race, and he made a raid upon the cornfields of the Purgatoire valley, claiming the soil and the crops, which so exasperated the Mexican planters that retaliatory measures were resorted to. The troops from Fort Stephens, a camp at the foot of the Spanish peaks, interfered, and met with a slight loss. Kaneache now took the war-path in earnest, raiding up the Purgatoire, around the Spanish peaks, over the Cucharas, and up the Huerfano. Couriers were sent to invite the Tabaquaches and Ouray to join him. Instead of joining him, however, Ouray placed all his people under the surveillance of Fort Garland, commanded by Col Carson, and repaired to the Purgatoire to warn the settlers. The enemy was met by a small force of Tabaquaches, under Shawno, one of their chiefs, whom Carson sent to bring in Kaneache, dead or alive. The order was obeyed, Kaneache and another hostile leader being captured and taken to Fort Union. Five white men were killed during the raid, and much property taken or destroyed. But for the exertions of Ouray, many more lives would have been lost.

faction on the part of the Tabaquaches on account of the character of the annuity goods furnished them, which were disgracefully worthless, rotten, and disgusting, and might reasonably have been made the ground of revocation of the treaty. In 1868 another treaty was made with all the Colorado Utes, in which some of the provisions of the former were confirmed, but important modifications made. The bounds of the reserved lands were the southern limit of Colorado on the south, the 107th meridian on the east, the 40th parallel on the north, and the territory of Utah on the west. The government was pledged to expend annually for the Utes a sum not to exceed $30,000 in clothing, blankets, and other articles of utility; and $30,000 in provisions until such time as these Indians should be found capable of self-support. Among themselves there were certain causes of difference. The United States had insisted that there should be a head chief over all the confederate tribes, through whom business could be transacted without the tedious council in which they delighted to exhibit their eloquence and their obstinacy. Nevava had passed away, and his sons, of whom he had several, each claimed the inheritance of the chieftainship of the White River Utes. There were many in this tribe who would gladly have accepted this distinction —Antelope, Douglas, Johnson, Colorow, Jack, Schwitz, and Bennett. But in their stead was appoined Ouray, of the Uncompahgre band chief over all, with a salary of $1,000 a year; and the lesser chiefs were forced to content themselves with such a following as their individual qualities could command. There was much jealousy. The White River Utes who thought the head chief should have been chosen from among themselves, began conspiring against Ouray as early as 1875, and talked openly of killing him. The neglect of the government in sometimes failing to deliver the annuities was charged against the head chief, who was said to be in collusion with

certain white men in depriving them of their goods, a suspicion to which the greater wealth, dignity, and prosperity of Ouray gave some coloring, for Ouray, like Lawyer of the Nez Percés, was far above his contemporaries in shrewdness and intelligence. But the attempts to unseat Ouray amounted to nothing.[7]

The effect of this dissatisfaction was to culminate in disasters more serious and important than the overthrow of the head chief. In 1876 the White River Utes began burning over the country north and east of their reservation, claimed by them, although properly belonging to the Arapahoe lands, which had been purchased. The following year a chief known as Jack made overtures to their traditional foes, the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, with whom he appointed a rendezvous in western Wyoming. Here he found congenial sympathizers, who filled his ears with stories of the excitement and glory of war. The southern Ute agency was at Los Pinos on the Uncompahgre river, a few miles from the present town of Ouray, where the head chief had his residence. The agency of the White River Utes had been removed to the southern bank of that stream. Early in 1879 the venerable N. C. Meeker, first president of the union colony, was appointed to the charge of the White River Utes. He undertook to carry out the designs of the department, by selecting agricultural lands and opening a farm at the new agency, by encouraging the Indians to build log houses, and by opening a school which was taught by his daughter. He found himself opposed from the outset by the Indians, some

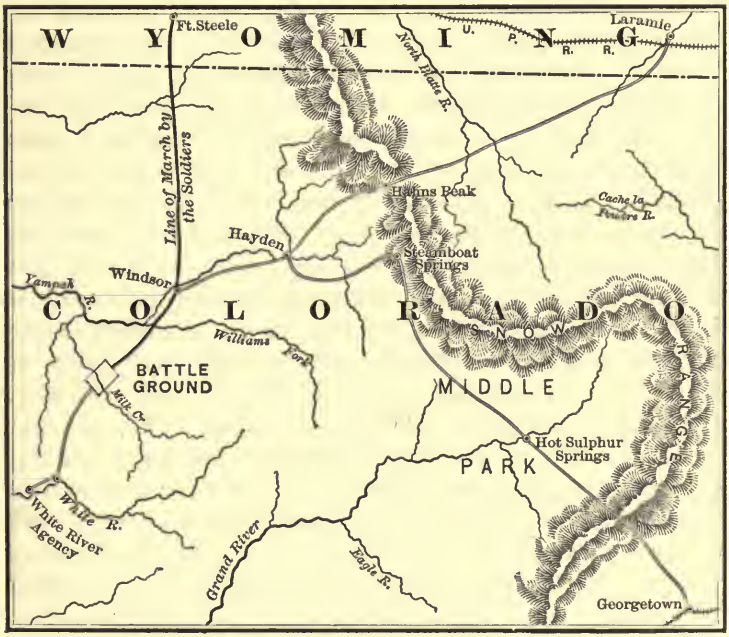
[7] Ouray was brought up in part under the influences of the Mexicans, and was made much of afterward by Agent Head. Evans appointed him interpreter at the Conejos agency, paying him $500 a year. He assisted in distributing the sheep and cattle presented to the Utes after the treaty of 1863. Keeping his own, he bought others with his money, and in the course of time was able to employ Mexican herders. He erected a good dwelling, well furnished, near where the town of Ouray is located, where he lived in comfort until his death in 1880. *Evans' Interview*, MS., 13–15; *Dead Men's Gulch*, MS., 1–11; *Ingersoll's Knocking Around the Rockies*, 96–106; *Denver Tribune*, Aug. 28, 1880; *Colorado Mining Camps*, MS., 12–15; *Sturgis' Ute War*, 7–8; *Treaties with Indians*, MS., 11.

of whom pretended that when the sod was once broken, it was no more Ute soil, the real difficulty being that Johnson, a brother-in-law of Ouray, wanted the land selected by Meeker for pasturing his numerous ponies. Several councils were held, and when the excitement was abated, Meeker resumed farming operations, when Johnson assaulted him, forcing the agent out of his own house, and beating him.

Meeker then wrote to the department that if he was to carry out his instructions, he must have troops. Assistance was promised. Orders were issued by the commander of the department, that a troop of colored cavalry from Fort Garland, under Captain Payne, should scout through the parks on the border of the reservation to protect the settlers and prevent arson, and join a command of 160 cavalry and infantry from Fort Fred Steele, under Captain Thornburg, ordered to repair to the reservation. When he was at Bear river, Indian runners brought the news to the agency, and in much excitement required the agent to write to Thornburg not to advance, but to send five officers to compromise the difficulties. Meeker wrote as requested, sending a courier with the letter, which left the matter to Thornburg's judgment. The decision of that officer was to advance, and to reach the agency September 30th, but to quiet the Indians by promising to meet five of the Utes at Milk creek on the evening of the 29th.

On the morning of the 29th, a large number set off with the alleged object of having a hunt, taking their rifles and ammunition. The ordinary affairs were being transacted with less than customary friction, owing to the absence of so many turbulent spirits, when at about one o'clock the lightening fell out of a clear sky. A runner from Milk creek brought the news that a battle was going on between the troops and Indians at that place. This information was not imparted to Meeker, but half an hour after it was received twenty armed Utes of Douglas' band attacked

the agency. Twelve men and boys were quickly slaughtered. The agency buildings were robbed and burned. The gray headed philanthropist was dragged about the agency grounds by a log chain about his neck, and with a barrel stave driven down his throat. The women were seized and carried to the tepees of Douglas, Johnson, and Persune, to be subjected to their lusts.



THORNBURG BATTLE GROUND.

At Milk creek were other deplorable scenes. The pretended hunting party had ambushed Thornburg at ten o'clock that morning, in a narrow pass at this place, and separated the troops from the supply train in the rear. Major Thornburg, in attempting to fall back, made a charge on the cordon of Indians, and was killed, with thirteen of his men. The command

then devolved on Captain Payne of the 5th cavalry, who reached the train with forty-two wounded, including every officer but one.

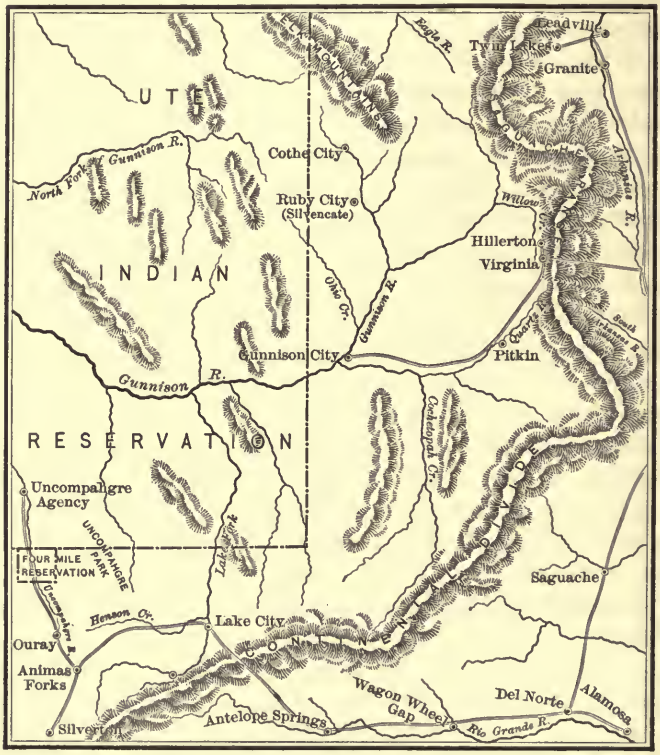
Trenches were dug, and breastworks erected out of the wagons and their contents, to which were added the carcasses of horses and mules, and even the bodies of dead soldiers, piled up and covered with earth. In the centre of the entrenchments a pit was dug, to be used as a hospital, where the wounded were placed, the surgeon himself being one of them. The Indians attempted to force the troops out of their intrenchments by setting fire to the tall dry grass and brush in the defile, and nearly suffocating them; but, although they had no water, they put out the fire with blankets as it came near, and so conquered that peril. At sundown the Utes came up and were repulsed. That night a scout, named Rankin, stole out of camp, and, finding a horse, mounted and rode to Rawlins, 160 miles, arriving on the morning of the 1st of October. It was not until the 9th of October that information was received, via the Uncompahgre agency, at Los Pinos, that the women and children were alive, in captivity. Troops were rapidly concentrated for the relief of Payne. Meanwhile, on the third night after the attack, Captain Dodge, with the colored troop before mentioned, succeeded in eluding the Utes, and joined Payne in the entrenchment; but to very little use, as all the horses had been killed but two, and as this troop only added forty more to the loss sustained by the government, their dead bodies being soon added to the fleshy and rotting rampart by which they were surrounded. As the Indians generally withdrew at night, some relief was obtained by dragging away and burying the decaying animals, and carrying water from a spring near at hand. In this manner were passed six days.

Relief came on the 5th of October, when Colonel Merritt arrived, after a forced march of 72 hours, with a force of 550 men. For the appearance of this

particular officer the besieged had waited with a confidence which sustained them through one of the most trying ordeals ever experienced by troops. There was a skirmish next day, but the Indians soon retired, and the dead were buried as decently as the circumstances allowed. In the affair of the 29th, 35 Indians were killed. The loss to the white forces was 14 killed and 43 wounded. Thornburg's body was but little mutilated. The Utes had disposed the limbs decently, and placed a photograph of Colorow in one hand, to signify by whom he had come to his death. The officers engaged in this affair, besides Thornburg, were captains J. Scott Payne and Joseph Lawson of the 5th cavalry; Lieutenant J. V. S. Paddock of the 3d cavalry; lieutenants Wolf and Wooley of the 4th infantry, and Lieutenant S. A. Cherry of the 5th cavalry, the sole officer unhurt, and E. B. Grimes. Thornburg was a Tennessean. He enlisted as a private, September 1861, in the 6th Tennessee, serving until August 1863. He rose in five months to be sergeant-major, and in two months more to be lieutenant and adjutant. He subsequently entered West Point academy, graduating in 1867. He was commissioned second lieutenant of 2d artillery, and was stationed at San Francisco, Fortress Monroe, Alcatraz, and Sitka, and was professor of military science at San Diego, California, and subsequently at the East Tennessee university, going thence to Fort Foote, Maryland; and from there to San Antonio, Texas; then to Fort Brown, and to Omaha. He became major of the 4th infantry at Fort Fred. Steele. Merritt reached the agency on the 11th, finding twelve dead and mutilated bodies.[8]

[8] Others not here named were likewise killed. The twelve were N. C. Meeker, E. W, Eskridge, his clerk, a lawyer by profession, and had been a banker; W. H. Post, assistant agent and farmer; E. Price, blacksmith; Frank Dresser, Harry Dresser, Frederick Shepard, George Eaton, W. H. Thompson, E. L. Mansfield, Carl Goldstein, and Julius Moore. N. C. Meeker was born in Euclid, Ohio, in 1815. He was early known as a newspaper and magazine writer. He married the daughter of one Smith, a retired sea-captain, joining a society known as the Trumbull Phalanx, a branch of the

While the command remained at White river, Lieutenant Weir and a scout named Humme were killed while hunting in the vicinity of the agency, but no demonstration was made against the Indians.



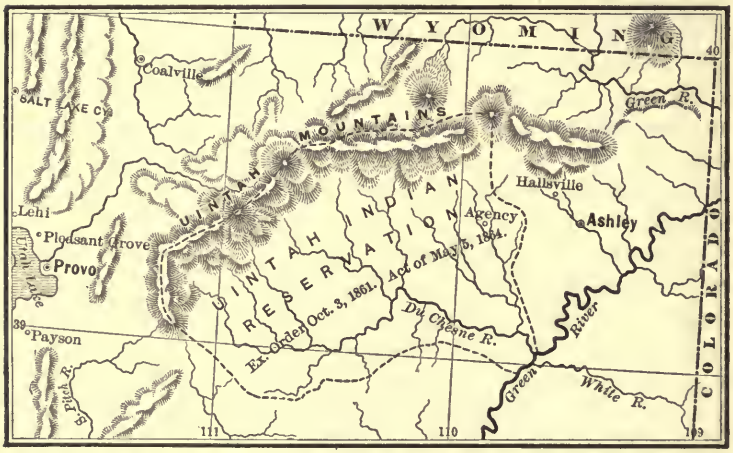
UNCOMPAHGRE AGENCY.

North American Phalanx and Brook Farm Societies. Communism not coming up to his expectations, he returned to Cleveland, and went into a mercantile business in a small way, prospering very well. Then he became war correspondent of the *N. Y. Tribune*, and later was on the editorial staff. In 1869, being sent to write up Mormonism, he spent a little time in Colorado, and was so charmed with the scenery and the climate that he determined to settle here with his family. In this design he was encouraged by Greeley, who promised to aid him with the *Tribune*. Out of this grew the Union colony. How Greeley kept his word the readers of the *Tribune* remember, and the flourishing town of Greeley attests, named in acknowledgment of his services.

The captives were finally given up, owing to the skill of Postal-agent Charles N. Adams and the influence of Ouray. The Indians guilty of the crimes committed at the agency did not present themselves, and finally Adams went on to Washington with Ouray, Jack, and other lesser personages to the number of a dozen. After nearly a fortnight of negotiations there, during which the government insisted upon two points, the relinquishment of the criminals and the removal of the Utes to a reservation outside of Colorado, Jack and three other Utes returned with Adams to this state to attempt once more the capture of Douglas, Johnson, and others under criminal charges. About the middle of February they were so far successful that Douglas and Johnson were among the Indians who accompanied them east, Douglas being left in confinement at Fort Leavenworth.

On the 6th of March a new convention was entered into between the Ute representative in Washington and the agents of the United States. By this arrangement the chiefs agreed to endeavor to effect the surrender of the Indians implicated in the massacre of Meeker and his employés, or, if not able to take them, they promised not to obstruct the government officers in the same effort. They agreed to cede the Ute reservation, except that the southern Utes, or Ignacio's band, were to be settled in severalty on agricultural lands on the La Plata river, and in New Mexico. The Uncompahgres were to settle upon lands on Grand river, near the mouth of the Gunnison, in Colorado and Utah. The White River Utes agreed to settle on lands in severalty on the Uintah reservation in Utah. The severalty bill passed by congress allowed 160 acres of pasture and the same amount of farming land to each head of a family, and 80 acres to each child. The consent, first of congress, and secondly of a majority of the three bands, was to be obtained to this arrangement, when $60,000, or as

much more as congress might appropriate, should be distributed among them. An annuity of $50,000 was also to be paid them, and a support furnished them and their children until they became self-supporting.[9] This schedule was so altered as to require the surrender of the murderers before the White River Utes should receive all their share of the money, and an annuity of $500 each was to be taken out of the Ute annuity to be paid to the widows of the men slain at



UINTAH RESERVATION.

the agency. On the other hand, Schurz insisted on an appropriation of $350,000 for different objects beneficial to the Utes, to be expended in surveying

[9] *Denver Tribune*, Mar. 7, 1880. The history of the progress of the Ute commissions was reported in the *Tribune* from day to day, and from its columns I have drawn most of my statements and some of my conclusions. The account of the massacre, etc., contained in *Baskin's Denver Hist.*, is apparently derived from a similar source. There is a pamphlet by Thomas Sturgis, *The Ute War of 1879*, Cheyenne, 1879, pp. 26, showing why the Indian bureau should be transferred from the interior department to the military, which also contains a history of the outbreak. I find partial accounts in *Byers' Centennial State*, MS., 46–52; *U. S. H. Doc.*, 1879–80; *Helena (Mont.) Herald*, Oct., Nov., and Dec., 1879; *Helena Independent*, Oct. 16 and 30, 1879; *Sen. Jour. Colo*, 1881, 42–3; *U. S. Sen. Doc.*, i. 29, 46th cong. 2d sess.; *U. S. H. Doc.*, ix., pt 5, pp. 109–11, 121–5, 46th cong. 2d sess.; *Stockton Independent*, Mar. 17. 1880.

their lots, building houses and mills, buying wagons, harness, cattle, and other property. Back annuities, which by the terms of the treaty of 1868 might be paid in cattle, the Utes insisted should now be paid in cash, and enough added to it to make it $75,000 annually. The bill finally passed with these provisions. Douglas was kept in confinement at Fort Leavenworth for more than a year. His tribe were removed to Utah. Ouray returned to Colorado, where he died in August. Colorow lived to cause further trouble.

CHAPTER VIII.

MATERIAL PROGRESS.

1859–1875.

PLACER AND QUARTZ MINING—REFRACTORY ORES—PROCESSES—SMELTING—SWINDLING CORPORATIONS—THE FLOOD—INDIAN HOSTILITIES—AGRICULTURE—PRODUCTS AND PRICES—DISCOVERY OF SILVER—LOCALITIES AND LODES—THE SAN JUAN COUNTRY—ADVENTURES OF JOHN BAKER'S PARTY—GREAT SUFFERINGS—ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS OF PRIMITIVE PEOPLES—PILE'S EXPEDITION—TREATY VIOLATIONS—OPENING OF ROADS—SILVER LODES—SAN MIGUEL GOLD DISTRICT—OURAY.

IT is time now that I should turn to the consideration of the material development of the country. After the first three or four years of immigration and gold mining, during which $30,000,000 of gold was produced, it began to be realized that the placer diggings were soon to be exhausted, and that quartz mining only could be made remunerative in the future. A more discouraging discovery was that the ores in quartz were refractory, and the proper methods of working them unknown. It was then that many Colorado miners, hearing of Salmon river in what was then Washington territory, migrated in that direction with the same impetuousness with which they had first flown to the rumored El Dorado of the Rocky mountains. Failing to reach there for want of a wagon-road, they, with others from the western states, began prospecting on the headwaters of the Missouri river, and discovered gold. Forthwith the town of Bannack sprang up, then Virginia City, and simultaneously other towns in what was soon Idaho, followed by the rapid population of the still later

territory of Montana, Colorado furnishing a large proportion of the first settlers of that region.[1]

Placer, gulch, and bar mining had about come to an end in 1859 in Arapahoe county ; in Clear creek and Boulder counties in 1860; in the parks by 1861; and in Gilpin county by 1863. It revived somewhat afterward in the parks.[2] The richest of the gulch claims had proved to be the croppings of quartz ledges, which were easily worked, the gold near the surface being freed from its matrix by elemental forces operating for ages. Little water at first accumulated in these mines; simple machinery answered for hoisting the ore, and fuel was cheap. Arastras and stamp-mills were introduced as early as 1859, as I have before mentioned, and were quite numerous in 1860. But to the surprise of their owners the mills were often found not to save gold enough to pay expenses. D. D. White is said to have thrown a quantity of gold-dust into the battery of his mill in Boulder county that he might be able to declare that he had cleaned up some gold, and not a trace of the gold thus devoted could be found. The first successful mill was the property of Robert and Cary Culver and John Mahoney, and was set up in July 1860 at Gold hill, ten miles from the town of Boulder, to work the ore of the Horsfal mine, discovered[3] in June 1859, and which had already yielded $10,000 by sluicing. Two months later a six-stamp Gates mill belonging to Wemott & Merrill arrived from Chicago, and was set

[1] The following persons were in both Colorado and Montana: W. McKimons, J. Daniothy, E. Nottingham, A. W. Pillsbury, J. Brady, F. Temple, W. Rogers, John Call, John Willhard, Christopher Richter, Nicholas Kessler, W. J. English, G. W. Krattcar, Sargeant Hall, O. W. Jay, Joseph Eveans, Wilson Butt, James M. Cavanaugh, William Arthur Davis, O. Bryam, James Williams, Thomas Foster, John M. Shelton, Charles L. Williams, Benjamin R. Dittes, John Fenn, Thomas Garlick, William Fern, David Alderdice, C. B. Reed, A. E. Grater, Alexander Metzel, Edward D. Alston, J. W. Marshall, Isaac Hall, William Stodden, George L. Shoup.

[2] *Hollister Mines of Colo*, 122–3.

[3] By David Horsfal, M. L. McCaslin, and William Blore. Blore was a native of Otsego co., N. Y., though of German descent, and was born in 1833. He resided in Pa when a child, going to Neb. in 1856, and being one of the Colorado pioneers of 1858. He purchased land and went to farming and stock-raising.

to work upon this lode, the proprietors of the former mill discarding their own and purchasing an interest in this. By this means $600 to $700 per cord—ore being measured, not weighed, at this time—was saved, and the Horsfal yielded over $300,000 in the succeeding two years. Some other mills made good returns for a time;[4] but, as I have said, at no great depth the ores generally proved refractory to the treatment to which, following the methods familiar in California, they were subjected. The milling processes practised on the Comstock enabled the mill men to extract the metal from a ton of ore at a cost of from five to ten dollars; consequently low-grade ores could be profitably worked; but it was found that quicksilver, which in California and Nevada saved the free gold and carbonates by amalgamation, was wholly indifferent to the sulphurets and pyrites[5] of Colorado, and that the ores would have to be treated by some then unknown method, and at probably a greatly increased cost. Much money was expended in unprofitable experiment for the whole period between 1864 and 1867, and many claims were abandoned which have since been profitably worked.[6] From $7,500,000 annual

[4] Archibald J. Van Deren of Ky came to Colorado in 1859, and operated successfully one of the first stamp-mills brought to Colorado at Nevada gulch. He was commissioner of Gilpin co. in 1861. In 1863 he was a member of the legislature. The John Jay mine was discovered by him. Ensign B. Smith, born in N. Y., came to Colorado in 1859 with his family, building the second house in Golden, which he kept as a hotel. In 1860 he removed to Black Hawk and erected a quartz-mill of 6 stamps, which he sold, and erected another at Buckskin Joe, which ran for half a year, when he abandoned it and returned to hotel-keeping. He was appointed probate judge in 1862. In 1863 he built, in connection with his brother and W. A. H. Loveland, the Clear creek wagon-road from Golden to the Golden Gate road. Perry A. Kline, born in Pa, came in 1859, and mined in the Gregory and Russell diggings, and in 1860 at California gulch, French gulch, and Buckskin Joe. In 1861 he was employed in a mill on the Gunnell lode, near Central City, and became superintendent. He was subsequently superintendent of several different mills, among others the Kansas Consolidated, running 52 stamps.

[5] Pyrites are sulphurets of iron, whereas combinations of sulphur and other metals are called sulphurets. Pyrites may have, besides iron, the sulphurets of other metals.

[6] Warren R. Fowler, author of *Around Colorado*, MS., was born in N. Y., and in 1849 came to Cal., and to Central City in 1860, which he helped to build up. He has remained, mining and farming in different parts of the state, finally making his residence at Cañon City.

production the mining output diminished until in 1867 it was but $1,800,000,[1] when men ceased to exhaust their means in worthless "new processes," and returned to their stamp-mills, which wasted from one half to two thirds of the precious metals, and all of the lead and copper contained in the ores, but still afforded a profit. During this period many miners parted with their properties to eastern men, who had advanced money on them, and they were lying idle, which accounted in part for the decrease of gold production in Colorado. Time was required to establish titles and start up the mines under a new régime. Also a large per cent of the unsold mining property was bonded to be sold, in which condition it could not be worked. Gradually the new owners, having command of capital, secured the services of mining experts from Europe, who introduced processes of dressing and smelting ores, which being improved upon by native ingenuity, resulted in a solution of the problem. The yield of the Colorado mines in 1870 rose to $5,000,000, and in 1871 to $6,000,000.

In the meantime the discovery had been made that some of the supposed gold mines were really not gold, but silver; as, for instance, the Seaton mine in Idaho district, which became almost valueless from the small amount of gold contained in the bullion produced by it, the name of Seaton gold being synonymous with a nearly white metal. Comparison of the ore with some from the Comstock mines revealed a resemblance, but the owners were still doubting, because they knew nothing of silver in Colorado, and no competent assayer was at hand to decide the question. In the summer of 1864, however, there was discovered a lode, which, on being tested by experts, was pronounced to be undoubted silver ore. This important revelation changed at once the reputation of such

[1] *Tice's Over the Plains*, 226; *Helena Republican*, Sept. 15, 1866. The *Montana Post* of Apr. 30, 1869, says that Montana produced in 1868, $15,000,000 in precious metals, against $2,107,235 in Colorado, and that Montana's agricultural product was $5,913,000, against $2,683,840 in Colorado.

mines as the Seaton, which, from being regarded as almost worthless, assumed a great if unknown value. It also stimulated prospecting afresh, and prompted the holders of mines which were lying idle to attend to their development.

It was in 1864 that a company of capitalists of Boston and Providence requested Nathaniel P. Hill, at that time professor of chemistry at Brown university, to visit Colorado, in order to examine a land grant in which they were interested. This examination led to a second visit in 1865, when the mines of Gilpin county were subjected to thorough research, and the attention of the man of science was drawn to the imperfect methods in use for treating ores. After acquainting himself with his subject, Hill paid two visits to Swansea in Wales, taking with him enough of the Colorado ores to make practical tests at the Swansea works, and studying ore-reduction in other parts of Europe. Returning to the United States in the autumn of 1866, he organized the Boston and Colorado Smelting company, with a cash capital of $275,000, and proceeded to erect a furnace at Black Hawk, near Central City. This furnace solved the knotty problem of how to reduce refractory ores, and make abandoned mines of value. For ten years its fires were never out, but other furnaces were added by the company until there were eight, which were always fully employed. In 1878 the company removed its works to Argo, a suburb of Denver, where seven acres were covered by them, and where ore was brought by the railroads, not only from different parts of Colorado, but from New Mexico, Arizona. Utah, and Montana. The company had increased its capital before removal to $800,000, and its products from $300,000 in 1868 to $2,250,000 in 1878. Until he was chosen to the United States senate, Professor Hill devoted his entire energies to the mining development of the country, whose savior, in this direction he became. Not that smelters before 1865–7

had been overlooked, though there might be smelters and no gold or silver. The first furnace erected was in September 1861, by Lewis Tappan, who had discovered a lead mine in Quartz valley. Governor Gilpin was in need of bullets for his 1st Colorado cavalry, and did, I am bound to believe, draw his drafts on the treasury to erect this smelter in order to supply them. These bullets had the reputation of being poisoned, so few of the wounded recovered, though it was not the governor who was at fault, but the smelter, which did not extract the poisonous metals mixed with the silver in the lead thus obtained.[8] The second furnace erected was for smelting gold, and was built at Black Hawk in 1864 by James E. Lyon, but failed of its purpose, as I have already intimated.

After reduction works were successfully introduced at Black Hawk, they multiplied in the gold and silver districts. The mills resumed crushing, those few mines which produced ore free from sulphur being generally furnished with apparatus for turning out bullion, and the majority sending their concentrated ore to the reduction works.[10] of Colorado, or quite

[8] I find these facts in a manuscript on *Mining and Smelting in Colorado*, by John Bennett, of Littleton, who was born in Stafford co., Eng., in 1820, and migrated to America in 1849, landing at N. O., and drifting to Wis., where he remained working in the lead mines until 1860, when he came to Colorado. He made the plan of the furnace which furnished lead for Gilpin's regiment. It was 'built of rock, with a channel chiseled out to receive the lead as it was melted in the fire, a blacksmith's bellows, a water-wheel, and a small stream of water to give blast to the furnace.' Bennett assisted Hill in selecting ores to be taken to Europe. *See*, also, *Gilpin's Pioneer of 1842*, MS.

[9] One run only was made. A 'button,' 2½ feet in diameter and six inches in thickness was the result, which was placed on exhibition at the national bank, and the works closed, the process proving too costly. Meagher, *Observations*, MS., 2. Meline, *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback*, 66–8, tells all that I have told here, but in the light of a huge joke, or at least, with little sympathy for the disappointed smelter-owner.

[10] Cash and Rockwell of Central City, between 1867 and 1870, erected works near Central City for the reduction of gold ores, which saved 95 to 98 per cent of the precious metal. *Wallingham's Colo Gazetteer*, 230. Besides Hill's smelter at Black Hawk, there were reductions-works for the treatment of silver ores at Georgetown in Clear creek co., erected by Garrott and Buchanan, but sold to Palmer and Nichols: and Stewart's silver-reducing works, also at Georgetown; Brown Co.'s reduction works at Brownville, 4 miles from Georgetown; Baker's works 8 miles above Georgetown, the International Co.'s works in east Argentine district; and the Swansea reduction works, 4 miles above Georgetown. At the latter, both gold and silver

often to Omaha or Chicago, where large smelters had been erected for the purpose of reducing and refining the ores from Colorado, Montana, and other mining regions to which railroad transportation was being extended. The expense of the treatment and handling made a low grade of ores comparatively worthless. In the first place, the mills charged from $20 to $35 per cord [11] for crushing the rock, to which was added the cost of concentration, reduction, and transportation, in all from $45 to $50. Still, the average assay of all the silver ores treated was $118, of which 80 per cent was guaranteed to the miner. Some ores yielded from $350 to $650 per ton, these being sent to Newark, England, or elsewhere for reduction.[12]

While the territory was passing through this experimental period of its mining history, it had yet other brawbacks in the operations of swindling companies, which brought discredit upon the country by cheating their stockholders, and then unblushingly pricking the bubble. One fraud of this kind gained more notoriety than many excellent investments. In other cases there were really good mines in the hands of operators, who mercilessly, by a system of assessments and practices known among miners as freezing out, excluded all but a favored few from participation in the benefits of mining property in which they had in the first instance embarked their small capital. If a prison is the proper thing for men brave and bold enough to rob contrary to law, a rope would be about right for the vile creatures that cheat and steal within pale of the law. Besides those intentional wrongs, there were many failures which were the result of

ore were reduced. In Summit co. there were the Sukey Silver Mining Co.'s reduction works, and the works of the Boston association, which were all the smelters in operation in 1870. Ruins of experiments were to be seen in all the mining districts.

[11] A cord measured 128 cubic feet, and weighed from 6 to 10 tons, according to density.

[12] It would be out of place for me to go into details concerning the methods of reducing ores in Colorado. No two smelters used the same processes, and every process was varied to adapt it to the requirements of the minerals to be separated.

folly in the management of funds, in the erection of expensive but unnecessary buildings, or attempts at the hitherto unheard-of processes to which I have alluded. From the depression of this period I shall show by and by that the mining interest completely emerged, if not all at once, yet before the admission of Colorado into the union. In nine years, ending 1880, the small county of Gilpin produced $18,126,564 in gold and silver.[13]

Going back to the beginning of this chapter, it was not altogether the failure of placer mining, the ignorance of and subsequent blunders made in quartz mining, with their concomitant ills, of which Colorado had to complain in the years of her infancy In common with, but to a greater comparative extent, the new commnnity suffered like the older ones the burdens and the losses by civil war, which had diverted men and capital, raised prices, depreciated currency, and even swallowed up the means of transportation across the plains. The summer of 1863 was a season of drought, when boats could not ascend the Missouri with freight for points above the mouth of the Kansas river, and goods became scarce. The grass on the plains was burnt up by the sun, so that stock did not thrive; the city of Denver was visited by a fire which destroyed property worth a quarter of a million, and all things conspired to make desolate the hearts of the pilgrims from home and plenty.

Following this exceptional summer was an equally exceptional winter, which began in October and was severely cold. The impoverished cattle on the plains perished by hundreds. Hay and grain brought twenty cents per pound, and fuel advanced a hundred per cent. Trains with supplies and machinery were snowed up en route, and some were lost. Others

[13] Gilpin co. produced $2,240,000 in 1876, which it did not exceed for 9 years except in 1878 and 1880. In the latter year the yield was $2,680,090.

were a year arriving. While these circumstances made gold more than usually a necessity, mining was interrupted by the cold. The spring brought no relief, the rains descending in floods, driving out of their claims the few miners who had returned to the mountains, and destroying the crops which had not entirely succumbed to the drought. On the 19th of April the waters of Plum and Cherry creeks suddenly rose, and sweeping through Denver, carried destruction and death in their course. A million dollars worth of property, and twenty lives were lost.[14] Similar, though less extensive damage was wrought by the storm in other portions of the territory. Following this sudden flood, was a heavy and continuous rainfall, which, with the melting snow in the mountains. caused a second slower rise, which overflowed the farming lands, and remaining up for a month ruined the crops, the young fruit trees, and in many instances changed the face of the county by deposit-

[14] The storm which caused such devastation in Denver came from the south-east, and was a heavy fall of rain, followed by hail, which dammed the water from the mountains until its weight forced the barriers, filling up the valley, and carrying everything before it. Mixed with the water and hail was the sand which had accumulated in the bed of Cherry creek, giving it additional weight. The flood struck the town at 2 o'clock in the morning, and 12 hours afterward water was still rolling on in massive billows, which rose so high in their frantic course that a man standing on one bank would be momentarily hidden from sight on the other. A cupful of the liquid was fonnd to be half sand. The fall of the creek through the town was 35 feet to the mile; above it was much greater. The city hall stood in the hitherto dry bed of the creek. It was utterly destroyed, and a safe containing the valuables of the city was never seen again. The office of the *Rocky Mountain News* was erected on piling on a little island in the creek bed. It had in it 5 printing presses, one weighing between 2 and 3 tons. All were swept away with the building, and so lost and covered up that they were not discovered for 9 or 10 years, when the heaviest press was found in the middle of Platte river, below the mouth of the creek. A portion of another press—the one Byers brought from Omaha in 1859—was found covered 10 feet deep with earth when the water company excavated for their first works at Denver. Against such power as this nothing could stand—houses, bridges, property of every kind disappeared forever. Five persons asleep in the *News* office were aroused only in time to spring from a window into an eddy formed by drift lodged for the moment against the building, from which they were drawn and rescued just as the office was carried away with all it contained, and the lot on which it stood. The pioneer saw mill of D. C. Oakes was carried away. Byers, besides losing all his town property, had his farm, which was in a bend of Platte river, destroyed by the cutting of a new channel. *Hist. Colo*, MS., 48. Gibson, Arnold, Schlier, Lloyd, Stover, and other farmers were ruined. Reed, Palmer, and Barnes together lost 4,000 sheep, and so on. For a new country it was a great disaster.

ing sand to a considerable depth over it. The roads became impassable for weeks from the thorough saturation of the soil of the plains, and every kind of business was brought to a stand still.

This stagnation in the life giving industries was followed by an uprising among the Indians along the overland route, which added still further to the distress already felt on account of interrupted communication with the east. The situation called for a military force, which was organized about midsummer for ninety days' service, and sent out to open the closed communication with the east, which it effected. An account of these affairs is elsewhere given; I only remark here that Colorado, young and heavily taxed as she was, had already raised two regiments in defence of the government, which were then in the field, and that the 1,200 ninety days' men made the third. Had business been better it might have been more difficult to raise this last; but at all events matters could not mend until the embargo on transportation was raised. The vengeance meted out to the Indians reacted during the following winter, when again all commuuication was cut off for two months, the Platte route desolated for 250 miles, and again the territory raised 300 militiamen to open communication.[15] The dangers and losses to freighters greatly raised the charges on freight, as also the price of every commodity, and the result was that by the time the heavy milling machinery so long delayed was upon the ground the companies owing it had exhausted their treasuries These were the dark days of Colorado; yet never so dark that faith in her was lost by those best acquainted with her resources. Two things they waited for which came not far apart —a knowledge of the true methods of extracting gold and silver from refractory ores, and railroad communication. I might add that confidence in the value

[15] *Bayle's Politics and Mining*, MS., 4; *Evans' Interview*, MS., 16; *Elbert's Pub. Men and Measures*, MS., 9.

of agriculture, which was established after a few years of experimental farming, tended to give permanence to other enterprises. These years of waiting, from 1864 to 1867, were not lost. They proved the stuff of which not the mountains but the men were made. No more did they depend on freight teams to bring to them from the Missouri flour, corn, and potatoes. In a single season, 1866, Colorado became self-supporting; in 1867 she exported food to Montana, and contracted to supply the government posts; and in 1868 made food cheaper than in the States.[16]

I have not yet given the actual history of the discovery of silver in Colorado. An assay made of ore from the Gregory lode in 1859 resulted in showing a yield of 16¾ ounces of silver per ton, and 10½ ounces of gold; the assayer being John Torry of the United States assay-office, New York, a notice of which was published,[17] but does not seem to have attracted much

[16] Says Bowles, in his letters to the *Springfield Republican* in 1868, afterward published in a vol. entitled *The Switzerland of America*, 'At a rough estimate the agricultural wealth of Colorado last year was 1,000,000 bushels of corn, 500,000 of wheat, 500,000 of barley, oats, and vegetables, 50,000 head of cattle, and 75,000 to 100,000 of sheep.' Of the prolific qualities of the new soil he says: 'The irrigated gardens of the upper parts of Denver fairly riot in growth of fat vegetables, while the bottom-lands of the neighboring valleys are at least equally productive without irrigation. Think of cabbages weighing 50 to 60 pounds each! And potatoes from 5 to 6, onions 1 to 2 pounds, and beets 6 to 10.' Byers speaks of watermelons 'piled up on the top of one another,' so abundantly the vines were laden. *Hist. Colo*, MS., 43. Market prices for 1868, before harvest: barley, 3 cents a pound; corn, 3½ to 4½; corn-meal, 5 cents; oats, 3 cents; potatoes, 2 and 3 cents; wheat, 3¾ cents; tomatoes, fresh, 3 cents; cabbages, 1 cent; beef 12 to 15 cents; cheese, 20 to 22 cents; butter, 45 cents; flour, 7 to 9 cents; eggs, 50 to 60 cents a dozen. Formerly the simple freight on all these articles had been from 6 to 10 cents a pound. Concerning locations of farming lands at that period there were the Cache-la-Poudre valley on a branch of the Platte in Larimer co., which, besides grain, vegetables, and hay, produced from 15,000 to 20,000 pounds of butter; the Big Thompson valley, in the same country, which produced, besides grain, hay, and vegetables, 7,000 pounds of cheese; the Platte valley, between Denver and the Cache-la-Poudre, which produced, besides a large crop of grains, etc., 23,000 pounds of butter; the same valley, for 20 miles south of Denver, and Bear creek also had considerable cultivated land. In the main valley of the Arkansas about 6,000 acres were under cultivation; on the Fontaine-qui-Bouille, 6,000; on the St Charles, 1,500; in the Huerfano valley, 5,000; all of which comprised about half of the land actually farmed in the territory in 1868.

[17] In the *Rocky Mountain News*, Aug. 20, 1859. See also *Clear Creek and Boulder Val. Hist.*, 278; *King, U. S. Geol. Explor.*, iii. 588–62. I find in *Aux's Mining in Colorado*, MS., 4, that the author claims for himself and A. Miller the first discovery of a silver lode, in July, 1859. They found it near

attention, probably owing to the shifting nature of the mining population, and the prevailing ignorance of silver mining. Nevertheless, the Ida mine, near Empire, in Clear creek county, was recorded as a silver lode by its discoverer, D. C. Daley, in September 1860. It was assayed by Day of Central, and found to contain 100 ounces of silver per ton. Another lode was recorded October 4, 1860, called the Morning Sun Silver lode. A number of other locations was made of silver lodes by E. H. F. Patterson and others, and not infrequent mention was made of these claims in the local prints.[18] They were found in Gilpin and Clear creek counties, but chiefly in the latter, about Georgetown. The Seaton mine was discovered in July 1861, by S. B. Womack and others, who mined it for gold only. It became one of the celebrated silver mines of the world. The existence of silver was not, however, authoritatively proved until several years later.

In the summer of 1864 Cooley and Short, while prospecting on Glazier mountain, discovered a lode which became known as the Cooley, ore from which being carefully assayed by Frank Dibdin, a metallurgist, and other experts, was pronounced to be beyond doubt silver. Dibdin indeed seems to have established a fact which the Coloradans were slow to grasp, that theirs was a silver mining region, with much better prospects for a solid future than if their mines had been all gold mines. This was the first rift in the cloud of dullness which had at this period settled over the pregnant mountains. The first paying silver lode was the Belmont, later the Johnson. discovered in September 1864, by R. W. Steel, James Huff, and Robert Layton. The first accurate assay of the Belmont gave $827.48 per ton. This inter-

Central City, and called it the Dalles; but thinking it worthless, after recording, abandoned it. Grasset relocated it, and sold to Tappan Brothers, who worked it for lead, which was sold to the government and condemned as poisonous.

[18] *Rocky Mountain News*, Nov. 2, 1860; *Governor's Mess.*, in *Western Mountaineer*, Nov. 22, 1860.

ested eastern capitalists. C. S. Stowel erected the first mill in the argentiferous district in which Georgetown is situated, in 1866. For the reduction of the ore an ordinary blast furnace was provided, which failed, after several weeks of trial, to liquefy it so that the metal could be run off. When the owner, and even Dibdin himself, had exhausted their science and ingenuity in the effort, a negro named Lorenzo M. Bowman, from the lead mines in Missouri, offered his services, and, from a practical knowledge of the temperature to be attained, succeeded in smelting the ore. But, as I have before stated, these first efforts were unprofitable, and it was not until about 1868 that there was a marked improvement in quartz mining. Stamp mills, which had been for a time superseded by a variety of experimental structures, began again about this time their continuous crunching and grinding upon the rocky gangue of the precious metals, which has since never ceased, and promises to go on with increasing din forever.

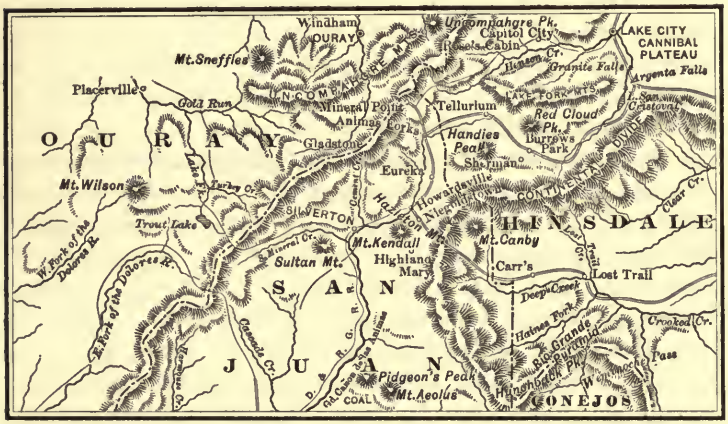
The number of stamp mills running in the autumn of 1868, in Gilpin county, was thirty-eight, with an average of nineteen stamps to a mill,[19] and the bullion shipment was $1,775,477, of which $123,730 was in silver. The number of mines in this county, in which development had begun in 1870, was over 170; of those in which hoisting apparatus was employed on account of depth, about a dozen. Clear creek county had at the time fewer mills, but between 300 and 350 mines, on which some work had been done. Boulder county had about 100 mines, with some improvements, and only two quartz mills. Summit county had no mills, and about 20 mines, not much developed. Lake county had 70 mines in one district, the Red mountain,[20] which assayed well, but were not yet improved to any extent.[21]

[19] *Rocky Mountain News*, Feb. 3, 1869.

[20] This district was discovered about the 1st of August, 1869.

[21] Forty other miscellaneous mines are mentioned, 19 of which were in Gilpin, 14 in Clear creek, two in Park, two in Jefferson, and four in Lake county. See al o *Denver Rocky Mountain Herald*, Aug. 27, 1869.

In another place I have mentioned that in 1860 a prospector named John Baker led an exploring party into that rugged, south-west portion of Colorado, vaguely known as the San Juan country, from which the company returned disappointed. The history of this expedition, on account of subsequent developments, becomes a portion of the history of mining discovery.



San Juan Mining District.

The San Juan country, as now known to the world, includes Las Animas district, situated on the upper waters of the Rio Animas with Baker park as a centre; Lake district, situated on the Uncompahgre slope; and Summit district, situated on the eastern or Rio Grande slope of the continental divide. It is the wildest and most inaccessible region in Colorado, if not in North America. The mountain ranges, which are lofty, are broken and deflected from the main Cordillera del Sierra Madre, which bends to the south-west from the foot of South park. Crossing Saguache county it swerves still more to the west, until midway between the meridians 107° and 108° it bifurcates, the main ridge separating the head waters

of the Rio Grande and Rio Animas, and turning eastward forms the so-called San Juan range. The other ridge continues in a south-west direction, becoming the Sierra San Miguel and the Sierra La Plata. It is as if the great spinal column of the continent had bent upon itself in some spasm of the earth, until the vertebra overlapped each other, the effect being unparalleled ruggedness, and sublimity more awful than beautiful. Here, indeed, is one of the continental summits, from which flow many rivers, tributaries, and sources of the Colorado and Rio Grande, in rapid torrents, frequently interrupted by cataracts of considerable height. In the midst of a wild confusion of precipitous peaks and sharp ridges are a few small elevated valleys, or as the early trappers would have designated them "holes," but which are without much relevancy denominated parks by modern Coloradans, after the great parks of the country. Among these higher valleys is the historical Baker park, a simple widening of the bottom land of the Rio Animas at the north end of the cañon, for six or eight miles, to a width of one mile. Animas park, another widening of the Animas valley, is thirty or more miles further down the stream, and consequently at a less altitude, and being on the south side of the divide has a climate much warmer than the upper park. The lower valleys of all the tributaries of the Las Animas are small, but of great fertility. They are the Navajo, Nutria or Piedra, Florida, Pinos, Plata, and Mancos, all flowing into the Rio San Juan. The higher portions of these valleys abound in yellow pine, and spruce, fir, and aspen are found on some of the slopes in the vicinity of Baker park. Below the cataracts, the streams abound in salmon-trout, and game is abundant. Such are the more prominent features of the San Juan country as it existed in 1860, and for a dozen years thereafter.[22]

[22] *San Juan and Other Sketches*, MS, 12–17; *Pitkin's Political Views*, MS., 4; *Out West*, Dec.–Jan., 1873–4.

Baker was a mountaineer of note. He had heard from the Navajos and other Indians that the royal metal existed in the mysterious upper regions of the Sierra Madre, proof of which was exhibited in ornaments and bullets of gold. More than these pretended revelations no one knew, when Baker determined to prove the truth or falsity of the Arabian tales of the Navajos, who had frequently received bribes to disclose the new Golconda, but evaded making the promised disclosure. Finding at Pueblo a considerable number of prospectors who had passed an unprofitable season in looking for placer mines, and who yet had the courage for new undertakings, Baker raised a company variously stated at from 'a few' to 1,000 and even 5,000, who set out on their crusade as gayly as knights of old, albeit their banners were not silken, and their picks and shovels were not swords. Proceeding into New Mexico, they entered the San Juan valley; from there, by the way of the Tierra Amarillo and Pagosa,[23] they penetrated the country as far as the headwaters of the Rio de las Animas, where, in anticipation of the future populousness of the country, they laid out a town, calling it Animas City, which was seen longer on the maps than on the ground. Some placer diggings were found along the various streams and in the vicinity of Baker park, but nothing which promised to realize the exaggerated expectations of the discoverers. Small garnets and rubies were also picked up, and indications were believed to be seen of diamonds.[24] The main portion of the company went no further than Animas City, but a few penetrated to the Rio Grande del Norte. Reinforcements with provisions failed to arrive as expected, and the condition of the adventurers became critical. Anxious to avoid the long journey back

[23] Pagosa is the Indian word for hot springs.

[24] D. C. Collier of Central City visited the San Juan country the same season, with others, and offered to stake his reputation as a geologist and journalist on this being the richest and most extensive diamond field in the world. *Out West*, Dec.–Jan. 1873–4.

through New Mexico, the company separated into squads, each of which sought according to its judgment a shorter way out of the maze of cañons and peaks than the one by which they came. Many perished by starvation, cold, and Indians, and those who survived suffered the pangs of death many times over before they found egress from the imprisoning mountains.[25] Baker lived to be a wealthy cattle-owner, and to organize an expedition to explore the grand cañon of Colorado. He was killed at the entrance to the cañon, with all his party save one, a man in the prime of life, who reached the outlet after days of indescribable suffering, with hair bleached like snow, and both hands and feet blistered, in which condition and insensible he was finally rescued. He had devoured his shoes, his leathern belt, and buckskin pouch. So suffered, and often so died, the vanguard of civilization on this continent. Before the inexorable laws of nature an heir of centuries of intellectual growth is no more than the jelly-fish to the sea, which casts it upon the sands to rot in the sun!

The outcome of the San Juan expedition deterred further exploration for several years; and in the meantime mining affairs fluctuated in the older districts, as I have described. In 1868, by a treaty made with the Utes, they were allowed the exclusive use of all that portion of Colorado west of the 107th meridian, and south of 40° 15′ north latitude, or, in brief, four fifths of the whole territory west of the main sierra, including the San Juan country.

At this period the boundary between New Mexico and Colorado was not clearly defined, but the mining district of Moreño, believed to belong to the former, was coveted by the latter, and the Colorado legislature memorialized congress to annex it to their territory, hearing of which the New Mexico legislature,

[25] Adam Augustine and David McShane, residing later in Monument valley, were members of this expedition, as were also Charles Jones of Gilpin co., and Charles Hall of Salt-works, South park.

in February 1868, addressed to that body a counter memorial. Congress does not appear to have concerned itself much about either, and in the meantime the boundary line was being surveyed westward from the north-east corner of New Mexico on the 37th parallel to the north-west corner, which survey was reported as completed in 1868–9.[26] It found several

[26] See *Sec. Int. Rept*, 39, 41, 2. This report gives an interesting description of the route with the various streams and valleys crossed, and mentions the abandoned cliff-dwellings in the valley of the Rio Mancos. A. D. Wilson of the Hayden geological survey, while pursuing his labors in the topographical corps, discovered a stone building 'about the size of the patent-office at Washington.' It stood upon the banks of the Rio de las Animas, and contained about 500 rooms. A part of the wall left standing indicated a height of 4 stories. A number of the rooms, fairly preserved, had loop-hole windows but no doors. They had evidently been entered by ladders, which were drawn in by the occupants. The floors were of cedar logs, the spaces between the logs being filled neatly by smaller poles and twigs, covered by a carpet of cedar bark. The ends of the timber were hewed and frayed, as if severed by a dull instrument; in the vicinity were hatchets and saws made of sandstone slivers, two feet long, worn to a smooth edge. A few hundred yards from this 'casa grande' was a second large ruin, and between them rows of small dwellings made of cobble-stones laid in adobe, which on account of the shape of the stones were in a more advanced state of destruction than the larger buildings. The ruins of this ancient town were overgrown with juniper, and piñon, the latter a dwarf, wide-spreading pine, which bears beneath the scales of its cones together with nutritious nuts. From the size of the dead and the living trees, and their position on heaps of crumbling stone, a long time must have elapsed since the buildings fell. The preservation of the wooden parts does not militate against their antiquity. In Asia, cedar lasts for thousands of years. The cedars of the south-west Colorado region do not rot even in groves. The winds and whirling sands carve the dead trees into fantastic forms, drill holes through their trunks, and gradually, after ages of resistance, wear them away into dust, which is scattered abroad, atom by atom. Subsequent investigation showed the casas grandes of Wilson to be on the northern edge of an immense settlement, which once extended far down into New Mexico, covering several thousand square miles, and comprising also portions of Colorado, Utah, and Arizona. The most southern ruins exhibit the best architectural designs. The region is remote from civilization. From Fort Garland, which is west of the Rocky mountains and east of the Rio Grande del Norte, in latitude 37° 23′ north, longitude 27° 20′ west, the route leads across a trackless desert, where no shrubbery is found but sage-brush and grease-wood, and no animal life except rattlesnakes, horned-toads, lizards, and tarantulas. Patches of alkali whiten the sands, and the sun beats down on all with a blistering heat. The streams coming from the rocky range flow through deep cañons, often thousands of feet below the surface—that is, when they flow at all, which they do not all the year—and springs are of rare occurrence, even in the cañons The country sought lies in a triangle between the Rio Mancos, La Plata, and Rio San Juan, and around the triangle is a net-work of ravines crusted with ruins. The San Juan and La Plata have some width of bottom-lands between their sides, but the Rio Mancos runs between walls closely approaching each other. On the rocky terraces of the more open cañons are multitudes of ruins; even in the wilder and narrower ravines are single houses or groups of two or three perched on the face of the dizzy cliff, so far above the valley that the naked eye can distinguish them merely as specks. Above them the rocks

Mexican towns north of the line,[27] and one, La Costilla, directly upon it. Soon after the survey the legislature of New Mexico memorialized congress to have the counties of Costilla and Conejos reannexed to New Mexico upon the ground that Colorado had obtained them "through fraudulent representations," and that the people desired it, which was not the fact.[28] The boundary remained unchanged.[29]

In 1869 Governor Pile of New Mexico, as if to retaliate, and meet covetousness with covetousness, fitted out a company of experienced prospectors to explore the headwaters of the San Juan and the contiguous country, who learned at this time little to encourage effort in that direction. But the following year a party, having pushed their explorations westward to the Rio Animas near Baker park, discovered the Little Giant gold lode, samples of which were sent to New York for assay, and yielded from $900 to $4,000 per ton. Other discoveries followed, chiefly of silver lodes, and Las Animas district was formed in 1871, while the mountains swarmed with prospectors. This being a violation of the treaty of 1868, the Utes and the miners were soon antagonistic, though no open hostilities followed. In 1872 troops were sent into the country to keep out the miners, which action on the part of the government only stimulated the desire of occupancy. A commission

project so that they could not have been approached from above, and there remains no means of reaching them from below, though signs of a trail doubling among the rocks are here and there visible. In the few cases where towers exist they are curved and smoothly rounded. Emma C. Hardarce, in Hayden's *Great West*, 445–56.

[27] Trinidad, with 500 inhabitants, Calaveras, San Louis, Guadalupe, Conejos, San Antonio, and several minor Spanish settlements were found to be north of the line, according to the survey report.

[28] *U. S. H. Misc. Doc.*, 97, 41st cong., 2d sess.; *H. Jour.*, 383, 41st cong. 2d sess.

[29] The survey of 1868–9 seems to have been made merely preliminary, and the final boundaries of the state of Colorado were not established for 10 years thereafter. *H. Com. Repts*, 708, 45th cong. 2d sess. There was a bill before congress in 1869 to extend the boundaries of Nevada, Minnesota, and Nebraska, and the territories of Colorado, Montana, and Wyoming, which was referred to the committee on territories and there lost. *U. S. H. Jour.*, 132, 40th cong. 3d sess.; *U. S. Sen. Jour.*, 150, 40th cong. 3d sess.

was also appointed to negotiate the purchase of the mineral lands of the Ute reservation, which, through the machination of interested persons in Wall street, failed of its object. An order was issued in February 1873, at the request of the interior department, requiring all miners, prospectors, and others to quit the reservation before the first of June. So strenuous were the objections to the order that a detachment of troops was ordered to march to San Juan to enforce it, and was half way up the Rio Grande when it was suspended by the president. A commission was again ordered, and a treaty made by which the Utes surrendered a tract of country containing 3,000,000 acres of territory, which, though unparalleled for roughness,[30] was considered of inestimable value by mining men.

In 1874 more than a thousand lodes were claimed, upon many of which the work required by law was done.[31] In 1875 roads had been opened by which machinery was transported to the Animas district, 11,000 and 12,000 feet above the sea, where it was put in operation before winter. The first mine worked was the Little Giant in Arastra gulch. With this exception, the leading lodes in this district were argentiferous galena, highly impregnated with gray copper, the veins being large and well defined, yielding in the smelter $150 to $2,000 per ton.[32] Blue

[30] Ernest Ingersoll, in *Harper's Magazine*, April 1882. See also Ingersoll's *Crest of the Continent*, 162, 'a record of a summer's ramble in the Rocky Mountains,' and supplementary to *Knocking around the Rockies*, which describes Colorado as seen in 1874, when, attached to the U. S. survey, the author made a tour of the mountains.

[31] The mining laws were generally known and understood, like common law, except in the matter of local rules in different districts. In 1881 R. S. Morrison and Jacob Fillius, lawyers of Denver, published a volume on *Mining Rights*, pp. 336, 12 mo., containing all the Colorado statutes on mining, including the rules adopted under the provisional government, and all successive regulations, with the U. S. laws on the subject. The law to which referencee was had above required a discovery shaft to be 10 feet deep, and $100 worth of work to be performed annually to hold it; or, if $500 worth were done, a patent might be obtained.

[32] The names of some of the earliest mines of note were the Highland Mary, Mountaineer, North Star, Tiger, Thatcher, Chepauqua, Comstock, Pride of the West, Philadelphia, Susquehanna, Pelican, Gray Eagle, Shenandoah, Bull of the Woods, Prospector, McGregor, Aspen, Seymour, Letter

carbonates of lime were found on Sultan mountain, and large deposits of iron ore at its foot.

The Eureka district lay north of Animas, with the town of Eureka, nine miles from Silverton, surrounded by large ore bodies. The Uncompahgre district, the highest in the San Juan country, contained a better class of ores than the lower districts. Lake district, in Hinsdale county, and more accessible than the others, had for its chief town Lake City. Hundreds of mines were located here, its tellurium lodes being the only ones of note in the San Juan region. One hundred and fifty tons of selected ore from the Hotchkiss sold in San Francisco at the rate of $40,000 per ton.[33] Ouray county, which is on the northern skirt of the San Juan country, was found to contain not only silver mines of the highest value, but the gold district of San Miguel. This gold district reveals one of those wonderful pages in the history of the globe which inspire awe, the gravel deposits, 100 to 150 feet above the present San Miguel river, being evidently the bed of some mightier stream, which in a remote past rolled its golden sands toward that buried sea, to which geological facts point a significant finger. The present cost of carrying water to these ancient gravel beds is in itself a fortune, which only the certainty of greater riches would tempt associations of miners to expend.

But it is as a silver region that San Juan became, and will remain, preëminent. Some of the mountains, notably King Solomon in San Juan county, were so seamed with mineral veins of great width that they could be seen for two miles. The most remarkable of the Ouray county lodes was Begole,

G., Empire, Sultana, Hawkeye, Ajax, Mollie Darling, Silver Cord, Althea, Last of the Line, Boss Boy, Crystal, King Hiram, Abiff (gold), Ulysses, Lucky, Eliza, Jane, Silver Wing, Jennie Parker.

[33] Some of the leading lodes in Hinsdale county are the Accidental, American, Hotchkiss, and Melrose in Galena district, yielding from 100 to 600 ounces of bullion per ton, in the concentration works at Lake City; Belle of the East, Belle of the West, Big Casino, Crœsus, Dolly Varden, Gray Copper, and Hidden Treasure. Ocean Wave, Plutarch, Ule, Ute, and Wave of the Ocean are in Galena district.

known as Mineral farm, because the locations upon it cover forty acres, and the veins twelve acres. It was located in 1875, and developed by a company which built reduction works at Ouray, the county seat, in 1887. One vein carried a rich gray copper in a a gangue of quartzite, much of which milled from $400 to $700 per ton, and another in some parts carried a hundred ounces of silver with forty per cent of lead, per ton. The latest discovery in the San Juan region was of carbonates, in the western part of Ouray county, on Dolores river, where the mining town of Rico was located in one of the inclined valleys near the top of the globe. Almost every kind of ore was found in this district, not often in regular veins, but in irregular deposits, lead and dry ores occurring in contiguous claims. Also coal, bituminous and anthracite, limestone, bog and magnetic iron, fire-clay, building-stone, and wood for charcoal, from which it is evident nature designed this for a centre of reduction works and founderies. A branch of the Denver and Rio Grande railway was constructed to Silverton, one to Antelope springs, one to Lake City, and one to Ouray. The region which I have briefly described under the general name of San Juan comprises the counties of La Plata, Hinsdale, San Juan, Ouray, and Dolores, created in the order in which they are here named, out of the territory purchased from the Utes in 1873.

CHAPTER IX.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT.

1875–1886.

CALIFORNIA GULCH REDIVIVUS—HILLS OF SILVER—THE CARBONATE MINES—MEN OF THE PERIOD—ORGANIZATION OF LEADVILLE—MONETARY AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS—OUTPUT OF THE MINES—VIGILANCE COMMITTEES—MINERS' STRIKE—MARTIAL LAW PROCLAIMED—DISAFFECTED UTES—THE GUNNISON COUNTRY—SCIENTIFIC AND MINING EXPEDITIONS—THE GUNNISON COLONY—COAL—TOWNS ESTABLISHED—BIBLIOGRAPHY—NEWSPAPERS.

THE San Juan region was only fairly started on the road to development when a fresh fever seized the Coloradans and drew many to an older field, but where discovery made it seem new. California gulch, as the reader knows, was discovered early, and had yielded in the first five years over $3,000,000. After that its productiveness lessened, dropping annually, until in 1876 the diggings yielded but $20,000.[1] During sixteen years the miners had been accustomed to move out of their way with difficulty certain heavy boulders which neither they nor scientific geologists had recognized as of any value. No one for all this time had thought to question whence they came.

Among those who had long followed placer mining in California gulch was W. H. Stevens, who in 1876 discovered a supposed lead mine on a hill on the south side of California gulch, a mile and a half above the present site of Leadville. This is known as the Rock mine, and adjoining it is the Dome mine, also owned

[1] A gold lode, the Printer Boy, was discovered in 1868, which drew prospectors for a season, who soon abandoned further search.

by Stevens and his partner, Leiter.[2] From the Rock mine Stevens took samples of ore, which being assayed by A. B. Wood yielded from twenty to forty ounces of silver to the ton. It now became apparent what was the nature of the boulders which had so troubled the miners while sluicing in the placer diggings.[3] Further exploration revealed richer ore, and carbonate of lead similar to that of White Pine district, Nevada, was found to exist over a number of eminences surrounding the mining camp of Oro. These hills, before unmarked, now took names of the mines first located upon them, or of their discoverers. The Carbonate mine, discovered by Hallock and Cooper, gave its name to Carbonate hill; the Iron mine to Iron hill; Long and Derry mine to Long and Derry hill; Yankee mine to Yankee hill; Breece mine to Breece hill; Fryer hill being named after one of the discoverers, Borden and Fryer. These hills were the seat of so many different groups of mines,[4] some loca-

[2] *Leadville, Colorado, the most Wonderful Mining Camp in the World, etc.*, Colorado Springs, 1879, is the name of a pamphlet written concerning the discovery. Soon after the first location there were discovered north from the Rock the Adelaide, Camp Bird (by Long and Derry), Pine (by the Gallagher brothers), and Iron. In Strayhorse gulch the Wolfstone was located the same year, these being, according to the authority above quoted, all the important discoveries of 1876. The Iron mine paid its owners in the first two years $200,000 above expenses, which were $57,500. The Silver Wave mine adjoined the Iron. Maurice Hays, and brother, and Durham are mentioned among the original locators. *Belmont Nev. Courier*, Oct. 21, 1876.

[3] This statement is premature as to time, for although silver was known to exist in the lead ore in the beginning, the nature of the composition was not at once understood. Carbonate of lead is the silver base in nearly all the ores, which, however, vary in the different groups.

[4] The *Leadville Democrat* of Dec. 31, 1881, gives the principal mines of these various groups as follows: On Fryer hill, the Robert E. Lee, Chrysolite, Matchless, Little Chief, Dunkin, Amie, Little Pittsburg, Climax, Carboniferous; and among the less known, the Little Sliver, American, Forepaugh, Bangkok, and others. On Carbonate hill were the Evening Star, Morning Star, Glass-Pendery, Cloutarf, Yankee Doodle, Ætna, Carbonate, Maid of Erin, Henrietta, Wolf Tone, and Vanderbilt. On Iron hill, the Iron Silver, Smuggler, Tuscon, Lime, Cleora, Silver Cord, Silver Wave, Rubie, Adelaide, Frenchman, and Belgium. On Yankee hill the principal was the property of the Denver City company. On Breece hill the Breece, Iron, Highland Chief, Miner Boy, Colorado Prince, Black Prince, Highland Mary, and others, On Long and Derry hill, the Long and Derry, Hoosier Girl, Belcher, Preston. Hawkins. In California gulch, the Last Rose of Summer, Columbia, A. Y., Gilt Edge, La Plata, Rock, Dome, Stone, and Leopard. In Iowa Gulch, to the south, were the Florence, First National, Kaiser, Brian Born. On Bald Mountain, at the head of California gulch, the Green Mountain

tions, however, being made in gulches which subsequently proved to be rich in veins of carbonate. The oxide of iron imparted to one group of ores a red color, chromate of iron gave another group a yellow hue, while the predominance of silica and lead in others imparted a gray color. Chloride of silver permeated all the ores, and horn silver was found in all the prominent mines. What were termed the hard carbonates were those in which silica was predominant, with iron for a base, preventing disintegration as in the before mentioned boulders. The soft carbonates had a base of lead. The normal position of the lodes appeared to have been in contact or horizontal veins, sometimes called blanket veins, with limestone as the contact, iron above the ore, and trachyte as the cap, the latter being covered from ten to a hundred feet with drift. The veins dipped slightly to the east, and varied in thickness from a mere line to a chamber of ore from ten to forty feet in height, giving evidence of disturbance bewildering to the prospector. The ores in almost all cases were easily smelted without roasting.

Such in brief was the character of the new mines to which thousands hurried in 1877 and 1878. In June 1877 the first building was erected in Leadville,

mine, while 'scattered along the whole length of the gulch were numerous other mines and prospects in various stages of development.' In Evans' gulch were the Ocean, Seneca, and Little Ellen. Six miles from Leadville, across the Arkansas river, were Frying Pan and Colo gulches, with the Sundown, Defiance, Venture, Gertrude, Golden Curry in the former, and the Silver Moon, Little Mystic, and others in the latter. West, in Half-moon and Little Half-moon gulches, were the Susquehanna, Harding, Billy Wilson, and Iron Duke. Lackawana gulch and Twin lakes are mentioned as rich districts. In the latter were the Eagle Nest, Boaz, Gordon, Bengal Tiger, M. R., Pounder, Australia, and others. In Hayden and Echo cañons were the Black Diamond, Black Crook, Nabob, Copperopolis, Garfield, Ross, Sweepstakes, Fisher, Antelope, Dexter, and Mountain Quaie. North of Leadville were Mosquito, Buckskin, and Pennsylvania gulches, in which were the London and New York, Sunny South, Bonanza Queen, Bonanza King, Grace, St Louis, Steele, Stonewall, Fannie Barrett, Silver Leaf, and 'a large number of rich claims.' Northwest of Leadville was Tennessee park, where were El Capitan, Plattsburg Junior, Sylvanite, and other rich claims. South of Leadville, in Georgia and Thompson gulches, were the Coon valley and Mishawaka. In a new district, the Holy Cross, on French mountain, 150 mines were located, 'nearly all of which are in pay mineral.'

which soon grew so as to absorb the mining camp of Oro, where Tabor was keeping a store and post-office, in a resident population of about fifty persons.[5] The effect on Tabor's fortunes was magical. The Little Pittsburg, in which he was third owner, proved exceedingly rich. Soon after it was opened he, with one partner, was able to pay $90,000 cash for the interest of the other owner.[6] A month later the second partner was brought off for $265,000, and Tabor became associated with Senator Chaffee in the ownership of the mine. In an incredibly short time, not only Tabor, but many others, could lay claim to be of America's privileged order—millionaires.[7] Nor can

[5] So says Tabor in a brief MS., *Early Days*, devoted to Leadville history. Mrs Tabor, in *Cabin Life in Colorado*, MS., relates how by mutual labor and hardship in the mines they acquired $7,000 in money, after which they set up a store and boarding-house, with a post-office and express-office, the care of all falling on her, while her husband looked after a contract for furnishing railroad ties to the Atchison and Santa Fé railway, in which he made nothing, not even wages. They were still keeping their little trading-post in Oro when the Carbonate mines were discovered, Tabor 'grub-staked,' as the miners' phrase is, Rische and Hook, two prospectors who discovered the Little Pittsburg, on Fryer hill, in April 1878, and in Oct. bought and sold his hundreds of thousands worth of mining property for cash.

[6] Rische, who with Tabor bought out Hook, was a Prussian, born in Minden, in 1833, and immigrating to America in 1852, worked at shoemaking in St Louis. He served in our civil war, coming to Colorado in 1868, and working at his trade in Fairplay. He retired from the ownership of the Little Pittsburg with $310,000, and afterward owned in the Nevada, Hard Cash, Last Chance, Little Rische, Wall street, and Willie mines. *Leadville in Your Pocket*, 176–7; *Leadville Dem.*, Jan. 1881.

[7] Among the men who profited by the discovery of the carbonate mines was J. Y. Marshall, born in Pa, and came to Colo in 1873, settling at Fairplay. He was elected to the legislature in 1875, and removed to Leadville in 1878. He was elected judge of the district court in 1881, serving two years. He was the first president of the Robert E. Lee mine, not far from the Little Pittsburg, which proved very valuable, and made its owners rich.

J. J. Du Bois, born in N. Y., came to Colorado in 1877, locating the same year in California gulch, and prospecting for mines. The time of his arrival was fortunate. In August he had an interest in four claims, and in Dec. staked out the Little Eaton, 'in snow waist deep,' the mine being afterward sold for $1,200,000. Du Bois was elected mayor of Leadville in 1884.

Charles J. Rowell, a native of Vt, located himself in 1880 at Leadville, in a law partnership with A. S. Weston. In May 1882 he was made business manager of Tabor's property, of which he had control for 18 months, resuming his law practice late in 1883. He became owner, with Tabor and Weston, of the Santa Eduviges, in Chihuahua, and also owner of valuable mining property in Montana.

Lyman Robison, born in Ohio, came to Colorado in 1878, and, with a partner, located the Col Sellers mine at Leadville, which produced in 4 years $400,000, and was then valued at over $1,000,000. He was one of the incorporators of the South Park Land and Cattle co. in 1881, with a capital of

it be denied that in some instances their liberality and public spirit were as princely as their fortunes.[8]

$750,000, and in 1885 was vice-president. His residence in Cañon City cost $50,000. He married in 1866 Mary A. Roodnight of Chicago.

Peter W. Breene, from Ireland, located himself in 1874 at Leadville, where he became part owner in the Crown Point, Pinnacle, and Big Chief mines, besides having other mining interests. He was elected to the lower house of the general assembly in 1882, and lieut-gov. in 1884. He married Mary L. McCarthy, principal of a public school at Leadville, in May 1884.

John D. Morrissey, born in N. Y., came to Colorado in 1872, settling at Georgetown, working at mining until 1878, when he removed to Leadville, and became interested in the Crown Point and Pinnacle mines, which, though slow in developing, finally made him wealthy. Crown Point yielded, in Sept. 1883, $20,000 per month, and was afterward still richer.

Samuel Adams, born in Canada in 1850, removed to New York city in 1866, and to Colorado in 1880. Soon after arriving he purchased half of the Brooklyn mine, at Leadville, for $50,000 cash. In 1881 he bought other mining interests, and organized the Adams Mining company, with 150,000 shares at $10 per share. In 3 years the company took out $425,000, paying $220,000 in dividends, leaving $50,000 in the treasury after paying all expenses, besides having $600,000 worth of ore in sight in 1885

John T. Elkins, from Mo., joined Price's army in 1861, and surrendered to Gen. Canby in 1865, going to Nebraska afterward; then to New Mexico, where he was a freighter and miner until 1879, when he came to Leadville. He obtained interests in the Leadville Consolidated, Boreal, Small Hopes, and Annie, selling the Annie in 1881 for $750,000, $500,000 of which he invested in Kansas City real estate. He was elected state senator in 1884.

F. De Maineville and W. H. Brisbane were partners in Wilmington, Del., from 1871 to 1876, when they removed to Cheyenne, Wy., where they kept a hotel until 1879, in which year they came to Leadville, investing what capital they could command in mining property. In 1882 they erected the De Maineville block, at a cost of $16,000 for the land, and $25,000 for the building; and secured a large amount of real estate in Leadville.

Luther M. Goddard, born in Wayne co., N. Y., in 1837, was in 1864 engaged in freighting across the plains between Leavenworth and Denver. In 1878 he came to reside in Colorado, and began the practice of law at Leadville that year, investing some money in the Pendery mine, which in 1879 proved rich, when he sold five sixths of it for $200,000. He afterward acquired an interest in Crown Point and Silver Cross, the former at Robinson, in Summit co., and the latter in Chaffee co., both of which proved valuable properties. He was elected judge of the district court of the 5th judicial district in 1882 for a term of 6 years.

[8] Horace A. W. Tabor was born in Vt in 1830. At the age of 19 years he removed to Mass., where he remained until he came to Colorado in 1859, and had his share of the rough work of erecting a new state. He had resided in Kansas, and been a member of the Topeka legislature. He was the first to realize any large amount from the mines at Leadville, and thereafter kept in the lead. In 1881 he owned the following mines wholly or in part: the Matchless, Scooper, Dunkin, Chrysolite, Union, Emma, Denver City, Henrietta, Maid of Erin, Empire, Hibernia, New Discovery, May Queen, besides mining property in Mexico, and 6 claims in the San Juan country. He erected the Tabor opera-house, costing $850,000, and built the bank of Leadville for a safe deposit. He was first in the organization of a fire department, presenting the hose company with their outfit; caused the construction of waterworks, the incorporation of a gas company in which he was principal owner, and which expended $75,000; organized the Tabor Milling company for crushing dry ores, investing $100,000; and equipped the Tabor light cavalry, 50 men, at a cost of $10,000, besides donating $10,000 annually to schools and

On the 1st of August 1877, there were six buildings on the site of the present town of Leadville,[9] and by the end of the year 300 inhabitants. But until smelters on the ground should test the various ores there could be no certainty of riches sufficient to cause a great influx of population. The town organization was perfected in January 1878. About the same time the first smelter was completed by the St Louis Smelting and Refining company, Weise superintendent, which received its ore through the sampling-works of A. R. Meyer & Co.[10] During eleven months ending November 30, 1878, 1,080 tons of bullion were produced from 3,330 tons of ore. Only one furnace, with a capacity of fifteen tons daily, was employed until late in the season when the capacity was doubled. By the end of the year four other smelters of various capacity were in operation.[11] The smelters

churches, and giving freely in private charities. The Tabor block in Denver cost, with the land, $200,000; the Windsor hotel was owned chiefly by him; his private residence cost $40,000; and his interest in the First National bank amounted to nearly half the shares.

[9] At a meeting on the 14th of Jan., 1878, at which 18 citizens were present in Gilbert's wagon-shop, where Robinson's block now stands, at the corner of Chestnut and Pine streets, steps were taken to organize the town, and give it a name. It was suggested to call it Harrison, after the owner of the first smelter; and Agassiz, after the great naturalist; and Carbonateville, after its ores; but Leadville, proposed by J. C. Cramer, was finally adopted. The town then had 70 houses and tents. On the 26th the governor issued a proclamation for an election of town officers Feb. 2d. H. A. W. Tabor was chosen mayor, C. Mater, Wm Nye, and J. C. Cramer trustees, and C. E. Anderson clerk and recorder. *Kent's Leadville in Your Pocket*, 32–3.

[10] Meyer & Co. purchased the first ore in 1876, and shipped 300 tons to St Louis by ox-teams, which did not pay for the expense of transportation and reducing; but as the grade increased by development, 50 tons shipped in the spring of 1877 proved very well worth the handling. Meyer & Co. established the first sampling works in 1877; Burdell and Witherell in Nov. 1877; Eddy & James in July 1878. *Loomis' Leadville*, 19–20.

[11] The works of J. B. Grant commenced running on the 1st of October. 1,643 tons of ore purchased averaged 84 ounces of silver to the ton; and 305 tons averaged 325 ounces. On the 9th of Oct. the Adelaide company commenced smelting. During 11 days in blast before the 1st of Dec., 90 tons of bullion were produced from 240 tons of ore. The Malta smelting works, J. B. Dickson & Co., started up on the 12th of October. By the 1st of Dec., they had smelted 1,081 tons of ore, and produced 181 tons of bullion, valued at $38,538. The average number of ounces of silver to the ton of ore was 47; to the ton of bullion, 170. On the 28th of Oct. the smelter of Burdell & Witherell began operations, and 970 tons of ore were turned into 210 tons of bullion worth $85,000. These were all low grade. The high grade ores were reduced elsewhere at first. In 1879 A. Eilers erected a smelter at Leadville, which he ran for two years. Eilers was born in Germany in 1839, and edu-

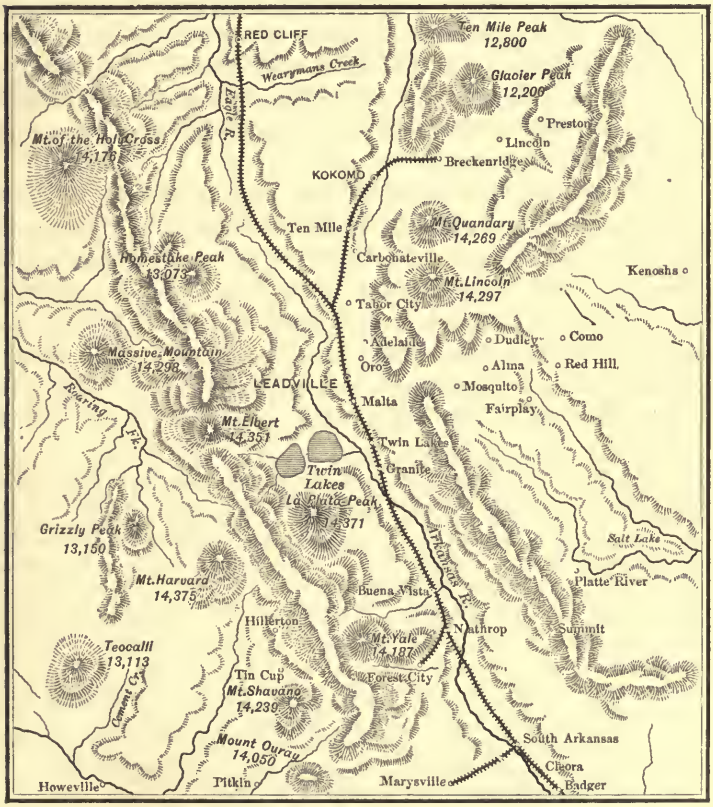
settled the question of the value of the Leadville mines, and the growth of the town in 1879 was phenomenal, even for a mining country. In the first four months of the year the increase of population was 1,000 a month; after that it ran up to 3,000 a month; about the last of the year there were 35,000 residents. Real estate was held at high figures, and lot jumping was practised, as in early times at Denver. A hotel with accommodations for 500 guests, several lesser ones, a church and a theatre were erected during the summer, besides private dwellings and mining improvements, which required 1,000,000 feet of lumber per week.

This activity was joyful madness. Men seemed to tread on air, so elated with hope were they, and not only with hope but with realization. In 1879 Leadville was created a city of the second class, with an efficient police and fire department, water and gas-works under construction, telegraphic communication, a local railroad company organized, hospital accommodations, and other concomitants of modern civilization It had a post-office requiring ten clerks, with a money-order department issuing orders at the rate of $355,911 per year, and cancelling stamps at the rate of over $32,000 annually. In 1879 the Denver and South park railway was within thirty miles of Leadville, and at the same time the Denver and Rio Grande road was extending a branch to Leadville, where it arrrived in August 1880.[12]

cated at the mining school of Clausthal and university of Gottingen. At the age of 20 years he graduated, and immigrated to the U. S., being employed by mining engineers in New York for several years. In 1869 he was appointed deputy U. S. mining statistician, which position he held until 1876. He then migrated to Salt Lake, where he erected the second Germania smelter in 1877–8. He then came to Colorado, and erected a smelter at Leadville, which he sold, and went to Europe in 1881, where he spent two years. On returning to Colorado he organized the Colorado Smelting company in Pueblo, where a furnace was started up in Aug. 1883, the works in 1886 having 4 furnaces, with a capacity of 200 tons daily, and employing 125 men.

[12] George W. Cook, born in Bradford, Ind., in 1850, was appointed superintendent and general agent of the Leadville division of the Denver and Rio Grande road, upon its completion. Cook ran away from home at 12 years of age to enlist as a drummer-boy, and was mustered out in Jan. 1866. That he

The business of Leadville demanded banks almost at once, and in May 1878, the first in Leadville was established under the name of Lake County bank. Soon afterward it organized as the First National bank with a cash capital of $60,000. The exchange for 1879 amounted to $10,000,000.[13] In October the



LEADVILLE AND VICINITY.

drummed through the war to fall on his feet in Leadville was a rare manifestation of the favor of the fickle goddess.

[13] The officers and stockholders were F. A. Reynolds, pres.; Nelson Hallock, vice-pres.; John W. Zollars, cashier; A. L. Ordean, asst cashier; August R. Meyer, J B. Grant, J. S. Raynolds, Charles Mater, J. C. Cramer, Charles I. Thompson, Peter Finerty, E. D. Long, J. H. Clemer, Charles T. Limberg, Rufus Shute.

bank of Leadville was opened with a capital of about a million dollars, and drew $11,500,000 [14] exchange during 1879. Others soon followed and in 1880 there were five, since which another has been opened.[15] Newspapers, schools, and churches enjoyed the benefits of abundant money. All this prosperity was the result of mining, and it would be superfluous to go into further details concerning individual mines or miners. It is sufficient before proceeding with the history of discovery to state in evidence of the permanance of the Leadville mines that the average output of mineral from them for the first half of 1885 was 10,000 tons per day.

It could not be expected that a community with a growth so marvellous, and founded upon mineral wealth should have no other or more dramatic incidents in its career than comes from rapid growth. The richer the country, as a rule, the more poisonous the parasites which it attracts to fester in the body politic; hence vigilance committees and midnight hangings had to have their day in Leadville,[16] Two

[14] H. A. W. Tabor, pres.; N. M. Tabor, vice-pres.; George R. Fisher, cashier. The Miners' Exchange bank, James H. B. McFerran, pres.; and George W. Trimble, cashier; and the Miners' and Mechanic's bank were the next in order in 1879. In April 1880, the City bank of Leadville was incorporated with a capital stock of $50,000. J. Warren Faxon, president; C. C. Howell, vice-president; and John Kerr, cashier. At the close of 1880 the organization was surrendered, and a private bank opened, C. C. Howell & Co. proprietors. *Leadville Democrat*, Dec. 31, 1881. In August 1883 the Carbonate bank was opened. John L. McNeil, the first cashier, and subsequently president, was born in Tioga co., N. Y., in 1849, and came to Colorado in 1870. He was employed as chief clerk of the office of the Denver Pacific R. R. for a few months, when he took a position as teller in the Colorado National bank, and held it until 1876, during which year a bank was opened at Del Norte, of which he was chosen manager. In 1880 this bank was moved to Alamosa, where it became the First National bank of that place. At the request of citizens of Leadville, McNeil, as above, organized the Carbonate bank.

[15] *Loomis' Leadville; Leadville Chronicle Annual*, 1881.

[16] At the first meeting of the town board T. H. Harrison was appointed marshal, T. J. Campbell police magistrate, and A. K. Updegraff town attorney. Harrison was soon driven out of town by the lawless element. At the second election in April George O'Connor was chosen marshal, and four policemen assigned to support his authority. Suspecting one of them of complicity with the 'roughs,' he was about to remove him from the force when he was killed by him, only 18 days after assuming the office. The ruffian's name was James Bloodsworth, who escaped arrest. At a special meeting of the board next morning, Martin Duggan was appointed marshal, and accepted the office. Almost immediately he received written notice that he would be

men named Frodshem and Stewart were taken from the sheriff and hanged November 20, 1879; following which the criminal and vicious class, to the number of several hundred, organized and threatened to retaliate by killing some of the supposed vigilants, and burning the newspaper offices. A few days of intense excitement followed, the city being patrolled nightly by the Wolf Tone guards and Tabor light cavalry. The action of the committee was approved by the majority of responsible citizens, who regarded it as necessary under the provocation given by the men who were hanged. This sentiment, together with the firmness of the militia, finally awed the vengeful would-be rioters, and the city was restored to order.[17]

In the latter part of May following, however, another kind of mob violence was threatened, the men employed in several mines being upon a strike. The disturbances increased gradually for several weeks, all business being brought to a stand, and some of the most vicious of the idlers, who were glad of the opportunity to harrass better men, inciting the discontented miners to a riot. On the 12th of June, owing to threats, all the places of business in the city were closed, and a procession of citizens paraded, in the hope of impressing the strikers with their solid force. A proclamation was read in front of the opera house, signed by the Citizens' Executive Committee of One Hundred, declaring that men who desired to

killed unless he should leave town within 24 hours. Duggan made no sign that he had received the warning, but took precautions against seizure. Within a few days a murder was committed at a saloon by a negro, and the police had taken the wretch to jail, when the outlaw organization attempted his release. Duggan faced the mob with a revolver in each hand, and made them understand that he had the nerve to shoot any bold enough to interfere with the execution of the laws, and they retired. Duggan served his term, declining reëlection, P. A. Kelly being his successor. But Kelly was intimidated, and the city council telegraphed for Duggan, then in Mich., to return and take the marshalship. He complied, and served out Kelly's term, but refused reëlection. He remained in Leadville, however engaged in mining. Duggan was born in Ireland, migrating to the U. S. at the age of 6 years, and living in N. Y. until 16 years old, when he went to Kansas, and from Leavenworth to Colorado, where he engaged in mining and freighting.

[17] See *Denver Tribune*, Nov. 22 and 23, 1879.

return to work at former wages [18] would be protected. A motion being made to adopt this as a resolution, the strikers, about 1,500 in number, shouted No! and assailed the citizens with threats and opprobrious epithets. An attempt was then made by the militia companies to clear the streets,[19] which only increased the confusion, and the belligerent attitude of the strikers. Hoping to preserve order by a show of law, the sheriff, L. R. Tucker, arrested the military commander, and disarmed the companies; but just at that time a supply of arms arriving from Denver, under escort, the mob made a movement to seize them, and were met with presented carbines. A partial peace was restored at nightfall, although the strikers still held out, and the Citizens' Executive Committee of One Hundred remained in session, and the fire companies in readiness during the night. A number of telegrams were sent to Governor Pitkin asking that martial law should be declared, and an officer ordered to Leadville to muster into service the militia, which had disbanded on being disarmed. The governor replied by instructing the sheriff to summon to his aid every law abiding citizen,[20] and promised to consider the question of martial law. Other telegrams followed the first, and about midnight a petition, headed by the sheriff, and signed by all the principal property owners in the city, was despatched to the executive, still urging martial law,[21] which was thereupon proclaimed, and Major-general David J. Cook ordered to

[18] Miners received from $3 to $4 per day. *Kent's Leadville in Your Pocket*, 150. The cost of living was high, but diminishing as the railroads approached.

[19] The Wolfe Tone guards was the oldest militia organization in Leadville, dating from July 12, 1879. It numbered 80 privates, and 18 commissioned and non-commissioned officers; John Murphy, capt. The Tabor Light cavalry organized August 2d, and mustered 64 men; Cecil C. Morgan capt. There was a 3d company, the Carbonate rifles, 44 men, W. P. Minor capt., ready to act as required.

[20] The law gave the sheriff this authority. *Gen. Laws Colo*, 1877, 237; and *Laws of 1879*, 135. In case of violence he might call out the military, or the aid of citizens.

[21] *Pitkin's Political Views*, MS., 1; *Boettcher, Flush Times*, MS., 2–4; *Denver Tribune*, June 15, 1880; *Colo Sen. Jour.*, 1881, 40–1.

Leadville to take command of the militia, and muster in as much force as he should find necessary. In the interim, pending his arrival, William H. Jones of Leadville was commissioned a brigadier-general, to take the command and perform the duties of his position. Provost-marshal J. L. Pritchard forbade the assembling of groups of people upon the street, or in public halls, and ordered all saloons and places of business closed by ten o'clock in the evening. On the night of the 14th General Cook arrived, and found the excitement in part allayed, and some of the miners returning to their work. Also that W. A. H. Loveland, managing editor of the *Democrat*, a paper which sided with the strikers, had been deposed, and Clark, one of the editors of the *Crisis*,[22] published to stir up disorder, had absconded. Notwithstanding the serious nature of the disturbances, no lives were lost. On the 22d of June the order of the 13th was revoked, and civil authority reinstated, the miners having returned to their work. Besides the loss to Leadville of half a summer's labor and profit, the state was taxed $19,506 for the expenses of the militia. For a time these incidents clouded the reputation, as they retarded the progress, of Leadville; but the

[22] The first paper established in Leadville was the *Reveille*, by R. S. Allen, in 1878. The printing-office was a log house on Elm street, below Chestnut. Being a prospector by nature, Allen had pioneered journalism in several new mining camps. He published the *Register* at Central in early times, and the *Sentinel* at Fairplay somewhat later; and, when carbonates were discovered, appeared in Leadville, where for a year and a half he published the *Reveille*, and then suspended, and went his way. The second newspaper in Leadville was the *Eclipse*, a daily democratic journal, established in 1878, and suspended in 1879. On the 29th of June, 1879, appeared the daily *Chronicle*, owned by Carlyle C. Davis, John Arkins, and James M. Burnell. Their printing-office was one of the first buildings on Chestnut street, a one-story frame structure 20 by 30 feet. None of the trio had any means which was not in their business, and used the office for a lodging-house. The first issue was a small sheet of 5 columns. Its success from the start was so great that it was twice enlarged in 3 months. In May Burnell sold to the other partners. In Dec. they purchased a 4-horse-power steam engine, with a press capacity of 1,800 an hour. In April 1880 Arkins sold to Davis, who conducted the business alone, publishing a 6-column daily, quarto size, and a 9-column weekly, an able, instructive, and illustrated paper. *The Democrat*, and the *Herald*, a little later in starting, are also able papers, of which mention is made in another place.

advent of railroads in August, and the continued discoveries of rich ore bodies, soon restored the balance.[23]

Such natural wealth on the east side of the continental divide was sure to inspire the desire of search upon the occidental slope. But all that country, as I have already stated, was left in reserve for the Utes. The first attempt of miners to occupy the Ute country was in 1861, when a party of prospectors all perished at the hands of the Indians in Washington gulch, since known as Dead Men's gulch, on the head of Rock creek, a branch of Roaring fork of Grand river. A few men who were undeterred by the massacre of the first party, or who had forced

[23] It will be instructive to mention the smelters in and about Leadville at the close of 1879, with their output. Little Chief, S. Tyson supt, started Aug. 5, 1879, with one furnace—silver and lead, with a trace of gold—total value of bullion, $212,775.88. Ohio and Missouri, J M. Rockwood supt, started July 16, 1879; one furnace; total value, $154,817.89. Cummings & Finn, Frederick H. Williams supt, started July 25, 1879; three furnaces; total value, $323,039.24. Gage-Hagaman, G. W. Bryan metallurgist, started May 23, 1879, one furnace; total value, $160,454.84. Raymond, Sherman, and McKay, started June 26, 1879; one furnace; total value, $143,837.20. Elgin Mining and Smelting company, started June 24, 1879; one furnace; total value, $425,251.20. Harrison Reduction works, started Oct. 1878; three furnaces; total value, $1,018,164.24. J. B. Grant & Co. smelter, Grant manager, started Sept. 23, 1878; eight furnaces; total value, $2,397,474.48. Leadville Smelting co., started May 15, 1879; one furnace; total value, $199,177.80. La Plata Mining and Smelting co., started Nov. 2, 1878; four furnaces; total value, $1,969,636.24. American Mining and Smelting co., O. H. Hahn supt, started June 5, 1879; two furnaces; total value, $223,837.36. Billing & Eiler's Utah smelter, Fritz Wolf supt, started May 14, 1879; two furnaces; total value, $1,022,670.16. California Smelting co., started Sept. 1879; two furnaces; total value, $76,870. J. D. Dickson & Co. Lizzie furnaces, started June 1879; two furnaces; total value, $785,010.40. J. B. Steen & Co. Malta Smelting works, started June 1878; one furnace; total value, $62,560.76. Adelaide Smelting works, started 1878; one furnace; total value, $75 252.96. To sum up, 34 furnaces in less than a year, reducing 210,341,719 pounds of ore, produced 37,727,797 pounds of bullion, containing 6,913,408 ounces of silver, valued at $7,743,116.86, and 818.8 ounces of gold, valued at $16,376.37, and $1,496,437.64 worth of lead, =$9,250,928.85. Besides the ore smelted in the local works, there was sent away to be reduced $2,751,879.76 worth of ore, to be reduced in foreign smelters, and $30,000 in gold from the gold mines, making the product for the period above given $12,032,808.61. *Leadville Carbonate Chronicle*, Jan. 3, 1880. The outlay was of course enormous to produce this result, but it could never be so great for any other year for these companies, and the amount of ore to be smelted must increase with time and facilities. Supposing the supply to be practically unlimited, as it seems, mining becomes in Colorado a permanent industry on a grand scale. The product of Lake co., in gold, silver, and lead, up to 1882, was $56,945,117.69.

themselves in at about the same time, found gold in Union park, Taylor park, German flats, and Tincup flats, but none were able to hold their ground against the Indians except a company in Union park, which erected fortifications, and mined in the intervals of hunting and skirmishing. They seem to have conquered a peace, for this limited region continued to be occupied for twenty years.[24] Very little was known of the country. Old mountaineers had traversed it. Frémont had crossed its northern portion by the White river branch of the Colorado in 1844. Gunnison had explored it by the Grand river branch, the southern fork of which was named after him by Governor Gilpin. Expeditions under Macomb and Ives had traversed the south-west corner, following the old Spanish trail from Santa Fé to Salt Lake. Ives explored the lower Colorado in 1857–8 to a point eighty miles below Grand cañon, where he organized a land expedition and explored the plateaux traversed by it. This expedition approached from the west, and did not extend to the Gunnison country. Baker's party penetrated it to the Grand cañon of the Colorado, where they were killed by the Indians, as I have already related. In 1869 Major J. W. Powell explored the Grand cañon with an efficient company and outfit, adding much to the interest already felt in the country.[25] He had been preceded in the Gunni-

[24] See *Richardson's History of the Gunnison Country*, MS., or an account of its exploration and settlement. Sylvester Richardson was born in Albany, N. Y. Migrating first to Sheboygan, Wis., he followed architecture and boat-building, with music-teaching. In 1860 he came to Colorado, where he practised medicine 22 years. In 1861 he went into cattle-raising, but the Indian war of 1864 ruined his business. He afterward settled in the Gunnison country.

[25] In the summer of 1867 Powell visited the Colorado mountains with a party of amateur naturalists, during which expedition he explored the cañon on Grand river below Hot Sulphur springs, and also the Cedar cañon, by which Grand river leaves Middle park. His curiosity thus stimulated, he determined upon further explorations. In 1868 he organized another expedition, which spent the summer among the mountains, and encamped for the winter 120 miles above the mouth of White river. During the winter, which was a mild one, excursions were made southward to the Grand, down White to Green river, north to Bear river, and around the Uintah mountains. Gradually these exploring excursions had become geological and scientific,

son country in 1866 by Benjamin Graham, who, in 1870, conducted a second expedition,[26] which spent the summer in prospecting the west slope of the Elk mountains, where they discovered many galena lodes, carrying cerussite in limestone formation, and a coal vein on Rock creek. A log fort was erected, and prospecting continued, but the Utes in 1874 burned the fort and drove out the prospectors, who lost all their property except their arms, and were compelled to make their way home, 100 miles, on foot, subsisting by shooting game. In this instance the Utes proved themselves able astronomers, as the 107th meridian, their eastern boundary, agreed to the year before, lay a few miles east of the Rock creek camp. In 1874 Hayden's scientific and exploring expedition passed the summer in the Gunnison country, but to these the Indians made no objection, knowing they were transient visitors, but not, perhaps, being aware that the knowledge which they gathered would send them more prospectors,[27] although, as it happened, the

and were carried on under the patronage of the government. The better to carry out his project of exploring the Colorado cañons, Powell had 4 boats built in Chicago, as strong as could be made, and transported by rail to the point where the U. P. R. R. crosses Green river. On the 24th of May the fleet left Green River city, in Wyoming, provisioned for 10 months, and supplied with scientific instruments, arms, ammunition, and tools, and two of them decked. The boats were named and manned as follows: *Emma Dean, J. W. Powell, J. C. Sumner,* and *William H. Dunn; Kitty Clyde's Sister, W. H. Powell* and *G. Y. Bradley; No Name, O. G. Howland, Seneca Howland,* and *Frank Goodman; Maid of the Cañon, W. R. Hawkins* and *Andrew Hall.* A summer of extraordinary travel and magnificent discovery followed, in which the object was accomplished, the examination of the grand cañon of the Colorado, besides which there were several others—Contract cañon, 41 miles long, with walls from 1,300 to 2,700 feet in height: Glen cañon, 149 miles long, with walls from 200 to 1,600 feet in altitude; Marble cañon, 65½ miles long, 200 feet deep at its head, and 3,500 feet deep at its lower end; Grand cañon, 217½ miles in length, and from 3,000 to 6,000 feet in depth. *Powell's Explor. Colo River,* 5, 79–102.

[26] This party consisted of R. A. Kirker, William Gant, Samuel McMillen, Louis Brant, James Brennan, and C. M. Defabauch. See Fossett's *Colorado,* a descriptive, historical, and statistical work of 592 pages, 8 mo, with maps and illustrations: New York, 1880; the most complete of the many books about the centennial state. Kirker was a resident of Park county, and active in exploring the mountains, particularly the Park range. A. Thornton was a prospector in this region about this time.

[27] I have several times had occasion to refer to Hayden's researches in the course of this work. The reports of Hayden, Endlich, Peale, Gannett, and Holmes were of great service in making known to the world the mineral

first who came and stayed were of a date at least contemporaneous with the government explorations just recorded.

In 1872 a party of prospectors returning from the San Juan country, where they were unwelcome, passed up the Gunnison river, and examining the old diggings on Rock creek, discovered a number of silver lodes in the vicinity.[28] A company was raised in Denver the following spring to visit the alleged discovery, among whom were John Parsons, Lewis Wait, and Thomas Croider. They went and returned by the old Washington gulch pass, via Red mountain, Twin lakes, Buckskin Joe, and Fairplay, bringing a

wealth of western Colorado. See Hayden's *U. S. Geol. and Geog. Survey of Colorado and Adjacent Territory*, 1874, p. 515, Washington, 1876. In Hayden's letter to the secretary of the interior, which serves as a preface, he names the assistants with him in Colorado as follows: first division crossing the mountains by the Berthoud pass, explored in 1861 by Berthoud while looking for an overland mail route by the way of Denver, consisted of A. R. Marvine geologist, S. B. Ladd topographer, Louis Chauvenet asst topographer, M. L. Ward and W. S. Holman meteorologists, E. A. Barber botanist, W. W. Williams asst, 2 packers, cook, and hunter. The second division consisted of Henry Gannett topographer, Fred Owens asst topographer, A. C. Peale geologist, Frank Kellogg, asst, Arch. R. Balloch asst, 2 packers and a cook; field, the Grand river. Third division consisted of A. D. Wilson topographer, F. Rhoda asst, F. M. Endlich geologist, Gallup meteorologist; field, the San Juan country. With Hayden were G. B. Chittenden topographer, W. H. Holmes geologist, W. H. Jackson photographer, Anthony asst, Ernest Ingersoll naturalist, Frank Smart asst, 2 packers and a cook.

The geographical surveys west of the 100th meridian, conducted by George M. Wheeler of the corps of engineers for several successive years, were of unusual interest. He had under his orders a party of engineer officers, and accompanying him a number of specialists. John J. Stevenson, geologist, in 1878 examined the coal-measures at the east base of the Rocky mountains, particularly from Trinidad south to Santa Fé. The reports down to 1884, which have been published, show a vast area of research for all the several branches of the survey, but they are for the most part too labored and technical for the general reader. There are few Hugh Millers in geology, and until there are more, that science will remain a dense and tasteless topic which should glow and sparkle with suggestion and meaning to the commonest understanding. A little in these reports concerning the effect of certain rock formations on the aspect of a country, its soils, rivers, and vegetable productions, both before and after it comes under improvement, would prove an attractive feature in geological works. The paleontology of Colorado is remarkable and interesting, as shown in the *Bulletins of the U. S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, Second Series, No. 1*, containing descriptions of fossil fishes and mammalia. This subject, combined with an intelligent study of the rocks, and the interest attaching to the relics of a long-past semi-civilization in Colorado, should furnish a fascinating field of observation to the ordinary mind as well as to the specialist.

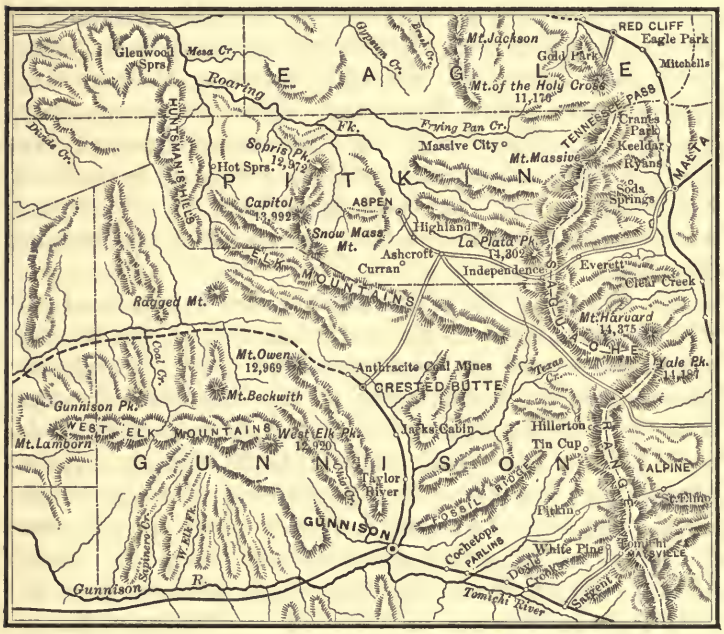
[28] The names of some of this company were Douglas McLaughlin, James Brennan, and George Green (colored).

report so satisfactory that an expedition was immediately organized to return and explore the whole Gunnison country. It consisted of thirty men with eight wagons and a pack-train, which proceeded to cross the mountains by the South park, Poncho, and Cochetopa passes. The geologist of the expedition was Sylvester Richardson, the metallurgist Richard Cook, and the botanist Parsons, the recognized leader. On arriving at the Indian agency of Los Pinos, they were forbidden by the assembled Utes, numbering 1,500, to continue their journey. But upon holding a council, and taking the sense of the meeting by vote, it was found that there was an equal division, when the head chief, Ouray, gave his voice in favor of allowing the party to proceed

The company proceeded to the junction of Tomichi creek and Gunnison river, where they met a couple of white herders in charge of the government cattle belonging to the agency, and who conducted the wagons to a ford of the river. On the site of Gunnison City Richardson took an astronomical observation, and being satisfied that they were on the east side of the 107th meridian, determined to there found a town, and occupy the beautiful valley of the Gunnison. After several more days of toilsome road-building and travel, the expedition arrived at the head of Rock creek, and at once erected a small smelter, near where the town of Scofield was subsequently located. In two months a sufficient test had been made, and the company returned to winter at Denver, the wagon-train by the same route by which they came, and the pack-train by the Washington gulch trail.

Arrived at home, Richardson made his report to persons interested, residing in Chicago, Quincy, and Denver, which being favorable, furnaces and machinery were purchased, and all things placed in readiness to commence mining in Gunnison county as soon as spring should open. Before spring arrived a panic

had occurred in business circles, which put an end to the schemes of the Parsons company. But Richardson, remembering the beauties of Gunnison valley, and being resolved to locate himself there, called a meeting at Denver, and proceeded to organize a joint stock company for the purposes of settlement. About the 1st of March the company was incorporated, with



GUNNISON MINING REGION.

Richardson president, George Storm vice-president, Charles A. Beale secretary, and a board of directors consisting of these persons and J. B. Outcalt, John Spradling, George W. Hughes, and Doctor Knowles. The colony arrived at Gunnison river April 21, 1874. The land was surveyed into quarter sections; each colonist drew 160 acres by lot, and a town was laid off on Richardson's portion, and named Gunnison, after Captain Gunnison, who first surveyed this valley.

In the autumn dissensions arose in the company, some members of which abandoned their interests and went prospecting to the north. Alll returned to Denver to winter, and of the thirty original members only three resumed their occupancy in 1875, namely Richardson, and John and William Outcalt. Gradually settlers, especially cattle-owners, came to remain. In 1876 a new town company was formed, which took possession of the present site of Gunnison, outside of Richardson's claim. But this company also quarreled and dissolved. In 1879 there were two rival organizations—the East and West Gunnison town companies. The Denver and Rio Grande railway was being pushed westward with a purpose to develop the country, and the west Gunnison town company by liberal donations of land secured the station and car-shops.

In March 1879 the legislature established the county of Gunnison, and attached it to Lake for representative and judicial purposes. Its boundaries commenced on the summit of the Saguache [29] range, between the headwaters of the Arkansas and Colorado, where the south line of Lake county crossed the divide, extending along the said summit to the north line of Lake county, thence west to the west boundary of the state, and south to the north line of Ouray county, this being the north boundary of the San Juan purchase, thence east to the west line of Saguache county, following the boundary of this county to Saguache range, and north along its summit to the south-west corner of Lake county, embracing more than 10,000 square miles.[30] Settlement and discovery progressed slowly. In 1877 the Jennings brothers located a mine of bituminous coal at Crested Butte mountain, and the following year How-

[29] An Indian word, pronounced sí-watch, meaning blue stream. *Richardson's Hist. Gunnison Country*, MS., 15.

[30] *Gen. Laws Colo*, 1879, 213–16; *Fossett's Colorado*, 565. Pitkin county was taken from the north-east corner of Gunnison and Montrose, Delta and Mesa from the western portion.

ard F. Smith purchased some coal interests and started the village of Crested Butte. The existence of coal of a good quality was of itself a reason for extending railroads in this direction.[31] But prospectors from Lake county, the overflow of Leadville, began pouring into the Gunnison country early in 1879—so early, indeed, that they had to tunnel the snow in one of the passes of the mountains. Rich discoveries in gold and silver were made, and the usual sanguine expectation was aroused.

The first important discovery of silver was of the Forest Queen, in the summer of 1879. The history is simple and romantic. A Maryland man, W. A. Fisher, who had driven an ox-team across half the continent, became fastened in the mire of the mountains and was helped out by a spectator, O. P. Mace, whereupon Fisher gratefully promised him a half-interest in the first mine he should find. A few days later Mace was informed of the discovery of the Forest Queen lode, half of which he received from Fisher under the name of Ruby camp, and which he almost immediately sold for $100,000.[32] The village of Ruby a few miles west of Crested Butte became a dependency of the mine. Other discoveries, and other incipient towns followed; namely, Aspen, Gothic, Schofield, Elko, Bellevue, Irwin, Pitkin, Virginia, Tin Cup, Ohio City, Hillerton, Massive, and Highland. But in the midst of hope and promise the brightest, a thunderbolt fell. The Utes, viewing the gradual, but sure encroachments upon their reserved territory, turned in their rage and slaughtered, not the intrud-

[31] A well-known mineralogist is reported to have said that while a pound of Penn anthracite will make 25 pounds of steam, a pound of this bituminous coal will make 23 pounds; but while one pound of eastern anthracite is burning, two pounds of this will burn. Therefore, while the pound of Penn anthracite is making 25 pounds of steam, this coal will generate 46 pounds. *Ingersoll's Crest of the Continent*, 257.

[32] *Graybeard's Colorado*, 82. 'Graybeard' is John F. Graff, and his book series of letters to the *Philadelphia Press*, being notes of a journey to Denver and back, in the autumn and winter of 1881–2, p. 90, 1882. It is a superficial but pleasantly written view of the country, gathered chiefly from conversations with men.

ers, they were too many and strong, but their best friend, the philanthropist Meeker, and his family, at the agency, as I have related. This outbreak was an interruption, but not a long one. The rush to the Gunnison country in 1880 was greater than ever before, being a repetition of the Leadville excitement. A region was explored fifty by a hundred miles in extent. The mineral formation while similar to that of California gulch was less of the carbonate character, and consequently more difficult of reduction, sometimes requiring roasting. Yet, as the mines were frequent and rich, the Gunnison country, on account of its extent, was regarded as the great treasury of the state. In July 1881 the Denver and Rio Grande railway was extended to Gunnison city, and in the latter part of November to Crested Butte. Before this, however, smelters and mills had been erected. Such marvels of progress were seldom witnessed as this mining and railroading progress in the heart of the mountains; nor could it have been possible, no matter how great the skill, without the native wealth to sustain the outlay.[33]

[33] Some facts with regard to Gunnison mines are here given. The formation of the mineral bearing country is generally porphyry, quartzite, and limestone, or decomposed granite. Among the noteworthy lodes near Pitkin are the Fairview, Silver Islet, Silver Age, Terrible, Old Dominion, Green Mountain Group, Silver Queen, Silver King, Western Hemisphere, Black Cloud, Merrimac, and Silver Point. The Fairview averaged in the early period of its development, 160 ounces of silver per ton, with 38 per cent of lead; and a large amount carried 450 of silver per ton. Silver Islet samples of dressed ore averaged 450 ounces, undressed, 275, with 25 per cent of copper. It belonged to C. C. Puffer, who sold it for $30,000 before much work had been done on it. Gov. Routt bought the Red Jacket, a 4-foot vein, for $20,000. Near Ohio City were the Ohio, Dodson, Grand View, Ontario, Gold Point, Humboldt, Tornado, Parole, Camp, and Gold Link. Free milling quartz and gold were found near the surface, changing to silver below. Near Hillerton the Prince mine, on Gold Hill, showed five feet of carbonates, carrying silver 272 ounces to the ton, and traces of gold. The Royal Oak Mining company of New York owned mines in this section. Tin Cup, Silver Cup, Gold Cup, Golden Queen, Hirbie Lee, Allentown, Anna, Dedricka, Mayflower, Red Lion, Thompson, Little Anna, and Big Galena, were among the prominent mines about Tin Cup. The Golden Queen was one of the few true fissure veins, assaying $60 per ton, mostly in gold, and showing cube galena. The Tin Cup, Gold Cup, and Silver Cup were on one lode or deposit, being carbonates, in limestone, worked by the Bald Mountain co., and paying well in silver. Highland Mining district on Roaring fork and Castle creek contained a belt of limestone 18 miles long by 3 miles in width, between these streams in which

I have now given the principal history of silver and gold mining in Colorado for the first twenty years, from 1859-60 to 1879–80. A detailed account of all the minor discoveries would be more tedious than interesting. In the following chapters a summing of results, brought down as nearly to 1886 as amid transition so rapid it will be possible to do, will conclude the history of this portion of the state.[34]

an immense amount of mineral was found. The Monarch lode cropped out of the earth 20 feet in height and 25 feet in thickness, averaging 60 ounces of silver to the ton. The Smuggler, Spar, Cphir, and Richmond yielded handsomely—the Ophir $500 per ton, the Richmond, owned by Stevens and Leiter, from $70 to $100 per ton. The Smuggler, the oldest location near Aspen City, carried from 70 to 100 ounces of silver per ton. The ore of the spar was heavy baryta, with masses of copper and chlorides yielding richly. The Silver Bill lode showed native silver, and milled 94 ounces per ton. The Little Russell milled $300 per ton. Massive City is in the centre of a carbonate belt. Ruby was regarded as the point of convergence of three mineral belts, and the richest of all the districts. Among its notable mines were the Forest Queen, Lead Chief, Bullion King, Independence, Monto Cristo, Ruby Chief, Little Minnie, Silver Hill Crystal, Zume, Justice, Bobtail, Hopewell, Pickwick, Fourth of July, Eureka, and Old Missouri. The ore of the first 7 named yielded from $200 to $2,000 per ton. The Good Enough Smelting co. erected in 1880 a chlorodizing and amalgamating mill, the machinery of which filled 25 railway cars. W. H. Webb, J. R. T. Lindley, S. L. Townsend, and M. B. C. Wright were owners in this plank. The Fireside, Ruby, Equator, Morning Star, Dictator, Capitol, Hunkidori, and Hub are in this district. The first location, the Ruby Chief, was made by James Brennan. It carried ruby mineral. The Forest Queen in 1879 shipped 24 tons of picked ore to Pueblo and Denver that yielded $10,800. Crested Butte had a smelter in 1879 though there are no silver mines in its immediate vicinity. Gothic district, 7 miles north of Crested Butte, is located on Copper creek and East river. Its business center is Gothic City at the foot of the Gothic mountain. Among the noted mines are Independent, Silver Spence, Rensselaer, Vermont, Jenny Lind, Keno, Wolverine, Triumph, and Silver Queen, which carries 350 ounces of silver per ton of gray copper. Goodwin & Co. own the mine. The Silver Spence has a vein of galena, antimonial silver, native and ruby silver and sulphurets, from 4 to 20 inches in thickness. The Evening Star lode, on the same creek, is of fine-grained galena ore intermixed with white feldspar. There were four smelters in the Gothic district in 1880, within a radius of ten miles. On Rock creek were also many argentiferous veins and a smelter. The Silver Reef, three feet wide, was purchased by T. Foley of Leadville and E. B. Craven of Cañon City. Discoveries had been made the same year on Grizzly creek, 30 miles within the Indian reservation.

[34] Some of the authorities consulted for this chapter and not previously noted, are: *New Colorado and the Santa Fé Trail*, by A. A. Hayes, Jr, which, while it touches on the subjects herein contained, is chiefly a humorous view of unfamiliar scenes, and of little value as an authority. *The Footprints of Time, and a Complete Analysis of our American System of Government*, p. 738, by Charles Bancroft, Root publisher, Burlington, Iowa, 1877, is as its name implies a compedium of facts relating to our governmental system, and contains a brief outline of the history of each state and territory. A useful book of reference. *Summering in Colorado* is a volume of 158 pages published at Denver in 1874, by Richards & Co., with the design of attracting tourists to the grand and romantic scenery of the Rocky mountains. It is descriptive, with

a few photographic views, and a table of altitudes and distances. *Colorado and Homes in the New West*, by E. P. Tenney, president of Colorado college, p. 118, Boston, 1880, is probably intended to advertise the college; at the same time it gives a pleasant impression of Colorado as a whole, and is a readable book on a plane above comicality, at which it is fashionable to strain in modern travels. *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback*, by James F. Meline, p. 317, New York, 1867, is the narrative of a journey to Santa Fé and back in 1866, but contains more than the ordinary amount of information to be found in such books, and for the date at which it was published was interesting, while much that it contains is still of value. Meline was a contributor to the *Catholic World*, in which the above narrative first appeared. He died at Brooklyn, Aug. 14, 1873, aged 60 years. The *Mines of Colorado*, by Ovando J. Hollister, editor and proprietor of the *Colorado Mining Journal*, is a volume of 450 pages, devoted to a brief historical sketch of the discovery of the mines previous to 1867, with a description of the different districts as they then existed, for which reason it deals more with gold than silver mining. It is sufficiently practical and scientific together to be intelligible to the general reader.

The Colorado Mining Directory and Mining Laws, 1883, p. 908, contains a description of every developed mine in the state at the date, arranged by counties, with the statutes on mining, an admirable authority for its purpose. *On the Plains and among the Peaks, or how Mrs Maxwell Made her Natural History Collection*, by Mary Dartt, Philadelphia, 1879, furnishes little that is available for the historian, but is in a measure authoritative as to the fauna of the country. Mrs Maxwell's collection of Colorado mammals and birds was exhibited in Washington in 1876–77, and received much praise. *Hist. Colorado*, MS., by Carlyle C. Davis, Leadville, treats of the history of the *Chronicle*, and other newspapers of Leadville, the early history of the town, and its present prosperity and peculiarities. Davis was born at Glen Falls, N. Y., in 1846, and came to Colorado in Oct. 1878, as one of the proprietors of the *Chronicle*, which became a leading journal in the state. *Towns about Leadville*, MS., by James N. Chipley, gives a brief account of the rise of the mining towns in Lake co., and the history of leading mines. The Robert E. Lee mine took out in one day, according to Chipley, $118,000, and many days $50,000. Chipley was a native of Mo., born in 1854, and came to Denver in 1873; thence to Leadville in 1878. *The Flush Times in Colorado*, MS., by Charles Boettcher, Leadville, is a narrative of the author's migrations, and incidentally a history of the places where he has tarried for certain periods; at Cheyenne, in Wyoming, Greeley, Boulder, and Leadville, in Colorado. Boettcher was born in Germany in 1852, immigrating to the U. S. in 1867, and to Wyoming in 1868, whence he came to Colorado in 1871, and to Leadville in 1878. *Smelting in Colorado*, MS., by Franz Fohr, contains some loose statements concerning smelting; as, for instance, that at Denver, Pueblo, Cañon City, and Leadville, such works exist; and that the output of Leadville alone, not including outlying camps, was in 1884, 1,000 tons of bullion daily. *Progress in Colorado*, MS., by Charles I. Thompson, who had charge of the St Louis smelting works, and the Leadville Improvement company's property, gives a history of the troubles of the latter corporation with squatters, as well as many items of general information. Thompson was born at Newburg, N. Y., in 1836, removed to Ohio in his childhood, to Kansas City in 1865, and to Leadville in 1878. *Business in Leadville*, MS., by Charles Mater, is a view of early mining, supplemented by the crowning fact that Leadville Iron and Silver Consolidated mines have yielded $30,000,000 annually ever since 1879, with many more general items of interest. Mater was born in Germany in 1835, and came to the U. S. in 1853, migrating to Colorado in 1869. *Notes on Colorado*, by William Gilpin, pp. 52, is a pamphlet descriptive and geological, issued in 1870. *Milwaukee Monthly Magazine*, June 1872, 203–10, descriptive. *San Juan and Other Sketches*, MS., is a compilation of historical articles, made for this work. *The Mines of Colorado*, by Samuel D. Silver, MS. deals with early times in California gulch, and the

subsequent discoveries. Silver was born in Fort Wayne in 1840, and came to Colorado in 1872. *Karl's All the Year Round in the Recesses of the Rocky Mountains*, pp. 20, descriptive, illustrated.

Journalism in Colorado has always ranked high, many of the weekly and daily publications being of an order to do credit to cities much older than Denver. On the 23d of April, 1859, two newspapers were issued at Denver, then Auraria, the *Rocky Mountain News* and the *Cherry Creek Pioneer*. The latter was issued by John Merrick, on a cap-size lever press, and suspended after the first number. The *News*, which was owned by William N. Byers and Thomas Gibson, continued to appear weekly. In July 1859, Gibson sold to John L. Dailey, and he in 1870 to Byers, who conducted the business alone for 8 years, when he sold to K. G. Cooper and associates, who in two months sold to William A. H. Loveland and John Arkins, or the News Printing co. In politics the *News* was republican until it came under late management. The *Rocky Mountain Gold Reporter* was started in July 1859, at Central City, by Thomas Gibson, who published it about three months, when he returned to Nebraska. The press he used was that brought out by Merrick, and after his departure it was taken to Golden City, where it served the Boston co. to print the *Western Mountaineer*, which flourished for one year under the conduct of George West, the material and press being sold in Dec. 1860 to Mat. Riddlebarger, who took it to Cañon City. Early in the spring of 1860 H. E. Rounds and Edward Bliss came from Chicago with a newspaper outfit, which Byers & Dailey managed to consolidate with the *News*. In the mean time Gibson had returned to Denver with another press, and on the 1st of May, 1860, began the issue daily and weekly of the *Rocky Mountain Herald*, the first daily in the territory. The *News* soon followed with a daily edition, and also published the *Bulletin*, for circulation among immigrants, which was discontinued in a few months. The *News* and *Herald* were active rivals. Both maintained pony-express lines to the principal mining camps, delivering the daily in 3 or 4 hours—25 cents a copy, $24 a year. But this was not all the extra outlay required. There being no U. S. mail for nearly two years, the mails from the east came by express, at 10c. a newspaper and 25c. a letter, which, with the heavy freight and express charges on material, made newspaper publication not so profitable as it seemed. As soon as the telegraph was completed to Fort Kearny, the rival papers began taking despatches forwarded by express daily, and, when the news was important, by pony, at a heavy cost. After the destruction of the *News* office, in 1864, Byers & Dailey purchased the *Herald* to continue business. The publication of the *Herald* was resumed, in 1868, by O. J. Goldrick. Late in 1860 a third daily was started at Denver, called the *Mountaineer*, by Moore and Coleman. It was strongly confederate in sentiment, and was bought out and silenced by Byers & Dailey in the spring of 1861. During this year there were two ephemeral publications at Central City, the most notable of which was the *Mining Life*, by L. M. Amala, a native of the Sandwich islands. The little press which had done duty in Central and Golden was used in the winter of 1860–1 in starting the pioneer paper of southern Colorado, namely, the *Cañon City Times*, owned by H. S. Millett and Riddlebarger before mentioned. It ran but a few months, disappearing with the population, and following it into South park, where already there had been a paper, called the *Miners' Record*, started by Byers & Dailey, in July 1861, at Tarryall, which was discontinued after the political campaign of that year was over, in which it played an important part. During the summer a sheet called the *Colorado City Journal* was published in Colorado City, but printed in Denver, on the *Commonwealth* press, and partly made up from that paper. It was also a republican paper, edited by B. F. Crowell, and was discontinued when the campaign ended. In the spring of 1862 there was a newspaper published at Buckskin Joe, on the *Times* press, brought from Cañon City, which, like its predecessors, soon succumbed to changes in population and business. On the 26th of July, 1862, Alfred Thompson established the *Miners' Register* at Central City, a tri-weekly, printed on a Washington hand-

press, and type brought from Glenwood, Iowa. David C. Collier soon became associated with the *Register* as editor, and was of eminent service to the territory in upholding the government during the rebellion. In April 1863 Collier, in company with Hugh Glenn and George A. Wells, purchased the paper. In May it was enlarged to a 24-column sheet, and in August was issued as a daily. In Sept. Glenn sold out to Collier & Wells, and in Nov. the *Register* appeared in new type, and commenced the regular publication of telegraphic news. The telegraph was completed at this interesting period of the war, and extras were issued as often as any important news was received. When the carriers appeared a shout was raised, and everyone hastened into the streets to learn and discuss the news. At the quartz-mills the sight of an extra-carrier was the signal to blow the whistles for leaving work until the despatches were read to the anxious men. Wells sold his interest in the paper to Frank Hall in Oct. 1865, the firm being now Collier & Hall. In July 1868 the name was changed to *Central City Register*. In 1873 Collier disposed of his interest to W. W. Whipple, Hall being editor. This partnership was not of long duration; Hall became sole proprietor, and on June 1, 1877, the whole establishment passed into the hands of James A. Smith and D. Marlow, who conducted it for 7 months, when they took in H. M. Rhodes as partner and editor. About this time, Feb. 1878, another paper, named *The Evening Call*, was started in Central, under the management of G. M. Laird and D. Marlow. In May this firm purchased the *Register*, consolidating it with the *Call*, under the name of *Register-Call*, and issuing a daily and weekly edition, John S. Dormer editor-in-chief, and J. P Waterman mining reporter. Throughout all its changes the *Register* has remained republican. In 1863 a paper was started at Black Hawk, called the *Colorado Miner*, by W. Train Muyr, which became during the year the *Black Hawk Journal*, with Hollister & Blakesley publishers, and afterward Hollister & Hall. In 1866 this establishment was moved to Central, and published as the *Times*, by Henry Garbanati and O. J. Goldrick. In politics it was democratic. Early in 1868 Thomas J. Campbell purchased it, and, changing the name to *Colorado Herald*, published a daily and weekly. In the latter part of 1870 it was sold to Frank Fossett, who managed it until it suspended altogether, in 1873. In Jan. 1866 the *Valmont Bulletin* was started on the same pioneer press which had made the circuit of Central, Golden, Cañon City, Tarryall, and Buckskin Joe, and been returned to its owners in Denver. The proprietors of the *Bulletin* were W H. Allen and D. G. Scouten. In April 1877 it was removed to Boulder, and published as the *Valley News*, by W. C. Chamberlain, for 1½ years. In the autumn of 1868 it became the *Boulder County Pioneer*, J. E. Wharton editor. Soon after the stockholders leased it to Robert H. Tilney, who changed the name to *The Boulder County News*. In 1870 the *News* passed into the hands of D. A. Robinson and D. G. Scouten. In May 1871 it was sold to Henry M. Cort. who sold it again, in Aug., to Wynkoop & Scouten; and before the year was out, Scouten and Joseph P. McIntosh owned it. In 1872 Wynkoop alone owned it. In 1874 it was sold to Amos Bixby and Eugene Wilder, who enlarged it to an 8-column journal. In 1878 Bixby sold his interest to William G. Shedd, proprietor of the *Sunshine Courier*, and the two papers were united, under the name of *News and Courier*, Shedd & Wilder proprietors, Thomas H. Evarts editor, assisted in 1879 by P. A. Leonard, and Charles Tucker. It was still a leading newspaper in 1886. The pioneer press, on which the *News* was started, was afterward taken to New Mexico, and used in issuing the first paper at Elizabethtown. The *Sunshine Courier* was started by J. B. Bruner and J. W. Cairns in May 1875. Cairns sold in 1877 to Hawkins; and in the same year Hawkins sold to William G. Shedd, who in 1878 purchased the whole, and removed it to Boulder, where it was consolidated with the *News*. In 1866 George West, who had been captain in the 2d Colorado volunteer infantry, returned to Golden, and established *The Transcript*, a democratic journal, still in existence in 1886, and with one exception the oldest established paper in Colorado. West was a printer by trade, and had owned, with others, a stereotype

foundery in Boston before coming to Golden in 1859 with the Boston company. As a newspaper man he was always successful. The *Denver Tribune* was established in 1867 by H. Beckurts, and became one of the great dailies of the city, issuing also a weekly, and being in politics republican. On the 1st of May, 1868, the Georgetown *Colorado Miner* was first issued, by E. J. Wharton and A. W. Barnard. E. H. N. Patterson, who wrote over the signature of 'Sniktau,' was for a long time connected with this paper. He died in 1880. W. B. Vickers, another journalist, died the same year. The character of the *Miner* was always well sustained. On June 1, 1868, Pueblo was presented with the first issue of its first local newspaper, the *Colorado Chieftain*, by M. Beshoar and Samuel McBride, proprietors, and George A. Hinsdale and Wilbur F. Stone, editors. The paper was well printed and edited. At one time Beshoar was sole owner, and at another McBride owned the establishment. McBride finally sold to John J. Lambert, who continued to publish it. George S. Adams and E. G. Stroud were employed upon its editorial columns after Hinsdale and Stone. In 1872 a daily edition was issued, with C. J. Reed as editor. After Reed came A. P. George, R. M. Stevenson, C. Conover, G. Shober, and G. G. Withers. The second newspaper of Pueblo was published in 1871 by a stock company, with George A. Hinsdale editor. It was democratic in politics. About the same time the Caribou *Post* was published, Collier & Hall proprietors, and A. Bixby editor. The Greeley *Tribune* was first published in 1870 by N. C. Meeker; and the Greeley *Sun* in 1872, by H. A. French. Both were weekly. The *Golden Eagle*, John Sewell proprietor, a republican paper, was started 1871, and the following year merged in the *Golden Globe*, both of Golden City. In July 1871 the *Longmont Sentinel*, the first newspaper in this colony, was published by Lowe and Hall. It changed proprietors and name the following year, and became the *Longmont Press*, E. F. Beckwith editor and publisher, and F. C. Beckwith associate editor. F. C. Beckwith was born in N. H. in 1840. He received a good public school education, and came to Colorado at the age of 19 years. He mined and farmed, and was active in founding the town of Burlington, situated one half mile from the site of Longmont, which superseded it, and which he was instrumental in establishing at that place. The Denver *Daily* and *Weekly Times* was established in 1872 by Roger S. Woodbury; politics, republican. The Boulder *Rocky Mountain Eagle*, started in 1873 by William Morris, was sold to Wangelin & Tilney, who changed it to the *Colorado Banner*, a weekly. In 1880 Tilney became sole owner. In 1876 the Black Hawk *Post*, a democratic journal, was established by William McLaughlin and W. W. Sullivan. The latter sold his interest to James R. Oliver, and McLaughlin soon after died. It subsequently was owned by Oliver and Brandgust. In the same year the *Democrat* was started at Pueblo by A. Y. Hall. It was founded with the material used a year or two earlier to start the *Republican*, by J. M. Murphy, which was sold. Hall brothers were proprietors of the *Democrat* for a time, when they sold it to another Missourian, named Royal, who changed the name to the *Daily News*. In 1877 the Longmont Printing company issued the *Post*, edited by W. L. Condit. It was changed after a short time to the *Valley Home and Farm*, and managed by W. E. Pabor in the interest of agriculture, until it passed into the hands of a company, and was renamed the Longmont *Ledger*. On the 24th of May, 1877, the Georgetown *Courier* was first issued, J. S. Randall being proprietor and Samuel Cushan editor. The first newspaper at Del Norte, *The Prospector*, was issued in 1874 by Nicholas Lambert, brother of J. J. Lambert, who founded the Pueblo *Chieftain*. In 1875 M. R. Moore became proprietor. The *Cactus* and the *Democrat* appeared later at Del Norte, but were discontinued. The Silverton *Miner* was started in 1875 by John R. Curry of Iowa. M. R. Moore was editor in 1876. In 1875, also, the *Silver World* was first published at Lake City by H. M. Woods, who sold it in 1877 to H. C. Olney. Moore was editor in 1877-78. Woods started another paper in 1877 at Lake City, the *Crescent*, which ran only one year. The *Times* was the first paper in Ouray,

founded by Ripley Brothers in 1877. The same year the *San Juan Sentinel* was started and discontinued. In 1879 the Ouray *Solid Muldoon* was established by David F. Day. It is the property of the Muldoon Publishing company. The same year the Cleora *Journal* was started by Dr S. C. McKeaney, but only ran 3 months. The *Mining Register* of Lake City was started in 1880 by J. F. Downey. The Salida *Mountain Mail* was founded by M. R. Moore in 1880, and sold in 1883 to W. W. Wallace. A great number of newspapers, corresponding to the growth of new towns or the resurrection of old ones, started up about this time. In 1880 the Telluride *Journal* was first issued. In the same year the Buena Vista *Miner* started, E. D. Hunt proprietor, who removed it to Maysville, and sold to J. S. Painter, the paper being discontinued in 1882. In 1881 the Maysville *Mining Ledger* commenced publication, J. H. Nomaker proprietor. The office was removed to Salida, and destroyed by fire in 1882. Mrs C. W. Romney established the first paper in Durango in 1880, soon after which the Durango *Herald* was published by Marsh Brothers. Tompkins Brothers issued a paper for a short time at Nathorp in 1880, which was suspended. About the same time the Dolores *News* was published by Frank Hartman; and the *Mountaineer*, at St Elmo, by Howard Russell; the *True Fissure*, at Alpine, which soon suspended; the *Chaffee County Times*, at Buena Vista, by P. A. Leonard; and the Buena Vista *Herald*, by A. R. Kennedy, who sold it in 1884 to A. R. Crawson. The Buena Vista *Democrat* was issued in 1882 by J. A. Cheeley, who transferred it to W. R. Logan. The Poncho Springs *Herald*, started by Tompkins Brothers in 1881, was discontinued in 1882. In 1882 the Salida *Sentinel* appeared, Petton & Brown owners. It was consolidated with the *Mountain Mail* in 1883. In that year the Salida *News* was published by W. B. McKinney. The Silverton *Democrat* was issned first in 1882. On the 18th of Feb., 1880, the *Boulder County Herald* was established, by Otto H. Wangelin. On the 17th of April it issued the first daily published in Boulder. The Denver *Republican*, a daily and weekly, was founded in 1879 by the Republican company. Later it was consolidated with the *Tribune* as the *Tribune-Republican*. A number of other journals belong to Denver—the *Colorado Journal*, a weekly, founded in 1872 by W. Witteborg; the *Colorado Farmer*, a weekly, founded in 1873 by J. S. Stanger; the *Presbyterian*, a monthly, founded in 1871 by S. Jackson; *The Financial Era*, a weekly, started in 1878 by F. C. Messenger & Co.; the *Colorado Post*, a weekly, issued by the *News* Printing company in 1879; *The Colorado Antelope*, a monthly journal devoted to 'woman's political equality and individuality,' published by Mrs C. M. Churchill, started in 1882; *Real Estate and Mining Review*, first published in 1873 by T. E. Picott; *Denver Opinion*, *Inter-Ocean*, *Great West*, and *Vidette*. A paper called the *Evans Journal* was started at Evans in 1871 by James Torrens, and one at Sterling at a later period. The Castle Rock *News Letter* was published in 1875 by C. E. Parkinson, and the Castle Rock *Journal* was issued about 1880. The Fort Collins *Express* was the first paper in Larimer county, and was founded by J. S. McClelland in 1873. The Fort Collins *Courier* was founded by Watrous and Pelton in 1878. W. E. Pabor started the *Colorado Grange*, an agricutural monthly journal, in 1876, at Longmont. The *Mentor* was issued at Monument in 1878 by A. T. Blachley. The Colorado Springs *Gazette* was established in 1873 by the Gazette Publishing Company. In the same year the *Mountaineer* was started by a printing company at the same place; and in 1875 the *Deaf and Mute Index*, by H. M. Harbert. More recent publications at Colorado Springs are the *State Republic* and the *Evening Times*. Pueblo and South Pueblo have added to the early El Paso county journals the *Banner*, by A. J. Patrick; the *Evening Star*, a daily, by Lacey & Westcott; *Saturday Opinion*, by J. A. Wayland; *Commercial Standard*, and *Colorado Methodist*. Bent county published first the *Leader*, in 1873, at West Las Animas, C. W. Bowman proprietor, and the *Tribune* at La Junta more recently. Custer county's first newspaper was the Rosita *Index*, started in 1875; and succeeded by the *Sierra Journal* at the same place; the Silver Cliff *Tribune;* the *Miner*, a daily and weekly, issued in 1878 by W. L. Stevens,

and the *Prospector*, a daily, owned by McKinney and Lacey. Fremont county has the Cañon City *Record*, founded in 1875 by H. T. Blake; Cañon City *Mercury;* the Cañon City *Democrat;* the Cold Creek *Enterprise*, and *Cold Creek Hawkeye*. Las Animas county was first represented in 1875 by the Trinidad *Enterprise*, daily and weekly, by J. M. Rice, 1878, and by the *Review, Advertiser, and News*, the latter a daily and weekly, started by Henry Sturgis in 1878, all at Trinidad. Huerfano county had the La Veta *Quill*, and a newspaper at Walsenburg. Saguache county has the Saguache *Chronicle*, founded by W. B. Felton in 1874, the Saguache *Advance*, and the Bonanza *Enterprise*. La Plata county is represented by the *Southwest* at Animas City, started by Engly & Reid in 1879, and by the *Herald* and *Democrat* at Durango. Conejos county had the the Alamosa *News*, started by M. Curtiss in 1878, the *Independent*, started the same year by Hamm & Finley, the *Gazette*, and later the *Democrat*. San Juan county added the Silverton *Herald*, and *Democrat*, established in 1882, to its Pioneer *Miner*. Hinsdale county had a second paper at Lake City, the *Mining Register*. Dolores county had but one journal, the Rico *News*. Ouray county gained the *Red Mountain Review*. Mesa county had the Grand Junction *News*, and Grand Junction *Democrat;* Montrose county the *Messenger*, and one other paper. Delta county had a paper of its own. In Pitkin county were the Aspen *Times* and *Sun*. Gunnison's first newspaper was the *Gunnison News*, started in April 1880. It was followed in May by the *Review*, both weekly journals. Soon the *News* suspended, but late in 1881 another weekly, the *Press*, was started. In the spring of 1882 the *Review* issued a daily, and soon the two papers consolidated and issued the daily *Review-Press*, Aug. 1st. The *News* was revived in the spring of 1882 as the *News-Democrat*. The *Mining Journal*, started in the autumn, suspended in 4 months. *The Sun*, started in the autumn of 1883, survived 10 months. The county still had left 7 newspapers, besides those in Gunnison City; namely, the *Elk Mountain Pilot*, at Irwin, established in 1880; the *Crested Butte Gazette*, established in 1880; *Pitkin Independent*, 1880; Pitkin *Mining News*, 1882; Tomichi, *Herald*, 1882; Tin Cup *Miner*, 1880; Tin Cup *Banner*, 1880, suspended in 1882; the *White Pine Cone*, 1883; and Gothic *Record*. In Summit co. were the *Breckenridge Leader*, *Breckenridge Journal*, and Dillon *Enterprise*. Park county published the Fair Play *Flume*, the Alma *Bulletin*, and the Como *Headlight;* Grand county, the Grand Lake *Enterprise*; Clear Creek county, in addition to its papers already named, the *Silver Flume* at Georgetown, and at Idaho Springs the *Advance*, the *Iris*, and *Gazette*. Boulder added to the *News-Courier* the *Herald*, a daily and weekly. Lake county, rich in journalism, had at Leadville the *Eclipse*, started by G. F. Wanless in 1878; the *Reveille*, founded by R. S. Allen the same year, daily and weekly; the *Leadville Chronicle*, a daily, founded Jan. 29, 1879, by Davis, Arkins, and Burnell; the *Herald*, a daily, started by R. G. Dill in Oct. 1879; the *Democrat*, a daily, founded Jan. 1, 1880, by a stock company. In Oct. 1883 C. C. Davis purchased the *Democrat*, and changed its politics, but not its name. The *Times*, an evening daily, was started in 1881 by a stock company. Four successive weeklies under the same name—the *Monday Morning News*—have come into existence, to perish at the end of a few weeks, except the last. The *Mining Index* also had a brief existence. The *Leaflet* also belonged to the ephemeral class of publications. The journals in existence in 1886 were the *Chronicle*, *Herald*, and *Democrat*, all republican in politics, although Lake county is democratic. The typographical, pictorial, and editorial features of these journals are worthy of notice. The *Chronicle-Annual* for Jan. 1882 is a complete representation of Leadville and the mining industry, and also the scenic attractions of the county, with historical and biographical sketches, presented in 42 quarto pages, in a handsome paper cover. The *Weekly Democrat* for Jan. 1, 1881, contains 20 six-column pages of matter concerning the mines of Lake county, with historical and other matter, and numerous wood-cuts illustrative of the wonderful growth of the then 4-year old city. The *Rocky Mountain News Illustrated Almanac*, 1882, is a highly creditable publication, containing, besides much information, illus-

trations of the natural history of the state, well executed. The Denver journals, and the numerous well-printed pamphlets on all sorts of subjects, exhibit the progress of the art preservative in Colorado.

In connection with the newspaper history of the country, L. R. Freeman should be mentioned. In 1850 he took the first printing press that crossed the Missouri river above St Louis to Fort Kearney, on the Platte. With the advance of the Pacific railroad, he pursued his way westward, publishing his paper, *The Frontier Index*, at Kearney, North Platte, Julesburg, Laramie, Bear River, and Ogden. In 1885 he was at Yakima, in Washington, working his way to Puget sound. No other newspaper in the United States has so varied a history as the *Index*.

Among the authorities drawn upon for the above history of Colorado journalism are *Pitkin's Political Views*, MS., and a dictation from Roger W. Woodbury of the *Denver Daily Times*. Woodbury was born in N. H. in 1834, and came to Colorado in 1866. After a few months in the mines he resumed his trade of compositor on the *Denver Tribune*, but was soon made local editor, and then managing editor and part owner. He sold his interest in 1871, and the following year established the *Daily Times*. He had $20,000 when he started, but retained the sole ownership, and performed all the editorial work until 1883, when he sold it for $42,500. He was appointed brig.-gen. of the state militia in 1882, and served one term, and was president of the Denver chamber of commerce. *Byers' Newspaper Press of Colorado*, MS., is an invaluable authority from 1859 down. *Good Times in Gunnison*, MS., by A. B. Johnson, furnishes the history of flush times and early newspapers in that country. Johnson was born in Iowa in 1856, and graduated from Simpson university in 1880. He was principal of a graded school in Seward, Neb., for a year, and then came to Colorado. He was for a few months editor of the *Castle Rock Journal*, when he removed to Gunnison City to take charge of the *Daily Review Press* in the autumn of 1882. *M. R. Moore's Press and People of Colorado*, MS., is another excellent authority on newspaper matters, the author having been connected with half a dozen journals in the south and southwest portion of the state. Moore was born in Indians in 1858, and came to Colorado in 1875. He belongs to the San Juan country. James F. Meagher, in his *Observations*, MS., on Colorado, also furnishes some newspaper information. He came to Colorado from New York city, where he was born in 1841, and drove a six-yoke team of oxen up the Platte in 1864. After residing in different parts of the state he settled in Salida.

Among other manuscript authorities is *Carlyle C. Davis' History of Colorado*. Davis was born at Glenn's Falls, N. Y., in 1846, and did not come to Colorado until 1878, since which time he has been connected with journalism in Leadville. *El Paso County, as It has been and Is*, MS., contains a selection of extracts from different journals on this subject, and incidentally on newspapers. *Byers' Centennial State*, MS., 40, has some information on the founding of county papers. So has *Eaton's Gunnison Yesterday and To-day*, MS., 6, and *Horn's Scientific Tour*, MS., 5. Different publications treating of journalism, to which reference has been made, are *Farrel's Colorado, the Rocky Mountain Gem*, 66, a pamphlet published in 1868 in Chicago by Ned. E. Farrell, containing an epitome of the territorial physical history and resources, good for the period: *Ingersoll's Knocking around the Rockies*, 10–11; *Pabor's Colo as an Agricultural State*, 783–7; *Balch's Mines and Miners*, 355; *Fossett's Colorado*, 158–9; *Denver Tribune*, July 15, 1880; *U. S. H. Misc. Doc.*, 47th cong. 2d sess., xiii. pt 8, pp. 209, 170–194; *Pettengill's Newspaper Directory*, 183–4; *Corbett's Legis. Manual*, 39–43.

CHAPTER X.

AGRICULTURE AND STOCK RAISING.

1861–1886.

LAND SURVEYS—ANALYSES OF SOILS—ALTITUDES—IRRIGATION—IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT—CONVENTION—LAWS AND REGULATIONS—A MOST PERFECT SYSTEM—DITCHING—GREELEY AND THE UNION COLONY—LAND-INVESTMENT, CANAL, AND IRRIGATING COMPANIES—GRAIN-GROWING DISTRICTS—PRODUCTS—HORTICULTURAL AND AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES—GRANGES—FAILURE OF COÖPERATIVE COMMERCE—STATE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE — AGRICULTUTAL COLLEGE — STOCK-RAISING — NATIVE GRASSES—INCORPORATED CATTLE COMPANIES—SHEEP AND HORSES.

TURNING from metals and mines to the agricultural and other interests of Colorado, we will find fresh congratulations to offer the occupants of this favored land. I have already briefly touched upon the fact that in this portion of the elevated regions of the mid-continent, as in other portions which were wont to be represented by travellers as desert countries, experiment proved that moisture only was required to mantle the bare earth with bloom. Wherever that was present, or could be introduced by artificial means, farming was likely to prove remunerative. The survey of the public lands began in 1861,[1] the work being carried on first in the Platte valley, where the lands along the Cache-la-Poudre, Big Thompson, Little Thompson, St Vrain, Boulder, Ralston, Clear

[1] The first surveyor-general of Colorado was Francis M. Case, who was appointed soon after the establishment of the district of Colorado, April 5, 1861. The salary at that time was $3,000 a year; under the act of June 15, 1880, it was reduced to $2,500. *Balch's Mines, Miners, etc.*, 569; *Byers' Centennial State*, MS., 27; *U. S. Sen. Jour.*, 400, 37, 2; *U. S. Sen. Doc.*, i. no. 1, 616, 464–5, 37, 2. The office of the sur-gen. was opened June 17, 1861, the standard meridian passing through Pueblo, and about 18 miles east of Denver, and the base line being on the 40th parallel.

creek, Bear creek, and Cherry creek branches was nearly all taken up in 1862, as well as that on the Fontaine-qui-Bouille[2] branch of the Arkansas. The first three years' experience taught the farmers to depend upon artificial irrigation alone, for which reason claims were nearly all bounded on one side by a stream coming down from the highlands extending some distance upon their margins to furnish the facilities for filling the necessary ditches with water. The surveyor-general in 1866 estimated the quantity of land under cultivation to be 100,000 acres, and that one half the population of 35,000 were engaged directly or directly in agricultural pursuits. He also estimated the area of arable land to be equal to 4,000,000 acres, and remarked that the immigration of permanent well-to-do settlers kept the farming interest up to the wants of the population.[3] Of the condition of the farming interest at this period I have spoken previously, stating that in 1866, for the first time, the agricultural productions began to exceed the wants of the population of Colorado, and to offer a surplus in the markets of Montana, and at the government posts. In 1867 the surveyor-general, referring to his predecessor's views, gives it as his opinion that there were 10,000,000 acres of cultivable land in the territory,[4] showing how the idea grew of the agricultural capabilities of the mountain region out of

[2] The report of the sur-gen. for 1862 speaks of the Huerfano and Arkansas rivers as having the most extensive grain growing farms east of the mountains. On the Rio Grande also, and its tributaries, was a large population, mostly Mexican, engaged in agricutural and pastoral pursuits. *U. S. H. Ex. Doc.*, ii. no. i., p. 112, 37, 3. According to *Balch's Mines and Miners*, 570, a local land-office was established at Golden City June 2, 1862, which was removed to Denver; one at Denver Sept. 12, 1864; one at Fairplay Oct. 29, 1867, removed to Leadville July 1879; one at Central City Dec. 27, 1867; one at Pueblo May 27, 1870; one at Del Norte June 20, 1874; and one at Lake City May 5, 1877. According to *DeCoursey's Glenwood*, MS., 2, a land-office was established at Glenwood in 1884. Durango has also a local land-office. These several offices are made necessary by the patenting of mining claims since the act of July 1866.

[3] Rept of John Pierce, in *U. S. Mess. and Doc.*, Int. Dept, 1866–7, 2, 39, 371.

[4] W. H. Lessig, in *Rept Sec. Int.*, 1867–8, iii. 40, 2. In the following year he stated the 'common product' of wheat to be from 40 to 60 bushels per acre.

which Colorado was created. The report of the land department in 1870 estimated the agricultural productions of Colorado at $3,500,000, while the bullion product was put down at $4,000,000. An abstract made in 1882 shows that in the ten previous years 2,501,318.35 acres had been purchased for cash or located with warrants,[5] besides the occupation of a large unknown quantity of unpurchased public lands by herdsmen.

The soil of Colorado varies with position. Its distinctive characteristics are the large proportion of potash, the form in which the phosphates exist, being easily soluble in a weak acid; the low percentage of organic matter and the high proportion of nitrogen contained in the organic matter; the large proportion of lime, and the generally readily available form of all the constituents.[6] Climate is governed by altitude, and there are infinite modifications.[7] In the

[5] *U. S. H. Ex. Doc.*, xix. no. 72, p. 146, 47, 2.

[6] Upland clay loam contains: Volatile matter, 1.31; matter soluble in strong acid, 5 33; insoluble, 93.36. Adobe soil, volatile, 2.49; soluble matter, 11.40; insoluble, 86.11. Platte valley soil, volatile matter, 10.10; soluble, 2.58; insoluble, 87.32. Sandy clay loam, volatile matter, 4.23; soluble, 3.98; insoluble, 92.28. The volatile matter contains nitrogen; the soluble lime, magnesia, potash, iron-oxide, alumnia, carbon, phosphoric, acid, sulphuric acid, nitric acid, carbonic acid, chlorine, soda, etc. *Colorado Soils*, by T. Jamieson, Aberdeen, Scotland.

[7] William E. Pabor, associate editor of the *Colorado Farmer*, who has published a little book on *Colorado as an Agricultural State*, quotes from a statement concerning the soils of Utah, that they are not likely to be very different from those of Colorado, and then gives them in the following proportions: Black loam, 7,200, Sandy loam 3,800, loam and gravel 8,250, loam and clay 3,500, loam and alkali 1,200, clay and gravel 5,000, clay and plaster 3,500, alkali, iron, and sand 2,500, sand, alkali, and volcanic ash 1,000. p. 40. But this proportion is applicable only to the improved lands, and not to the whole area. The altitude of towns and cities in feet is as follows: Alamosa, 7,492; Alma, 10,254; Animas City, 6,622; Baker Mine, 11,956; Bakerville, 9,753; Black Hawk, 7,875; Boulder, 5,536; Breckenridge, 9,674; Cañon, 5,287; Caribou, 9,905; Central, 8,300; Colorado Springs, 6,023; Conejos, 7,880; Del Norte, 7,750; Denver, 5,197; El Moro, 5,886; Empire, 8,583; Evans, 4,745; Fairplay, 9,964; Fall River, 7,719; Fort Collins, 4,815; Fort Garland. 7,945; Fort Lupton, 5,027; Fort Lyon, 3,725; Frisco, 9,500; Georgetown, 8,514; Gold Hill, 8,463; Golden, 5,687; Granite, 8,883; Greeley, 4,779; Grenada, 3,434; Gunnison, 7,743; Hamilton, 9,743; Hermosillo, 4,723; Hot Sulphur Springs, 7,725; Howardville, 9,527; Idaho Springs, 7,512; Jamestown, 7,123; Jefferson, 9,862; Kit Carson, 4,307; Kokomo, 10,200; La Junta, 4,137; Lake City, 8,550; Las Animas, 3,952; Leadville, 10,247; Longmont, 4,957; Los Pinos, 9,065; Manitou, 6,297; Marshall, 5,578; Montezuma, 10,295; Nederland, 8,263; Nevadaville, 8,800; Oro, 10,704; Ouray, 7,640; Pagosa Springs, 7,108; Present Help Mine, on Mt Lincoln, 14,000; Platteville,

valley of the Platte the soil is identical with that of the river-bottoms of the Missouri, while the uplands have a rich, warm, sandy loam. The southern valleys are more sandy, and, of course, warmer at the same elevation than the northern. The river-bottoms yield bountiful crops without irrigation, and the uplands even more abundantly with it. In a general sense agriculture in Colorado depends upon a judicious use of water supplied to the thirsty earth by artificial means; and of irrigation I will give some account in this place. As early as 1861 the legislature passed an act providing for the free use of the water of any stream on the margin of a land claim; or if not situated upon any stream, for the right of way of a ditch through the land lying between it and the nearest water. The ditch should not be larger than necessary, nor should there be any waste of water;[8] and where the stream was not large enough to supply the continuous wants of the entire country dependent upon it, a justice of the peace should appoint commissioners to apportion the water equitably, to settle disputes, and assess damages where they were shown to occur. The right to use a water-wheel or other machinery for raising water to a required level was granted by law, and other privileges and restrictions enacted.[9] This law was amended from time to time as a knowledge of the wants of the agriculturalists suggested, and in 1872 irrigating ditches were exempted from taxation. In 1876 a

5,690; North Pueblo, 4,713; South Pueblo, 4,676; Quartz Hill, 9,300; Rollinsville, 8,323; Rosita, 8,500; Saguache, 7,723; Saint John, 10,807; Salt Works in South Park, 8,917; Silverton, 9,400; Steven's Mine, 11,943; Terrible Mine, 9,243; Trinidad, 6,032; Uncompahgre Agency, 6,400; White River Agency, 6,491. From this list it will be seen that only two towns are under 4,000 feet in altitude; 9 are over 4,000; 7 are over 5,000; 6 are over 6,000; 12 are over 7,000; 11 are over 8,000; 8 are over 9,000; 7 are over 10,000; 2 are over 11,000, and 1, 14,000. *Fossett's Colorado*, 14–15. It is needless to remark that only mining towns exist at an altitude above 7,500 feet.

[8] Meline remarks in 1866, in *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback*, 88, that the ditches were dug too deep, at too great an incline, creating a current which washed out and deepened the water-way, and that there was consequently a waste of water. Probably experience taught the owners to avoid these errors.

[9] *Session Laws*, 1861, 67–9.

law was placed on the statute book forbidding any person in the summer season to run through an irrigating canal any greater quantity of water than absolutely needful for domestic purposes, the watering of stock, and moistening his land.[10] Other matters, such as priority of right and association for purposes of irrigation, came up and were discussed and settled by statutes from time to time, the importance of the equal distribution of water growing more and more apparent. And not only as relating to lands usually regarded as cultivable, but as applied to a large extent of country known as arid lands, which down to a recent period had been looked upon as worthless.

This subject had engaged the attention of thinking men in Colorado, who believed that the whole or much of the great wastes in the several states and territories west of the Missouri not sufficiently watered by rainfall might be redeemed by an interstate system of irrigation, and for the purpose of discussing and bringing the subject before the people a convention of trans-Missouri states was held at Denver October 15, 1873,[11] at which was agitated the question of the interest of the general government in assisting to recover from sterility so great a portion of the public domain. Little resulted from the convention, except the enlargement of men's ideas in the direction of scientific agriculture.[12]

In 1879 the department of agriculture appointed a commissioner, J. Brisbin Walker, to visit Colorado to take observations of the country preliminary to making a practical test of the value of artesian wells in furnishing water for irrigation.[13] Government, how-

[10] *Colo Gen. Laws*, 1877, 518; *Dow's Tour in America*, 103–14.

[11] The convention was addressed by Gov. Elbert, through whose efforts chiefly it was brought together. See *Speech of Elbert before the Convention of Trans-Missouri States*, 4–8.

[12] *Report on the Problems of Irrigation*, by William Ham Hall, state engineer of California, dealing with the social, political, and legal questions; the physical, practical, and technical obstacles to be overcome, with the construction, operation, and maintenance of irrigation works, is a most important publication exhaustive of a subject still comparatively novel in the United States.

[13] *Denver Tribune*, Nov. 13 and 22, 1879.

ever, has been anticipated in the application of acquired information by enterprising companies, which are rapidly redeeming arid lands, and filling their coffers at the same time.

The first canals were constructed in Weld county, one at Greeley by the Union colony,[14] and another at Evans, both taking water from the south Platte, and conducting it for six or eight miles among farms.

In 1877 English capitalists organized the Colorado Mortgage and Investment company, which, among other things, became interested in irrigation, organizing a subordinate branch at Fort Collins under the name of Larimer and Weld Irrigation company, which purchased water rights, and as much land as could be obtained, and constructed a canal over fifty miles in length. This proved a profitable investment. Water rights were sold for $2, and later for $1.50, an acre; and the land, obtained at government or railroad prices, brought from $13 to $15 per acre, with a perpetual water right. The High Line Irrigating

[14] This canal, Hayden remarks, has too great a fall, the current being so strong that it is with difficulty forded by teams. The Union colony was organized in New York on the 23d of Dec. 1869, with 59 members, to which many others were soon added. It was a direct outgrowth of the advertising which the *N. Y. Tribune* gave Colorado. Horace Greeley was its prime mover and treasurer, and one of its most active agents was N. C. Meeker, also of the *Tribune*. It sent out a locating committee, consisting of Meeker, H. T. West, and R. A. Cameron, who, after looking over the ground, determined upon the present site of Greeley, in Weld county. They purchased 12,000 acres from the Denver Pacific Railway co. and others, and made arrangements for the purchase of 60,000 acres of government and 50,000 acres railroad land within three years, at from $3 to $4 per acre, by paying interest from the date of contract. Charters were obtained for irrigating-canals covering the entire area. A town was laid off at the delta formed by the Cache-la-Poudre and Platte rivers, on the line of the Denver Pacific R. R., and subdivided into 520 business lots, 25 x 190 feet in size; 673 residence lots, ranging from 50 by 190 to 200 by 190; and 277 lots reserved for public buildings, schools, churches, etc. The adjacent lands were divided into plats of from 5 to 120 acres, according to the distance from the town centre, and each member allowed to select one, under his certificate of membership. A public square of 10 acres was reserved in the middle of the town, artificial lakes constructed, trees planted, and by June 1870 water was flowing through all the principal streets from a canal fed by the river. In 1871 the colony contained 350 buildings of all descriptions, 17 stores, 3 lumber-yards, 3 blacksmith and wagon shops, a newspaper office, and livery-stable. The colony was not coöperative, beyond a general irrigating, fencing, and public-buildings fund or funds. *Byers' Centennial State*, MS., 39–40; *Saunders' Through the Light Continent*, 51–3, London, 1879, 8vo, 409 p.

canal of the Platte Land company, another foreign organization's work, is a still longer and larger canal to irrigate the high plains east, south-east, and north-east of Denver, by making a wide detour, in some places constructing tunnels, and in others flumes. The cost in 1884 had reached two and a half million dollars. It is thirty-six feet wide on the bottom, and seven feet deep for the first thirty miles, after which it gradually narrows and shallows. It is intended to water 300 square miles of territory. The Northern Colorado Irrigation company, which, at an enormous outlay, constructed eighty miles of a main line of canal, and as much more of lateral branches, completed its work in 1883 ; and immediately commenced another seventy miles in length and sixty feet in width at the bottom, extending from about Pueblo to La Junta, in the neighboring county of Bent, and taking water from the Arkansas river. Still another corporation is the San Luis Park Irrigating company of New England capitalists whose canals will irrigate 500,000 acres.[15] The Larimer and Weld company are also constructing a dam on the north Poudre, which will supply water to land a thousand feet higher than the valley of the stream. Obviously so extensive a system of irrigation, involving such expenditure, and affecting so many rights and interests, must become the subject of even more careful legislation in the future than in the past.[16]

The undulations of the plains in Colorado make irrigation and cultivation easy. The water supplied at the upper side of the land is caused to flow gently from a trench or furrow, in which frequent breaks are

[15] It is estimated that 65,000 gallons annually are required to properly irrigate one acre. *Descriptive America*, May 1884, p. 6. It is also ascertained that land which has once been thoroughly soaked, except where very porous and gravelly, requires less water than at first, and often becomes so wet as to require drainage.

[16] I find in *Dow's Tour in America*, Melbourne, 1884, p. 113, some suggestions on this subject. He remarks that, 'For want of such laws the progress of irrigation in California is seriously impeded.' Dow's book is a sensible record of observations on the agriculture and resources of the U. S., neither fulsome nor grudging. He was a special commissioner of the *Australasian*

made in the lower rim, slowly moistening the surface of a field, which in two or three days is ready for the plough. Cereals require to be watered only once or twice in a season. Much has been said about the amount of irrigable land in Colorado, which has been estimated from 1,250,000 to 3,000,000 acres, of which in 1882 only about 100,000 acres were in use.[17] In 1889 it was estimated that there were at least 6,000 miles of main irrigating canals, with lateral branches of much greater length.

The principal grain-producing counties of Colorado at the present are five, Arapahoe, Boulder, Jefferson, Larimer, and Weld, although with the progress of canals it is not safe to claim priority for any. Doubtless by the time my pages are in print some of the southern counties will have become powerful rivals of the northern belt. But as I prefer to keep to the records of the state agriculturists for statements here given, what is unknown is left to conjecture. The five counties here mentioned produced in 1881, 980,000 bushels of wheat, and 66,000 bushels of corn. In 1882 four of the same counties produced 1,158,820 bushels of wheat, and 186,000 bushes of corn. The crops of barley, oats, potatoes, hay, alfalfa, and vegetables were in proportion. The value of the yield of five counties in 1881 was $1,771,750; of four counties in 1882 it was $3,047,750. The increase is without question due to the greater facilities for irrigation, which in 1883 had more than doubled the cultivable area of 1882.[18] The total value of all the crops of the state in 1882 was $8,947,500.

[17] Pabor, in *Colorado as an Agricultural State*, 58, after 12 years of personal observation, publishes answers to the question, Is Colorado an agricultural state? in the affirmative, describing the various farming localities, and giving facts regarding the culture of grains, fruits, and vegetables, with an account of irrigation, its expense to the individual, etc.

[18] I have the *Agricultural Statistics of the State of Colorado*, pp. 16, for 1883, before me, a pamphlet issued by the state board of agriculture. From its tabulated report I gather that the amount of land in the whole state under irrigation in 1883 was 416,594 acres; the number of acres in pasture, 1,367,255; in oats, 33,684 acres, yielding 925,029 bushels; in barley, 6,179 acres, yielding 112,761 bushels; in rye, 1,628 acres, yielding 20,343 bushels; in corn,

The natural fruits of a country cannot be relied upon as indications of what the land will produce under cultivation. Colorado presented to the first explorers only a worthless thorn-apple; a rare but pleasant flavored plum; small, acid gooseberries, of little value; a cherry which was rather palatable; currants of black, yellow, and red varieties; with raspberries, strawberries, and whortleberries in great abundance Apples, pears, peaches, and grapes were raised in the gardens of the Mexican inhabitants of San Luis park before the settlement by Americans from the United States. These fruits first appeared among the farmers on the Arkansas Strawberries began to be cultivated in 1865. The following year they brought $3 per quart. About the same time apples, pears, and peaches were being raised from seed in the Platte valley, and grew thriftily at first, but died afterwards because their roots had penetrated below the soil to gravel and sand. Small fruits were then set out, and flourished[19] where the soil was moist at certain seasons of the year. Experience showed that where trees were irrigated in the autumn they were able to resist winter killing, which was caused not by cold, but by the drying up of the wood by the sunshine of the winter season. Upon making this discovery, about 1873, fruit trees began again to be planted, since which time there has been a steady improvement in horticulture.[20] Among the first horticulturalists were Joseph Wolff of Boulder, whose first orchard of three hundred trees was killed; J W. Parker of the Cache-la-Poudre valley, J. S. Flory of St Vrain valley, Anson Rudd, and W. A. Helm of

21,763 acres, yielding 356,478 bushels; in buckwheat, 7, yielding 154 bushels; in wheat, 67,342 acres, yielding 1,419,443 bushels. A few acres of sorghum were grown in 1873 in Boulder, Bent, Delta, Fremont, Larimer, Montrose, Pueblo, and Weld counties, aggregating 67 acres, and yielding 2,366 gallons of syrup. *Graybeard's Colorado*, 55–7; *Galveston News*, Dec. 1, 1874, p. 3; *Los Angeles Evening Express*, Aug 4, 1884.

[19] *Hollister's Mines of Colorado*, 424–5; *Denver Mountain Herald*, July 2, 1869.

[20] *Byers' Ceutennial State*, MS., 35.

Cañon City, and Jesse Frazier, ten miles east of Cañon, in the Arkansas valley. The state organized a horticultural society, of which D. S. Grimes was made president, and the legislature of 1883 passed an act to "encourage horticulture and forestry in Colorado, and to establish a state bureau of horticulture,"[21] appropriating $1,000 annually toward its support. The amount of land in orchards in 1882 was given in at 2,500 acres, and the value of the fruit at $1,250,000. An agricultural society was organized in 1863, and in 1864 a charter was obtained from the legislature, with an appropriation of $500 to be expended in prizes, the society assuming the burden of erecting the buildings and purchasing the land for a fair ground.[22] Granges were established in 1874 throughout the agricultural portions of the territory, the movement being for some time a popular one, each grange having its hall for holding meetings. In Denver the granges had a commercial establishment and a flouring mill on the principle of coöperative societies, but they failed for want of cohesiveness.

In 1877 the State Board of Agriculture was established, and at the same session an act was passed to provide for the building and maintenance of the agricultural college of Colorado, the real property of which was vested in the above board, which was given control of the college and farm, and of all appropriations for the support of the institution; the college to be built and maintained by a direct tax of one tenth of one mill on every dollar of real and personal property in the state.[23] The college was located at Fort Collins, in Larimer county, and was opened in 1879. Scholarship was made free with certain limi-

[21] *Colo Session Laws*, 1883, 210. For statistics I have consulted Pabor's book, *Rept of State Geologist*, 1881–2, and *Rept of the State Board of Agriculture*, 1883.

[22] The incorporators were J. B. Doyle, R. Stubbs, S. Cort, Lewis Jones, H. E. Esterday, A. O. Patterson, David Gregory, R. Sopris, W. N. Byers, Thomas Gibson, F. H. Judd, J. H. Eames, Celeden Valdez and V. Wellman. *Colo Session Laws*, 1864, 221; *Sopris' Settlement of Denver*, MS., 13.

[23] For the acts governing these boards, see *Colo Gen. Laws*, 1877, pp. 88–90, 97–106; *Colo Session Laws*, 1879, 6–7.

tations as to age and previous requirements. Graduation confers the degree of bachelor of science. Institutes are held during the winter at different points for the benefit of farmers in the vicinity, at which valuable papers are read by the faculty, who having experimented on the college farm are able to impart the result of their investigation, to those who have less time, knowledge, and facilities for experimental work.[24]

Reports are annually published by the state board of agriculture, which, with the several agricultural journals of the state, place Colorado upon an equality with the older agricultural communities in point of progressive farming.

Stock raising in Colorado has attained an importance second only to mining, the estimated total value of its cattle, sheep, and other animals in 1884 being $25,090,000. I have given so particular an account of cattle raising as an industry in my *History of Montana* that it is not necessary to repeat it here, the customs and laws to which the keeping of large herds has given rise being substantially the same in both countries. The discovery of the nutritive quality of the grasses of the Platte valley was made as early as 1858, when A. J. Williams, who was among its pioneers, not having any food for his eighteen oxen during the winter, turned them out upon an island in the Platte near old Fort Lupton to take their chances of living, or of dying by starvation. To his surprise, on visiting the island in the spring of 1859, he found them alive, sleek, and fat. But in 1847 St Vrain and Bent had driven several thousand cattle from Texas and New Mexico to the Arkansas valley, and wintered them near Bent's fort. Subsequently Maxwell and others established cattle ranchos on the streams lead-

[24] The faculty consisted in 1885 of C. L. Ingersoll, president, prof. logic and pol. economy; A. E. Blount, prof. ag. and botany; Charles F. Davis, B. S., prof. chem. and physics; F. H. Williams, prof. pract. mech. and drawing. *Pabor, Colo as an Agricultural State*, 182.

ing out of the Sierra Mojada, at the foot of the Huajatollas, and on the upper Las Animas. Around Cañon City stock raising was begun, in a small way, about 1862–3. Beckwith brought the first large herd into Wet Mountain valley from Texas in 1872. Two herds were driven across the divide between the Arkansas and South Platte before 1866, when Williams, who had not lost sight of the subject, brought 1,500 Mexican cattle into Platte valley, since which time the importation has never ceased,[25] although for a number of years the business was conducted on a small scale, compared with latter investments.[26]

The principal grasses on which cattle fatten are the gramma and bunch species, the former having a small seed growing on one side at a right angle to the stalk.

[25] I find this statement in an extract from *Out West*, Sept. 1873, in *The Discoverer of Pike's Peak*, MS. It agrees with the statement in Williams' biography, in *Hist. Denver*, 627–9. Sopris mentions as the first importers of cattle from Texas John W. Allen, and Reed, whose first name seems to have been Allen. The former died at Denver in 1881, and the latter returned to Lexington, Mo., in 1876. Thomas W., William, Andrew Wilson, and John Hitson were among the first to avail themselves of the opportunity offered to make money by raising cattle. *Settlement of Denver*, MS., 16. Byers mentions J. W. Iliff. *Hist. Colo*, MS., 42. Later stock-men were H. S. Holly & Co., Jones Brothers, Beatty Brothers, Lane & Murray, Towers & Gudgell, Downen Brothers, H. B. Carter, R. M. Moore, and others.

[26] According to Wolfe Londoner, Texas cattle were imported for beef only, and fattened on the grass of the plains. *Colorado Mining Camps*, MS., 10. This dictation consists of fifteen pages of type-writing, equal to 30 pages of this volume. Londoner was born in New York in 1835, came to Cal. in 1850, a boy in a sailing vessel, and went to washing dishes for $50 per month. After a time the auctioneer, Jessell, gave him employment at $150 a month. Returning home in 1855, he was sent to Dubuque, Ia, to take charge of two stores owned by his father. When the panic of 1857 came on there was a failure for the Londoners, who removed to St Louis. In the course of events Wolfe found employment with A. Hanauer, later of Salt Lake, and Dold, who sent him, in 1860, to Colorado to erect a business-house in Denver, and afterward in Cañon City, where they put him in charge of $50,000 worth of goods, and the finest stone building in the territory. The Baker exploring party for San Juan outfitted at this store. When business declined in Cañon City, Londoner was sent to California gulch, then in the height of its prosperity, and when that camp was deserted, in 1866. he went to Denver. Being now possessed of means of his own, Londoner engaged in merchandising with his brother, and made money. until in 1884 his sales amounted to $1,000,000 annually. He was elected county commissioner and chairman of the committee on finance, which devolved upon him the building of the Denver courthouse, which cost $300,000, the land on which it stands being worth $75,000 more. The building and furniture are the pride of Denver, and for the manner in which Londoner discharged his trust, the board, when he left it, 'drew up a resolution which was good enough to put on my grave when I die,' says the recipient of the testimonial.

When not irrigated, it is only a few inches high, but grows to two feet in height when furnished with water, and is better feed than any native grass known. This grows near the mountains, buffalo grass on the plains, and bunch grass on the mountain sides. Besides these three there were exhibited at the exposition in Denver, in 1884, over a hundred varieties of native grasses, all having a seed on the side, except the bunch grasses.[27] Cattle so well fed will live a week with nothing to eat, and a snowfall seldom lasts a longer time. Should the snow remain, the cattle stampede to the Arkansas valley; so that, with the advantages of the climate and the sagacity of the animals, the owners sustain few losses. Still, prudence will more and more dictate the saving of hay for winter feeding.

With the growth of the business of cattle-raising there came the formation of incorporated companies, and legislative enactments. Among other laws which concern the branding, herding, protection from disease, and other necessary regulations, is a statute authorizing a commissioner to attend the annual round-ups, and to seize and sell all unbranded cattle for the benefit of the common school fund.[28] A state board of inspectors exists by law. The objectionable feature of the stock business would seem to be the absolute control of immense tracts of country, with the springs and streams, by companies or individuals, as for example, the possession of many thousands of acres of rich bottom land, and forty miles of water front on the Arkansas river, by one man, J. W. Prowers. The Prairie Cattle company have over $3,000,000 invested in cattle, and control many miles of water front, and hundreds of thousands of acres of fenced pasture, in Bent county. In northern Colorado the stock companies are chiefly in Weld and Arapahoe counties; south of the divide they are for

[27] *Stone's General View*, MS., 9–10; *Hollister's Mines of Colorado*, 426–9.
[28] *Roller's Colorado Sketches*, MS., 3; *Farrel's Colo as It is*, 53–5.

the most part in Bent, Las Animas, Elbert, and Pueblo. There are two stock associations, one at Denver[29] and the other at Pueblo. Each holds an annual meeting[30] for the discussion of subjects connected with its interests.[31] The Colorado Cattle company secured 81,000 acres near Pueblo, under patent from the government,[32] and individual owners control other large tracts in this portion of the state, requiring a separate organization. The whole number of cattle in Colorado in the spring of 1884 was given at 1,005,000.[33] The number of sheep in the state, in May of that year, was put down at 1,497,000. Shepherding has made rapid advancement since 1871, about which time sheep began to be imported in considerable num-

[29] Joseph L. Bailey was an active organizer of the Colorado Cattle-growers' association, with headquarters at Denver, and for two years its president. He was from Pa, and arrived at Cherry creek in June 1859. He made some money working for the Pike's Peak Express co., with which, and with credit, he started in a meat market, clearing, with his partner, over $30,000 in 18 months. There being no banks in the country, the money was deposited in the earth under their shop, and was stolen by their book-keeper, leaving them bankrupt. Bailey then took offices under the Denver city government as street commissioner and marshal; and was deputy provost-marshal under Wanless, and deputy U. S. marshal under A. C. Hunt. He was also in the secret service of the treasury department, to hunt out the counterfeiters which infested the territory for a time. He was deputy sheriff under Sopris, Kent, Wilson, and Cook for a number of years, and was twice chosen a member of the city council. The fire department of Denver owes much to his exertions during two years while he was chief. He organized the Fire men's Officers' association, to consult upon matters pertaining to the department. In 1865 he established Bull's Head corral, the rendezvous of the leading stock men of the western states.

[30] The pres. of the northern association in 1883 was Jacob Scherrer; vice-pres., J. F. Brown; sec., L. R. Tucker; treas., J. A. Cooper; ex. committee, R. G. Webster, W. H. H. Cranmer, Joseph W. Bowles, H. H. Metcalf, J. W. Snyder; state inspection commissioners, J. W. Prowers of Bent co., J. L. Brush of Weld, Nelson Hallock of Lake, L. R. Tucker of Elbert, and George W. Thompson, Jr, of La Plata. *Colo Stock Laws*, 3, a compilation according to act of the legislative assembly of 1883 of all the acts relating to stock, is a good authority on stock matters.

[31] *Life on a Ranch*, by R. Aldridge, contains an account of cattle-raising in Colorado, Kansas, and Texas. Hall's *Annual Rept Chamb. Com.* contains statistics, 133–6. E. P. Tenney's *Colo, and Homes in the New West*, 16–19, gives a condensed account of the grazing interest; also Hayden, *Great West*, 134–8, and *The Grazing Interest and the Beef Supply*, by A. T. Babbitt, MS., 11, a dictation from the manager of the Standard Cattle company of Wyoming.

[32] *Helena Independent*, Aug. 14, 1879.

[33] These figures are taken from a list of county productions in *Descriptive America*, May 4, 1884, p. 26; but a circular on *Live-stock Movement*, issued in 1884, by Wood brothers of Chicago places the production of Colorado at 991,700 cattle, and 1,260,000 sheep.

bers. There was at first active hostility between the owners of neat cattle and the sheep graziers, because the pastures overrun by sheep were practically destroyed for cattle. In the autumn of 1873 the owners of flocks in Huerfano county complained to the governor that parties had been attacked and killed, or their animals scattered, with the avowed purpose of driving this kind of stock out of the country. But the legislature interposed with laws for the protection of all stock-owners equally, and sheep raising is now the third industry in the state, if it is separated from cattle raising on one side, and agriculture on the other. One-year-old lambs average four pounds, ewes five or six, and rams twelve to fifteen pounds of wool. The yearly clip exceeds 7,000,000 pounds, having a value of $1,500,000. The flocks consist mainly of Mexican sheep, improved by the introduction of thoroughbred Merino rams. Money invested in sheep by care and good fortune could be doubled in three years; but as snow storms and late, cold, spring rains have more power to harm sheep than other stock, some allowance is made, in calculating profits, for these contingencies.[34] Alfalfa ,as it was found to be superior feed for sheep, as well as all kinds of stock, began to be cultivated in the agricultural counties with success, although it was found difficult of introduction without irrigation. Horses were longer in becoming so much objects of the stockmen's care as in Nevada and Montana, requiring, as they do, more attention than cattle, besides being more expensive. In the whole state there were in 1886 about 100,000 horses and mules, and 25,000 other kinds of stock, comprising swine, and cashmere, angora, and common goats.

[34] Pabor, *Colo as an Agricultural State*, 193–201; *Harper's Mag.*, 193–210, Jan. 1880; Denver *Rocky Mountain News*, Nov. 29, 1870; *Colorado Condensed*, 42; *Denver Tribune*, Oct. 10, 1884; *Proceedings 1st Nat. Conv. Cattle-men*, 12–13; *Tenth Census*, vol. 3, 144; *Gunnison Sun*, Jan. 5, 1884.

CHAPTER XI.

DENVER AND ARAPAHOE COUNTY.

1859–1886.

SURVEY—DENVER LANDS—MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION—THE QUESTION OF CAPITAL—POST-OFFICE AND ASSAY OFFICE—RAILWAYS—TELEGRAPHS—STREET RAILWAYS—PUBLIC BUILDINGS—SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES—STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE—WATER SYSTEM AND DRAINAGE—MANUFACTURES—SMELTERS—CHAMBER OF COMMERCE—EXPOSITION GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS—BANKING—SOCIETY AND CULTURE—BIOGRAPHY.

CONSIDERING the resources of the state to be first mining, second stock-raising, and third agriculture, a brief history of each of the counties will afford an opportunity to speak of manufactures where they occur, and of mineral resources not yet noted.

Arapahoe, first alphabetically, as well as in point of time, had an irregular existence before the organization of the territory of Colorado, as the reader will remember. In 1861 its boundaries were defined by survey, its area being 4,860 square miles in the form of a parallelogram. The first gold discovery was made in the western end of the country, but these placers were soon exhausted and no new ones discovered. The county was treeless and arid except immediately upon the streams, of which it had a good number, and its prospects in 1866, viewed from almost any standpoint, were not flattering. Two things have redeemed Arapahoe from poverty, first the prosperity of Denver as the metropolis, and later the redemption of its arid lands by irrigation, of which I have already spoken The value of its live stock in 1884 was $1,540,000. Of its agricultural productions in the past

there is no record, but that there will be none in the future the increasing area of irrigated land renders improbable.

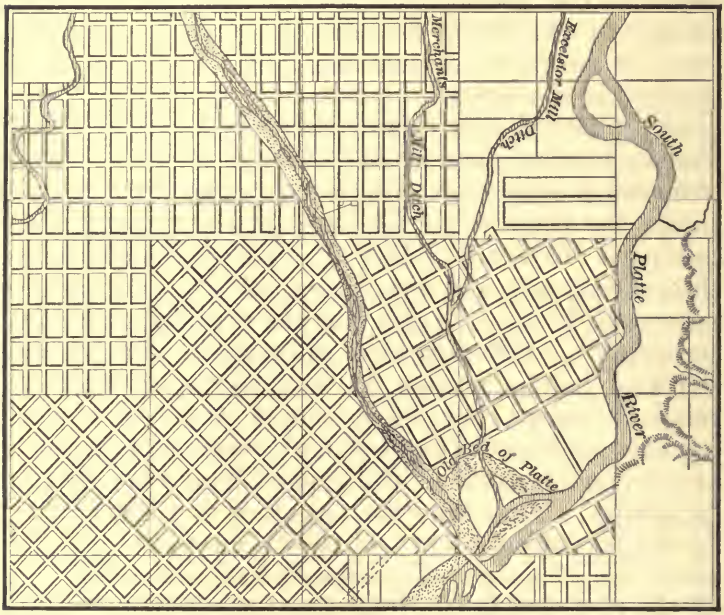
Denver, the county seat, has had its beginnings narrated. It was incorporated first by the provisional legislature, and organized a city government December 19, 1859, by the election of John C. Moore, mayor. The government was not, however, strong enough to prevent a conflict of lot owners and lot jumpers the following summer, which had nearly terminated in bloodshed, the secretary of the town company, Whitsitt, and others narrowly escaping being shot by the irate squatters. A committee of citizens maintained order until congress, in May 1864, passed an act for their relief, by extending to Denver the operation of the act of May 23, 1844, and authorizing the probate judge of Arapahoe county to enter at the minimum price, in trust for the rightful occupants according to their respective interests, section 33, and the west half of section 34, in township 3, south of range 68, west of the 6th principal meridian, reserving only such blocks and lots for government purposes as the commissioner of the general land office should designate.[1] Thus was the question of titles settled. In the meantime there had been a change of government, and Denver was re-incorporated under the laws of the first territorial legislature, November 7, 1861. The first mayor was Charles A. Cook, the first board of alderman H. J. Brendlinger, John A. Nye, L. Mayer, W W. Barlow, J. E. Vawter, and L. Buttrick. P. P. Wilcox was police magistrate, W. M. Keith city marshal, J. Bright Smith city clerk and attorney, E. D. Boyd city surveyor, George W. Brown treasurer and collector.[2] D. D. Palmer street commissioner, and George E. Thornton chief of police.[3]

[1] *Cong. Globe*, 1863–4, app. 168; *U. S. Mess. and Doc.*, 1856–66, 251–2.

[2] Brown resigned in Dec., and Joseph B. Cass was elected.

[3] *The Charter and Ordinances of the City of Denver*, with amendments from 1861 to 1875, compiled by Alfred C. Phelps, Denver, 1878, contains the names

The city authorities had for a few years the same trouble with the outlaw class which every border town of any magnitude has had, in which the ordinary course of justice was sometimes accelerated by the vigilants of society. It suffered by flood and fire, as I have before mentioned[4] in its early history.



PLAN OF DENVER, 1862.

It was a question with the early settlers of Colorado whether Denver or Cañon City should be the metropolis of the country. All depended upon the route taken by the principal part of the immigration

of the several boards of city officers during that period, for which I have not room. The town site of Denver absorbed Auraria, and touched upon the site of Highland, later North Denver.

[4] The fire broke out April 19, 1863, between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning. In spite of great exertions, the business portion of the city was almost entirely destroyed in a few hours. Many who lost everything at that time were later among the solid men of Denver; but many more never recovered from the disaster.

and freight. In 1859–60 the Platte and Arkansas routes divided the travel. Denver was south of the travelled route to Utah, Nevada, and California, and was supposed by its rival to be almost hopelessly isolated. But fortune, in collusion with the stage company, settled that matter. The Pike's peak company having removed its line from the Smoky Hill fork of Kansas river, which line terminated at Denver by the route since followed by the Kansas Pacific railway to the Platte route, was itself no longer on the main line, but was forced to accept a branch from Julesburg, where the overland mail crossed the north side of the Platte. The distance saved in the length of the line to San Francisco by adopting the northern route was 600 miles. The men of Denver used their influence to procure a survey of a direct route from their city to Salt Lake, and in 1861 E. L. Berthoud was employed by W. H. Russell and Ben Holladay, interested in transportation, to examine the country west of Denver for such a route. The survey demonstrated that a road could be laid down White river and other streams which would shorten the distance from the Missouri to the Pacific 250 miles. But the Platte or old immigrant route continued to be used until the railroad era succeeded to stage lines, and Denver, although left aside, was still nearer to the trans-continental artery than any other town in Colorado, and with that advantage had to be content.[5]

Denver next secured the mint, which although not a mint, but only a United States assaying office, was

[5] The first postmaster of Auraria was Henry Allen, appointed in the spring of 1859, at which time there was no mail route created, and none was established before the autumn of 1860. Allen soon resigned, and Park W. McClure was appointed, the first who had any office. When the war began he joined the confederacy, and Samuel S. Curtis was appointed; but he also left the place to take a commission in the federal army. His deputy acted as postmaster until the spring of 1864, when William N. Byers was appointed, who held the office 2½ years before resigning. This covers the pioneer period. Byers was appointed again in 1879. Previous to the U. S. appointments the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express company, which was the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express company under a new name, had postmasters of its own, the first of whom was Amos Steck. *Byers' Hist. Colo*, MS., 27–8.

a power, besides being a temptation, the first embezzlement of importance occurring in Denver being perpetrated by the pay clerk, who absconded with $37,000, most of which was recovered, together with the thief. Defalcations had not been frequent in the history of Colorado, and this one stirred profoundly the moral sense of its people. Denver also succeeded in retaining the capital, as has been before stated, against several attempts to locate it elsewhere. But it has been to the energy with which the public-spirited men of Denver have labored for the concentration of railroads at this point that the continued ascendency of this city has been due. Originally, and when Berthoud surveyed the mail route to Salt Lake, it was expected that the central line of Pacific railroad would come to Denver; but its engineers finding a more feasible route north, finally passed just within the line of the territory, injuring rather than benefitting it. This inspired the friends of Colorado, and particularly the leading men of Denver, with the purpose of building a branch road to the Union Pacific at Cheyenne. The Kansas Pacific was slowly making its way westward, and was likely enough at that time to come to Pueblo, the most formidable rival of Denver. Whether to build a road toward Cheyenne or Pueblo was for a time a moot question.[6]

[6] As early as 1861 a railroad called the Colorado Central was projected to connect Golden with Denver, and to be extended to the other mining towns, which road was chartered in 1865. In 1867 a proposition was made by the Union Pacific to assist in completing a branch road into Colorado, if the grading should be done by the Coloradans. The first meeting to consider this proposition, and of building the Colorado Central, was called July 10, 1867, at Denver, and was thinly attended. It was resolved, however, to request the county commissioners to order an election for the purpose of voting on the proposition to issue bonds for $200,000 in aid of the branch road, and such an election was ordered for the 6th of August. In the interim it became known that the managers of the Colorado Central were working in the interest of Golden as the future capital, and designed taking the road on the north and west side of the Platte instead of first to Denver, a movement in which they were supported by the mountain towns. On this discovery the commissioners of Arapahoe county so changed the order of election as to make the issue of bonds dependent upon the road being constructed on the east side of the Platte. The vote on this proposition stood 1,160 for to 157 against. But the Colorado Central company in September declined the conditional bonds. In November a director of the Kansas Pacific company, James Archer,

While the claims of Colorado were receiving but scant recognition from the transcontinental line, Gen-

visited Denver, and made it known that only by the contribution of $2,000,000 in county bonds could the building of the Kansas Pacific to that point be secured. As this proposal was not to be entertained, it was determined to make another effort to secure connection with the Union Pacific, and to facilitate negotiations a board of trade was organized on the 13th of November. On the following day George Francis Train addressed the board, and steps were taken to organize a railroad company. On the 17th and 18th other meetings were held, and on the latter day the Denver Pacific Railway and Telegraph company was organized, with a capital stock of $2,000,000, and a board of directors. The officers elected on the 19th were B. M. Hughes, president; Luther Kountze, vice-president; D. H. Moffat, Jr, treasurer; W. T. Johnson, secretary; F. M. Case, chief engineer; John Pierce, consulting engineer. In three days $300,000 had been subscribed, and an attempt was made to induce the Colorado Central to accept the county bonds and join forces, but without success. In December the county commissioners issued a call for another special election in Jan. 1868, to vote upon the proposition to issue $500,000 in bonds to aid the railroads, for which the county was to receive the same amount in stock. The vote stood 1,259 in favor of to 47 against the issue of the bonds, and soon after an arrangement was entered into with the Union Pacific by which that company agreed to complete the road whenever it should be ready for the rails. A bill was introduced in congress early in the session of 1867–8 for the usual land grant to the Denver Pacific; but before any action was taken, the Kansas Pacific road agreed to transfer its land grant between Cheyenne and Denver to the Denver Pacific, and the bill was amended to grant a subsidy in bonds to the latter company, and in this form was passed in the senate July 25, 1868. Nothing more binding than a verbal agreement had been passed between the Union and Denver Pacific companies, when in March 1868 Gov. Evans and Surveyor-gen. Pierce, representing the latter, met the directors of the Union Pacific co. in New York and reduced to writing the terms finally agreed upon, which were, on the part of the Denver company, that the road should be graded and the ties laid; that the Denver Central and Georgetown Railroad company should be organized; and that application should be made for a grant of land to the Denver Pacific road. A line having been decided upon, work was commenced May 18, 1868, in the presence of a concourse of people. At the end of three months the grading had been completed to Evans, half the distance, and in the autumn the road-bed was completed to Cheyenne. But so far the Union Pacific company made no movement toward completing any part of the road, and, indeed, the subsidy bill which had passed the senate had failed in the lower house of congress, all of which delayed progress. On the 3d of March, 1869, however, another bill embodying the important features of the former one was passed, and became a law. The grading and ties being ready, the Union Pacific was called upon to fulfil its contract, which it did not do, owing to financial embarrassment. About this time, the president of the Denver Pacific having died, Evans was elected to fill that position, and he proposed to the Union Pacific to sell the iron to the Denver Pacific, which would complete its own road. The former contract was cancelled, and an arrangement entered into with the Kansas Pacific which took a certain amount of the stock of the Denver Pacific, and proceeded with the completion of the road, which was opened to Denver June 22, 1870, the Georgetown miners contributing the silver spike which was used at the inauguration ceremonies, when, also, the corner-stone of the depot at Denver was laid, with imposing rites, masonic and civic. Thus, after three years of unintermitted effort, Denver established itself as the initial railroad point in Colorado. In August of the same year the Kansas Pacific reached Denver.

The Denver Pacific was not for the first ten years financially remunerative,

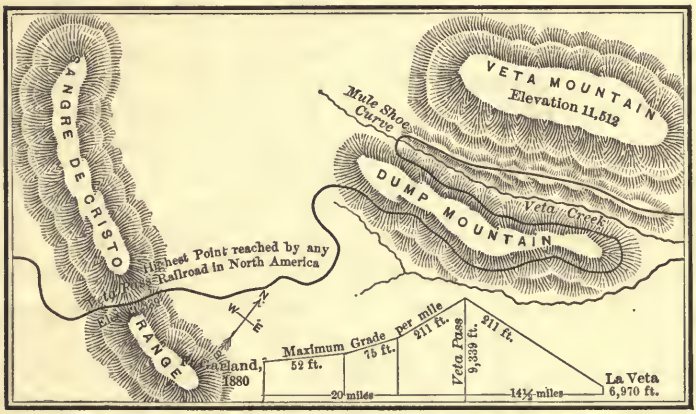
eral William J. Palmer, who, while helping to build the Kansas Pacific, had vainly labored for its extension westward by way of the grand cañon of the Arkansas, conceived the idea of a railway which, running southward from Denver along the base of the mountains, should penetrate them by branches through each available cañon and pass, and render tributary the mineral wealth which they contained. It was due no less to his foresight in the conception of this enterprise than to the ability and energy which he brought to bear on its execution, that the Denver and Rio Grande railway became the greatest factor in the development of Colorado, and in many respects the most notable of North American railroads. From 1871, when construction began, to 1878, 337 miles of road were built, connecting Denver with Cañon City and the adjacent coal-fields, with the extensive beds of coking coal at El Moro, and with the town of Alamosa on the Rio Grande del Norte, to reach which point was made the then famous crossing of the Sangre de Cristo range at Veta pass. In the latter year began the great struggle with the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé for the possession of the grand cañon of the Arkansas, a detailed account of which is elsewhere given. Emerging victorious from this conflict in 1880, the Denver and Rio Grande entered upon a career of great prosperity, building during the next three years 980 miles of mountain road.[7]

first because it could not be while it had no feeders from the mining towns, and secondly because in 1877 the Union Pacific company, failing to get control of it, constructed a parallel road running to Golden, and absorbing the Colorado Central, which had completed its road to Denver, and extended to Georgetown, with branches to Black Hawk and several other mining towns. This company also, in 1881, completed a cut-off from Julesburg to Evans on the Denver Pacific, which subsequently came under its control.

[7] The achievements of the Denver and Rio Grande railway in mountain climbing and cañon threading entitle it to its appellation of the 'scenic line of the world.' Five times it crosses the main ranges of the Rocky mountains, and at the following elevations above the sea: Veta pass, 9,392; Cumbres, 10,115; Tennessee pass, 10,418; Marshall pass, 10,852; and Fremont pass, 11,328 feet. To gain these heights a grade of over 200 feet was necessary for about 100 miles of the route. A journey over these passes abounds in thrilling interest, while the views may challenge comparison with the most noted of Alpine prospects. Two of the grandest of Rocky mountain cañons, the

A telegraph line was established from Omaha to Julesburg, on its way across the continent, in 1861,

grand cañon of the Arkansas and the black cañon of the Gunnison, together with a score of lesser ones, are traversed by this wonderful road. An idea of its great general height above the sea may be gained from the fact that about 400 miles, or one fourth of its entire length, lie wholly above 8,000 feet elevation. In 1883, Gen. Palmer resigned the presidency, and was succeeded by Fred. W. Lovejoy. Various troubles, principally complications with the Denver and Rio Grande Western railway and the Colorado Coal and Iron companies, culminated in a receivership in July 1884, W. S. Jackson being appointed receiver. Reorganization was effected in 1886, with Jackson as president. Among other railways directly tributary to Denver I may mention the Denver, South Park, and Pacific, which had its organization in Denver, with Gov. John Evans at its head. It started up Platte cañon, and in 1879–80 had a race for Leadville with the D. & R. G., in which it was beaten, gaining trackage privileges, however, over its rival's line from Buena Vista



MAP OF THE ALIGNMENT OF THE DENVER AND RIO GRANDE R. R. AROUND DUMP MOUNTAIN.

to the 'Carbonate Camp.' It was soon afterward sold to the Union Pacific, and extended by way of Alpine pass across the snowy range to the Gunnison country, and also through the ten-mile region to Leadville. It comprises about 300 miles of road with steep grades, and abounds in magnificent scenery. The Denver, Utah, and Pacific is another Denver enterprise, and runs to the mouth of the St. Vrain cañon, a distance of 44 miles. The Denver Circle railway was organized November 16, 1880, with W. A. H. Loveland president. The design was to surround the city, and induce settlement in the environs, making it convenient for manufacturers and stockmen to locate their factories and yards upon the line. About five miles of narrow-gauge road were constructed. Of railroads outside of Colorado, yet connected with the interstate lines, the first, after the Kansas Pacific, to extend a long arm to Denver, was the Burlington and Colorado, the extension of the Burlington and Missouri river, itself a part of the great Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy system, by which Denver was first given an unbroken connection with Chicago. The Burlington reached Denver May 28, 1882. The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé had previously been built to Pueblo, from which point it reached Denver over the rails of the D. & R. G. At La Junta its main California line diverged southward, and passing Trinidad climbed Raton pass on the southern border of the state.

by the Pacific company, the contractors being Charles M. Stebbins and Edward Creighton. A proposition

William A. H. Loveland, a native of Mass., has been called the founder of the mountain system of railroads. He served in the Mexican war, and was wounded at Chapultepec. Was in Cal. 5 years, and finally came to Colorado and settled in Golden. He obtained the right of way up Clear Creek cañon for a wagon road, which he built, and which became the germ of the railroad. He was also interested in newspapers, having purchased the *Rocky Mountain News* of its original owners in 1878, and was afterward interested in the management of the *Leadville Democrat.*

RAILROADS OF COLORADO.

Isaac W. Chatfield was a contractor on the Denver and South Park, building the principal portion between Denver and Littleton. He owned 720 acres in the Platte valley, near Littleton, and also engaged in selling groceries at Leadville in 1879. He was one of the projectors of the Ten-

was made to the citizens of Denver to construct a branch to that place on certain conditions, which were rejected. An agency was then established for forwarding messages to Julesburg, a distance of 200 miles, by the daily coach, from which point they were forwarded by telegraph, and answers received in the same manner. This arrangement lasted for two years, the business being so important that in the spring of 1863 Creighton made another proposition, which was accepted, and a branch to Denver completed October 1st. A branch line to Central was soon put in operation. The receipts from the Denver office, B. F. Woodward, manager, were not infrequently $5,000 a month, and the first year's net income was more than twice the cost of the line. This line reached Denver from Julesburg by a cut-off to Fort Morgan and via Living springs, which was adopted by the stage-line from the Platte. In 1865 the Pacific Telegraph company was merged in the Western Union company, which extended a line from Denver to Salt Lake, via Fort Collins and Virginia Dale, abandoning the old route via Laramie, making Denver the repeating station for California despatches. In 1866 the United States and Mexico Telegraph company was organized, mainly in Denver, the directors being D. H. Moffat, H. M. Porter, F. Z. Salomon, W. N. Byers, S. H. Elbert, and B. F. Woodward. Porter was president. The line was completed to Santa Fé in 1867, but the intention to continue it to Mexico was frustrated by

mile, Kokomo, and Breckenridge railroad, and contracted for the extension of the Eagle river branch of the Rio Grande, through Tennessee pass. See further, *Leadville Democrat*, Jan. 1, 1881.

For railroad matters I have consulted some chapters in *Hist. Denver*, 248–64; *Hall's Annual Report, Chamb. Com.*, 1884, 13–16; *Descriptive America*, May 1884, 27; *Official Railroad Guide of Colorado; Cong. Globe*, 1871–2, 1400; *Leadville Democrat*, Dec. 31, 1881; *Barneby's Life and Labor in the Far, Far West*, 2–3; *Denver Tribune*, Dec. 12, 1879, and Nov. 18, 1880; *Evans' Interview*, MS., 7; *Colorado Gazetteer*, 1871, 119–24; *Faithful's Three Visits*, 149; *Byers' Hist. Colo*, MS., 22–6; *Leadville Chronicle Annl; Graff's Colo*, 57–62, 66–7, 76–8; *Stone's Land Grants*, MS., 6–7; *Elbert, Public Men and Measures*, MS., 7; *Brickley and Hartwell's Southern Colo*, 61–7; *First Annual Rept Denver Pacific R. R.; Hayden's Great West*, 101; *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, May 20 and Dec. 16, 1868, Jan. 27, 1869, and Jan. 18, 21, and 25, June 22, and Sept. 25, 1870; *Denver Tribune*, Nov. 28, 1879, and April 16 and May 29, 1880; *Report State Geologist*, 1881–2, 1–27.

the disorders in that country. A contract was made with the Denver Pacific Railway company to extend the line to Cheyenne the same year, and in 1870 a controlling interest was sold to the Western Union, of which Woodward was appointed assistant superintendent. This company soon controlled all the lines in Colorado.

The first street railway in Denver was completed in January 1872 by a company incorporated in 1867,[8] with a charter for thirty-five years. In 1871 a Chicago company, headed by L. C. Ellsworth, purchased the franchise and began the construction, the Champa street line being the first section operated, extending from 27th and Champa to the station of the South park railroad in west Denver, a distance of two miles. In 1873 the north Denver branch was completed, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. In 1874 the Broadway branch was completed, $1\frac{1}{4}$ on 16th street and Broadway, and a mile between 23d street and Park avenue. In 1876 $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles additional were opened on Larimer street, from 16th toward the fair-grounds.

The area of incorporated Denver is $13\frac{1}{2}$ square miles, but with its several additions it is nearly twenty-one square miles. Its population is 125,000, or something more, and it publishes over twenty journals of all kinds. It has 500 miles of irrigating ditches within city limits, and 300,000 shade trees. Among its public buildings the city-hall, built of stone, cost $190,000; the opera-house, of brick and stone, $850,000; the court-house, of stone, $300,000; the Union Railway station, $450,000; the episcopal cathedral, brick, $100,000. The public schools of Denver are second to none in the world. As a rule, the teachers are efficient, and in the boards of management there is comparatively little of the ignorance, stupidity, and rascality too often found in such

[8]The incorporators were Amos Steck pres., D. A. Cheever, sec., Moses Hallett, Wilson Stinson, David J. Martin, Lewis N. Tappan, Edward C. Strode, Robert M. Clark, Alfred H. Miles, Luther Kountze, Freeman B. Crocker, Cyrus H. McLaughlin, J. S. Waters, and M. M. DeLanc.

bodies during these latter days of progress and high enlightenment. Twenty-one school-houses cost $700,000, not one-half of which amount went into the pockets of aldermen, school-directors, or contractors. A course in the high school fits the graduate for entering a college or university.[9] Private and denominational schools find liberal support. Of the latter

[9] O. J. Goldrick was the pioneer of education in Colorado, opening a school in Denver in 1859. He was afterward for several years city editor of the *Rocky Mountain News*, canvasser, and correspondent. From Denver he went to Salt Lake, where he was managing editor of the *Vidette*. The Mormons not liking his paper gave him warning to leave, and he returned to Denver in 1868, where he published a paper until 1882, and where he died. *Byers' Centennial State*, MS., 18. In 1862 private schools were opened by Miss Ring and Miss Indiana Sopris. The school board of dist no. 1, of Arapahoe co., was organized Oct. 23, 1862, Amos Steck pres.; Lewis N. Tappan sec.; Joseph B. Cass treas. *Gove, Education in Denver*, MS., 1–6. Goldrick was elected superintendent of schools for Arapahoe co. in that year, and organized the first public school, for which provision had been made by the legislature, on ground in the rear of West Lindell hotel, A. R. Brown being the principal. He had two assistants and 140 pupils. Previous to 1871 the school fund was applied only to the support of teachers and other current expenses; but in that year a movement was made to acquire school property. Amos Steck had, in 1868, presented the local board with three lots on Arapahoe street. In 1870–71, 5 more lots were purchased in the same block, for which $3,500 was paid. In 1872 bonds were issued for $75,000, payable 10 per cent in 5 years, and 10 per cent annually thereafter, bearing interest at one per cent monthly. In this year the Arapahoe school building was completed. It was built of brick and stone, three stories high, containing 11 school-rooms and one class-room, with a basement fitted up for the residence of the janitor, the whole heated with hot-air furnaces, and well ventilated and lighted. The entire cost was $79,205.47. In 1873–74 the legislature created the city of Denver a special school district. Four of the wards, the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th, availed themselves of the privileges of the act. From 1872 to 1874 the Arapahoe building and some rooms in the methodist academy (discontinued) served for school purposes; but it was found necessary then to erect another building, which was placed on Stout street, and cost $24,089.19, containing 8 rooms. Previous to the opening of this school, F. C. Garbutt had been superintendent, with a corps of 17 teachers. He was succeeded in 1874 by Aaron Gove, a man of high attainments and remarkable educational and executive ability, who employed 25 teachers, and who established the 9th, or first high-school grade, to which 108 pupils were admitted. Three more grades completed the course in the high school, and prepared the graduate for college. The first class graduated in 1877. H. I. Hale, one of the class, passed a highly creditable examination on entering West Point as a cadet. In 1875 the schools had again become so crowded that relief was obtained by renting, and the same year 16 lots were purchased on Broadway, on which the third large building of brick and stone was erected at a cost of $28,645. But so rapid was the increase of growth in the population of Denver about this time, that in 1876 it became necessary to rent rooms for four new schools. Addition was yearly made to these accommodations until 1879, when 10 lots were purchased in the eastern part of the city, and an elegant stone building, costing $28,000 erected thereon. The Broadway school was also enlarged, and the Arapahoe school relieved by renting; the number of pupils in all the public schools having reached 2,700.

there are several, the principal of which belong to the catholics, episcopalians, and methodists. The university of Denver, an outgrowth of the Colorado seminary, established by the methodists in 1864, is conducted under the auspices of that church, though as a non-sectarian institution. In character and scholarship it compares favorably with eastern colleges. There are fifty-four religious societies[11] in Denver, many of them owning elegant and valuable church property.

[10] Byers, *Centennial State*, MS., 30–1; *University of Denver*.

[11] The first recorded religious services in Denver took place in 1859, when a methodist preacher, named Hammond, began holding services in an unfinished building on Larimer street, between 15th and 16th streets. In Jan. 1860 the venerable J. H. Kehler, an episcopalian minister, held services in Goldrick's school-house, on McGaa (later Holladay) street. Afterward a room was secured in Ruter's block, and an episcopalian church organized. About the same time a southern methodist church was organized by a preacher named Bradford, and a small brick church erected at the corner of Arapahoe and 14th streets. This was the first church edifice erected in Denver, and was sold to the episcopalians in 1861, when Bradford and many of his congregation went to the assistance of the southern confederacy. That year the missionary bishop, Talbot, of the episcopalians, visited Denver, and before he would dedicate the church required it to be free of debt; $500 was raised and the church dedicated. On the 15th of Dec., 1861, A. S. Billingsley organized the First Presbyterian church of Denver, under instructions from the board of domestic missions, old school, which held its services at International hall, on Ferry street, in west Denver, then known as Auraria. Of the 18 members, 11 were women. In April 1862 Billingsley left, and A. R. Day succeeded him in November, who seems to have been an active missionary, for he soon secured the donation of a lot from Maj. John S. Fillmore, paymaster U. S. A., on 15th street, between Arapahoe and Lawrence. Liberal contributions were made by citizens, and the mission board gave $600, so that in 1863 an edifice of brick was begun, 37x65 feet, ground area, which was completed in 1865, when Day resigned, and J. B. McClure of Ill. became pastor after several months, during which the pulpit was vacant. He preached two years, when again the church was left without a pastor until 1868, when A. Y. Moore of Ind. succeeded, but not being supported by the mission board, resigned the same year. The church then negotiated with the new school board to be taken in charge and connected with the presbytery of Chicago, a call being extended to E. P. Wells to preach to them. On the 20th of Nov., 1868, the church was incorporated, and on the 28th Wells was installed pastor, who remained in charge 6 years. In 1871 the church became self-supporting, and in 1874 adopted the name of Central Presbyterian Church. By this time the membership had outgrown the edifice, and in May 1875 property was purchased at the corner of Champa and 18th streets for the site of a new church. The corner-stone was laid Jan. 6, 1876, and the building so far completed as to be occupied in 1878. During this period, Wells having resigned in 1875, Willis Lord was pastor for one year, when ill health compelled his resignation, and Dr Reed officiated until Dec. 1878, when his death occurred. The edifice for which they labored cost $50,000, and had a membership of between 400 and 500. The 17th street presbyterian church was founded by that portion of the parent church which maintained its connection with the old-school board, and solicited the ministrations of their former pastor, Day, who continued with them until April 1869, when he went to preach at Boulder.

The material for substantial building being convenient, the prevailing style of domestic architecture is good, not a few private residences costing from $20,000 to $100,000, and a less number from $45,000

He was succeeded by C. M. Campbell, who preached until April 1870, in which year the Colorado presbytery was organized. In Feb. of that year the name was changed to Westminster church, which it did not long retain before resuming its former one. In July 1870 W. Y. Brown became pastor, and in 1872, after several years of meeting in rented rooms and other churches, an edifice of brick, in the Gothic style of architecture, with windows of stained glass, presented by eastern sunday-schools, and capable of seating 300 persons, was completed and dedicated March 10th. The cost of this church was $12,200. In 1873 Brown was succeeded in the pastorate by R. T. Sample, who, in 1874, withdrew, and was followed by C. H. Hawley, who, in 1876, gave way to I. W. Monfort, and he, in 1877, to J. H. Kerr.

The Dutch Reformed church began with the organization in 1871 of a society of persons of this belief, who held meetings every Sunday. In the autumn they purchased two lots on the corner of Lawrence and 23d streets for $800. In the following April a church organization was effected by Florain Spalti, Casper Gugolz, John U. Gabathuler, and William Nordloh. The Ohio synod was called upon to extend its aid, and sent J. A. Keller to report upon the prospect. On his representation the board of missions sent F. Hatzmetz to preach. A church edifice was commenced, when Hatzmetz returned to Ohio, and Keller replaced him, the church being completed in 1874. It was constructed of brick and stone, and cost $5,300. The membership of this church was small in proportion to English-speaking congregations.

The first methodist preaching, as stated above, was by the 'church south.' It had no regular organization until July 16, 1871, when A. A. Morrison became its pastor. A lot was purchased on Arapahoe street, and a church erected. Morrison was succeeded in 1872 by W. H. Warren; in 1873 by E. M. Mann; in 1874 by W. C. Hearn; in 1875 by W. G. Miller; in 1876 by William Harris; and in 1877 by W. J. Phillips. In 1874 the church was admitted to the conference of Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana, and remaining until 1878, when the Colorado conference was formed. In 1878–9 the church was enlarged, handsomely finished, and refurnished.

Hammond, the first missionary of the methodist church in Denver, returned to the Kansas conference, was reappointed in 1860, and died before starting. J. M. Chivington was made presiding elder of the district of Colorado, and, there being no preacher, filled the Denver pulpit until 1861, when he ceased to war against irreligion and went out to fight southerners as major of Gilpin's 1st Col. reg. of volunteers. Upon Chivington's resignation, a Mr Dennis preached for a year, and the 3d year Oliver Willard. Meetings had been held wherever room could be obtained—in a building on Larimer, between 12th and 13th streets, in the second story of the court-house, in Henry C. Brown's carpenter-shop, and in the people's theatre, on Larimer street. The first methodist conference of Colorado was held at Denver in 1863, Bishop Ames presiding, who urged the members present to erect a church, offering to give $1,000 toward it, and also to erect a seminary. The conference appointed Willard presiding elder, and George Richardson preacher. A site for a church was selected on Lawrence street, and the corner-stone laid in 1864. The seminary being first completed, was used as a meeting-house until the church was completed in 1865, and William M. Smith made pastor. He was succeeded in 1866 by B. T. Vincent; in 1868 by John L. Peck; in 1870 by Thomas R. Slicer; in 1872 by himself; in 1874 by J. R. Eads; and in 1877 by Earl Cranston. In 1872, the membership increasing with the spread of the city, a branch church was built on California street. The following year

to $500,000. The Holly system of water supply was introduced and over sixty artesian wells bored, some of which have a flow of 100,000 gallons a day, and it was in contemplation to erect a reservoir on high

a German methodist church was erected at the suggestion of Conrad Frick, and Mr Reitz, members of the parent organization. It was constructed of brick and stone, and cost $14,000. The first pastor was Philip Kuhl, also the first German protestant preacher in Colorado. He was succeeded by J. G. Leist and M. Klaiber. In 1874 St James methodist church, in the southern part of Denver, was erected at a cost of $5,000. In 1877 Ex-gov. Evans erected a small but handsome chapel of Morrison stone, in the south-western part of the city, which was intended as a memorial edifice to his daughter Mrs Elbert. The colored methodists of Denver completed a substantial brick church on Stout street in 1879, mainly by the efforts of Seymour, an enlightened and active preacher.

The begnining made by Kehler of the episcopal church has been mentioned. He continued to hold services in the school-house, until during war times he was crowded out by an excited public, which had made a reading-room of it which they frequented on all days of the week. He then removed to a building owned by Byand, a vestryman, on the site of the American house, and thence to Appollo hall, a log house in the rear of the present *News* office, thence to where Taylor's museum now stands, and again to the district court-room at the corner of 18th and Larimer streets, the rector having his residence in the upper story of the court-house. Finally, in 1861, the small brick church of the southern methodists was purchased and rededicated as St John's Episcopal church, and the congregation found a home. In 1862 Father Kehler, being chosen chaplain of the 1st Colorado regiment, followed whither Chivington had gone, remaining with the regiment during its term of service; nor did he ever return to church duties, being well advanced in years. H. B. Hitchings was the 2d pastor of St Johns, and remained until 1869, being succeeded by Bishop Randall, who advocated establishing boys' and girls' schools. Wolfe hall, a girl's school, named after a lady patroness, was begun in 1867, and the main building completed in 1868. It was enlarged in 1873, and again in 1879, and cost about $50,000. The corner-stone of the boys' school was laid Sept. 23, 1868, at Golden. This building was named Jarvis hall, after George E. Jarvis of Brooklyn, N. Y., who gave liberally towards its erection. Before it was completed it was blown to pieces in a tornado, but immediately rebuilt. A theological school in connection with Jarvis hall, was erected in 1871–2 by Nathan Matthews of Boston, and called Matthews hall, and which was formally opened Sept. 19, 1872. Jarvis made a second contribution of $10,000 to be invested until the principal reached $20,000, when the interest should be applied to the education of young men for the ministry. In April 1878 Jarvis and Matthews halls were destroyed by fire. Randall, to whom the inception of these educational movements was due, died in 1874, beloved and regretted, *Randall, Biog.*, MS., 1–33, and was succeeded by Bishop John F. Spaulding, and P. Voorhees Finch became rector of St John's, who was succeeded in 1879 by H. Martyn Hart, of England. Randall was a man of great self-sacrifice and abilities. He was a son of an able jurist of R. I., in which state he was born in 1809. He was a graduate of Brown university and of the theological seminary of New York. Trinity Reformed Episcopal church, was organized in Denver, Nov. 16, 1879, by Thompson L. Smith, J. R. Smith, and J. W. May, wardens. The congregation secured a small but elegant church erected by unitarians, at the corner of California and 17th streets. The first vestrymen were Currie T. Frith, J. Johnson, W. A. Hardinbrook, James Creighton, Samuel Copping, Thomas L. Wood, and Lewis. In the same year the convocation of Wyoming and Colorado was formed. In 1875 Trinity Memorial chapel was erected. In 1876 Emanuel

ground, and make the water from artesian wells supply the city in the future. The drainage of the city is good, much attention being given to promote the healthfulness of the metropolis by the board of

chapel in West Denver was built. Connected with it was All Saints' mission of North Denver. In 1879 Jarvis hall was rebuilt at Denver. The episcopal cathedral erected since 1879 is a beautiful church, costing $100,000. The value of episcopal church and school property in Denver in 1886 was $250,000.

The baptists sent a missionary, Walter McD. Potter, to Denver in 1862 to spy out the ground, and in the following year appointed him missionary. He held his first meeting Dec. 27, 1863, having a congregation of 14 persons. Little advance was made before March 1864, when a Sunday-school was formed and held its sessions in the U. S. court-room, on Ferry street. On May 2d, the first Baptist church of Denver was organized, the members being Miss Lucy K. Potter, Francis Gallup, Henry B. Leach, Mesdames A. Voorhies, L. Burdsall, L. Hall, A. C. Hall, and Miss E. Throughman. The flood of 1864 having washed away, soon afterward, their place of meeting, they next resorted to the People's theatre, where they continued to meet during that year, removing to a school-house on Cherry street in 1865. In Dec. Potter was compelled by ill health to cease his pastoral labor, and soon after died. In May 1866 Ira D. Clark became pastor for one year, preaching in the U. S. district court-room on Larimer street until Dec. In the meantime a church had been commenced at the corner of Curtis and 16th streets, which, in an unfinished state, was used for a lecture-room, but which was never completed. In May 1868 A. M. Averill became pastor for a year, after which the church was without one until Nov. 1870, when Lewis Raymond succeeded to the charge for a short time, followed by another season of silence in the pulpit, though the members kept up their organization. In 1872 Winfield Scott assumed charge of the church, and began energetically to labor for the erection of a suitable edifice. Francis Gallup having received some lots on the corner of Curtis and 18th streets, in payment for some favors done the Baptist home mission in the matter of land preëmpted by Potter, and bequeathed to the mission, presented these lots to the church, and on this site was erected in 1872 a church costing altogether $15,000. In 1875 Scott resigned, and was succeeded by T. W. Green and A. J. Frost the same year, and by F. M. Ellis in 1876. In 1879 the membership was 330, and church property worth $25,000. Since that time a large and handsome church has been erected by this denomination. There were in 1866 two colored baptist churches in the city: Zion church, on Arapahoe street near 20th, and Antioch church, at the corner of Wazee and 23d streets. Samuel Shepard was the first pastor of Antioch church. Neither were so well off financially as the colored methodist church.

Denver had no congregational organization before 1865. In that year Mrs Richard Sopris and daughters, Irene and Indiana, Mrs Davis, Mrs Zolles, D. G. Peabody, E. E. Hartwell, Samuel Davis, and Mr Haywood formed themselves into a church. Mr Crawford preached; Mrs Davis was organist at their meetings, and the Misses Sopris sang in the choir. At first the meetings were held in the U. S. district court-rooms, and among their temporary preachers were Norman McLeod, and Mr Blanchard of Wheaton college, Ill. In 1868, lots were purchased on the corner of Curtis and 15th streets, and a church edifice erected in 1869–70. The first pastor was Thomas E. Bliss. In 1873 Bliss, with a part of the congregation separated from this church and established St Paul's church, at the corner of Curtis and 20th, which subsequently became presbyterian. After the secession of Bliss, Julien M. Sturdevant, Jr, took charge for 4 years, during which the church prospered. He was succeeded by Charles C. Salter, who preached two years, and by S. R. Dimmock. A congregational chapel was built at the corner of Larimer and

health, under the superintendence of the state board,[12] established in 1877.

Arapahoe county, and more particularly Denver, is the largest manufacturing district in the state. The iron and brass foundries and machine-works turned out in 1886 products worth $685,000; the flouring-mills about $1,738,000; the breweries $938,000; the wagon and carriage shops $113,000; the canneries $35,000; the clothing manufactories $790,000; the furniture factories $195,000; sash and blind factories $280,000; manufactories of iron fences $14,000; of harness and saddles $83,000, besides a great variety of lesser manufactures.

The total product of Denver's manufactures in 1886 was $24,045,000, of which $12,334,143 was in bullion produced by the smelters, of whom there were in that year three large and several smaller ones. Denver

31st streets in 1879, George C. Lamb pastor. The parent church afterward erected a handsome edifice. These are all the early protestant churches of Denver standing in 1886.

The catholics were the first to erect a house of worship here, as in most new towns in the west. When fathers Joseph P. Machebeuf and J. R. Raverdy came to Denver in 1860 they set themselves to work to finish what had been begun, and soon they had raised subscriptions enough to proceed with the work. Theirs was the first bell, and the first pipe-organ. This early church on Stout street was the root of the present cathedral. It was but 30 by 50 feet in size at first. A small house was added for the bishop's residence, which in 1871 was replaced by a brick residence. The following year the church was enlarged, and in 1873 it had grown into a cathedral. As early as 1864 the academy of St Mary was established on California street, and placed in charge of three sisters of the order of Loretto in Ky. The buildings were enlarged from time to time until they presented an imposing appearance, and accommodated many pupils and teachers. Branch schools have been planted in other towns under the care of this order. There was in 1886 a parish school adjoining the cathedral. A catholic hospital was opened in 1872, under the care of the sisters of charity. It was situated on Park avenue, and was a substantial brick structure, 45x75 feet, and three stories high. According to their usual premeditated plans of acquiring valuable property, the catholics of Denver and Colorado have become possessed of excellent sites in this and all the towns. *Denver Hist.*, 268–84; *Denver Tribune*, Jan. 4, 1880; *Descriptive America*, May 1884, p. 17; *Colo Gazetteer*, 1871, p. 133–40; *Corbett's Directory of Mines*, 64–5; *Hart's Boy-Education*, pp. 37–41; *Chivington's The Prospector*, MS., 3; *Howbert's Ind. Troubles*, MS., 8; *Chivington's First Colo Regt*, MS., 1. Another manuscript of Chivington's, *The Retrospective*, gives also a slight sketch of the M. E. church in the beginnings.

[12] According to law, the county commissioners of any county where no other board exists shall constitute a board of health, with all the duties usually pertaining to that office. Much interesting matter may be found in the *Rept State Board of Health*, 1877 and 1879–80.

is the leading ore market of the state, and in 1886 its smelters and samplers received and handled 180,173 tons of gold and silver bearing ores. The total business of the city in the same year, exclusive of real estate sales, which aggregated $11,000,000, exceeded $56,500,000.

As early as the spring of 1861 a chamber of commerce was organized at Denver, but was soon afterward abandoned. In 1867 another attempt in the same direction was made through the establishment of a board of trade,[13] which, on account of some defect in its general constitution, was also less successful than its promoters desired. This being recognized, early in 1854 some of its principal members formed a permanent and effective organization, with which the old board was consolidated. The first officers of this new chamber of commerce were R. W. Woodbury, president; M. J. McNamara and J. F. Mathews, vice-presidents; Frank Hall, secretary; and William D. Todd, treasurer. Good and efficient work has from the first been done by this organization in directing the enterprise of Denver, while advancing and protecting its business interests. Its annual reports are models of statistical compilation, and to them I am much indebted for the facts concerning the business growth and development of Denver and the state at large. Under the auspices of the then-existing board of trade was established the national mining and industrial exposition, which made its first exhibit in 1882,[14] erecting a group of buildings which covered seven acres, situated in the midst of

[13] I find in *Extracts from Early Records*, MS., 7, the names of the officers of the Denver Board of Trade. They are taken from a pamphlet published by the board, entitled *Colorado*. John W. Smith pres., William N. Clayton and John Pierce vice-pres., Henry C. Leach sec., Frank Palmer treas., Henry M. Porter, J. S. Brown, V. J. Salomon, D. H. Moffat, Jr, H. H. T. Grill and Joseph E. Bates directors.

[14] The board of commissioners of the exposition, appointed by the board of trade in 1884, consisted of W. A. H. Loveland pres., R. W. Woodbury vice-pres., A. E. Pierce treas., Irwin Mahon sec., Joseph C. Wilson supt of space, R. G. Webster, B. P. Broshear, B. F. Woodward, and E. B. Light.

a tract of forty acres.[15] The object of the exposition was primarily to draw the eyes of the world upon Colorado and Denver, in which effort the enterprise was successful, the mineral museum, containing specimens from every mine in Colorado and many camps in the adjacent states, being of itself sufficient to entitle the exposition to particular notice. The design contemplated an annual exhibit, but after the third had been held in 1884 the project fell to the ground by reason of an unfortunate conflict of interests among its managers and supporters.

At the first session of the forty-seventh congress a bill was passed making Denver a port of delivery for dutiable merchandise;[16] and another bill at the same session, admitting articles to the Denver exposition free of duty, provided that none of these articles should be sold or consumed without paying revenue. A bill was also passed making provision for the erection of a government building in Denver for the accommodation of the United States district and cir-

[15] The main building was a substantial and handsome cruciform structure of brick, 500 feet long by 310 in width. The floor, with its towers and angles, contained nearly 100,000 square feet of space, and the galleries half as much more. The exhibit in the hall of arts in 1882 was estimated to be worth $200,000. The departments which offer premiums are, first, minerals and metals, and their products, including ores of gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron; coal, anthracite, bituminous, cannel, and lignite; cabinets of minerals of all kinds; fire-clay, manufactured; porcelain ware; hydraulic cement; lime, brick, etc.; marble, lithographic stone, soapstone, gypsum, precious stones, native chemicals; bullion, gold, silver; pig-lead, pig-iron, steel-rails; iron-rails, nails, bar-iron, sheet-lead, and lead pipe. The second department comprises 73 kinds of machinery used in mining and agriculture; third department, 18 kinds of vehicles; fourth department, 34 kinds of leather goods and leather, and 8 kinds of furriers' goods; fifth department, miscellaneous manufactures, comprising 93 articles. The sixth department included horses of 10 classes; the seventh, cattle, in 13 classes; the eighth, sheep, in 5 classes; the ninth, swine, in 7 classes; the tenth, poultry; the eleventh, grain, vegetables, and miscellaneous farm products; the twelfth, fruits; the thirteenth, dairy products, and domestic or pantry articles; the fourteenth, apiarian products; after which followed the art and floral departments, attached to which, as a sign of progress, there was also considerable interest. Except in San Francisco, which has the advantage of being a seaport town, no other city of the United States, at the age of little more than twenty years, has been able to make a similar exhibit. *Catalogue National Mining and Industrial Exposition*, 1884.

[16] *U. S. Stat.*, 13, 47th cong., 1st sess.; *U. S. H. Jour.*, 217, 590, 659, 720, 730, 753, 47th cong., 1st sess.

cuit courts, post-office, land-office, and other federal offices, the cost not to exceed $300,000.

Banking has always been a profitable business in Denver. There is no usury law, borrower and lender fixing such rates of interest as they agree upon. In times of excitement three per cent a month might be asked and given. Twelve per cent per annum was the usual bank rate in 1886, but real estate loans could be had for eight or ten per cent. The first bank building of any pretensions was a part of National block, on the corner of 15th and Blake streets, and was occupied by the First National bank, organized by Jerome B. Chaffee, and of which he was president until 1880.[17] Various banking institutions which, calling themselves savings banks, sequestering the savings of the people to their own uses, rose and flourished for a time. In 1885 there were six banks in Denver, five of which were national, their combined capital amounting to $1,708,000; deposits $8,060,000; cash and exchange $3,963,000; loans and over-drafts $4,634,000.[18]

Until the erection of the Tabor opera-house in 1880 Denver had nothing at all elegant in the way of a theatre.[19] It had then one unsurpassed in any

[17] The business was purchased from Clark & Co., private banker. George T. Clark was cashier in 1865, and was elected mayor the same year. D. H. Moffat, Jr, became cashier in 1866. *Hist. Denver*, 213.

[18] *Descriptive America*, May, 1884. In 1881 David H. Moffat, Jr, was president of the First National bank, Samuel N. Wood cashier; of the City National bank William Barth was president, John B. Hanna cashier; of the Colorado National bank Charles B. Kountze was president, William B. Berger cashier; of the German National Bank George Tritch was president, W. J. Jenkins cashier; of the Merchants' National bank Henry R. Wolcott was president, Samuel N. Wood cashier. *Compt. of Currency Rept*, 1881-2, 709-11. The State National bank took the place of the Merchants' bank. The Union bank completes the list.

[19] Apollo theater, erected in October, 1859, by Charles R. Thorne, was situated on Larimer street, between 14th and 15th streets. Thorne had a travelling company on the plains, which was giving entertainments at military posts—at Leavenworth, Kearny, and Laramie, and thence he came to Denver. Platte Valley theater, at the corner of 16th and Lawrence streets, was the next. It was opened in 1860. Both were burned. The next was a building erected by the Governor's Guards as an armory building, at the intersection of Curtis and 15th streets. It was called Governor's Guard hall, and was used until Sept., 1880, when the Tabor opera-house was

of the states for tasteful decoration and comfort, the designs being entirely original and suitable. In 1882 the academy of music was completed.

It seems tautological to remark, after recounting what the people of Denver have accomplished in less than a third of a lifetime, that they are as a people above the average in intellectual force and superiority of culture. How much is due to the stimulating influences of their high and dry climate it would be a nice point to determine, seeing that there is a sliding scale of altitudes in Colorado, and that everywhere in the state prevails great mental and physical activity. That there was a good class of settlers to begin with is undoubted, and upon this tree has been grafted all the choicest fruits of an age of progress.[20] Yet

opened. There is still a small theater opposite this called the Walhalla. *Byers' Hist. Colo*, MS., 73–4. Turner hall, on Holladay street, is the German temple of art, and a commodious one.

[20] Free-masonry was active in 1858–9, when members of the order met informally in a cabin of Auraria, that they might know and assist each other. They had in 1881 10 lodges, representing every degree, and for many years had met at the corner of Holladay and 15th streets. The Knights of Pythias had 3 lodges. The Odd Fellows had 9 lodges, and a hall on Lawrence street. The Good Templars had two lodges, and there were two of the Red Cross. There were twelve benevolent societies of various names, and 18 other organizations, such as medical and historical societies, and industrial and other associations. Croffutt, *Grip-sack Guide*, 32; *Trans. Med. Soc.*, 1883. There were 37 hotels and public boarding-houses in 1884. The St James, Windsor, New Albany, American, and Inter-Ocean, can each shelter and feed 600 guests; the Alvord, Lindell, and New Markham, each 200; the New York, 150; and the Brunswick and Charpiot's, 100 each. *Catalogue National Mining and Industrial Exposition*, 15. There were, besides, 60 restaurants, 47 bakeries, 6 breweries, 6 flouring-mills. The quality of the flour made in Denver is excellent, and since the first shipment in 1874 to the east, has been in demand in Boston, New York, Buffalo, and Chicago, and also Richmond, Va. *Dept of Agriculture*, 1872, 449. The names of the principal mills are the Hungarian, Crescent, Davis, and White Rock. Wheat is brought here from Utah to be made into flour. The first millers had difficulty in separating the bran, but the true process was discovered by Luther A. Cole of Watertown, Wis., who engaged in milling here in 1870. The secret was in moistening the hull before grinding the wheat, which prevented crumbling, and enabled him to part the bran from the flour. It was done by a system of spraying before the wheat went to the hopper. *Byers' Centennial State*, MS., 21. The Denver City Steam Heating company was incorporated Dec. 15, 1879, to supply steam by the Holly system, or any other, to factories, shops, stores, public or private buildings, for mechanical or heating purposes. Steam was turned on Nov. 5, 1880, and was found to be a saving in many ways. The company's capital was $500,000. Among the incorporators were the pioneers E. F. Hallack, J. W. Smith, and George Tritch. There was a movement made to organize a fire department July 15, 1862, but the difficulty of procuring machines stood in the way for a time, during which several fires occurred. Hook and

Denver has not been without its vices, its vicious class, or its unpleasant episodes.[21] Gambling has been from the first a prominent evil. The city council in 1861 prohibited three-card monte, but no other games. The territorial legislature in 1864 passed an act prohibiting gambling-houses, and making it the duty of sheriffs and constables to arrest the keepers and destroy the furniture of such places. But the next legislature yielded to the arguments of those who lived off the gain of games of chance; and after enacting that no person known to be a professional gambler or keeper of a gambling-house should be eligible as a juror, repealed so much of the former act as affected Denver, and permitted that city to control this mat-

Ladder Company No. 1, organized in March, 1866, was for several years the only fire company in the city. Its first officers were George W. McClure, foreman; Frank W. Cram, asst foreman; C. C. Davis, 2d asst; H. L. Rockwell, 3d asst; Hyat Hussey, treasurer. A truck and apparatus was ordered from Cincinnati, and arrived in the autumn across the plains. A brick building 24 by 60 was erected on a lot purchased by the city council, the same occupied later by Central station, which was then called Pioneer station. No other company was organized until the spring of 1872, when the James Archer Hose company was organized, named after the president of the Denver Water company, and located on Curtis street. Soon after the Joseph E. Bates Fire and Hose company was organized, named in acknowledgment of the aid rendered the department by Bates. In July of the same year the Woodie Fisher Hose Company No. 1 also organized, named after a member of the Hook and Ladder Company No. 1, killed in attempting to stop a runaway team. In March, 1874, the Denver Hook and Ladder company was formed, having their station at the corner of Curtis and 26th streets. Tabor Hose Company No. 5 was organized and stationed on 15th street, north Denver. It was named in honor of Lieut-gov. Tabor. Of military companies Denver had three in 1880. The Governor's Guard organized in April, 1872, the Chaffee Light Artillery in January, 1878, and the Mitchell Guards, an independent Irish company, which was formed in 1873. The National Guard was created by the legislature of 1879, and supported by a direct tax. Denver had to make application to congress to be permitted to purchase land for cemetery purposes. *Cong. Globe*, 1871–2, pp. 2206, 2949, 3313, 3338, 3682. There were three burial places, the latest and only one to which much attention has been given up to 1886 being Riverside cemetery, three miles down the Platte, which has a beautiful site.

[21] On Sunday, the last day of October, 1880, there was a riot in Denver, the object of which was to affect the presidential election, and prevent the usual republican majority. The disturbance began with the interference of a few of our drunken Irish patriots in a game of pool played between a white man and a Chinaman at a public resort on Wazee street. Having forced the Chinese to defend themselves, they then treated them as the offending party, assailed them without mercy, driving them into hiding, hanging one of them to a lamp-post, and destroying their property. The mob increasing, a Committee of Control, consisting of 500 citizens, was formed; the city council gave the chief of police authority to muster a special force of 100 to patrol

ter by its own ordinances.[22] The revised ordinances of Denver, passed in 1881, prohibit both gambling games and houses of ill-fame, the law-makers apparently forgetting that these excrescences of society have existed from time immemorial, and probably will continue till the millennial day; also, that it is the people who make the gamblers and prostitutes, and not they who make the people. The urban population of Arapahoe county is nearly all in and about Denver. Littleton, twelve miles south, is considered as a suburb. Porter's sulpho-chalybeate spring, in the outskirts of the city, is also a popular resort.[23]

the streets and guard the polls on Monday, and the fire department was kept in readiness all day to fly at the tap of the bell. Every saloon was closed, and the city guarded at every point. A number of the rioters, having been arrested and sent to jail, were promptly bailed out by Ex-delegate Patterson's hench-men, and allowed to vote. The district attorney had a part of them rearrested on a charge of murder, and so the struggle went on all day; but the law-and-order men triumphed, and the election was finally as quiet as the faces of the guardians of the peace were stern and set with determination. *Denver Tribune*, Nov. 2, 1880.

[22] The city attorney elected in 1883 was Mason B. Carpenter, a native of Vt., born in 1845. He served two years in the union army when between 16 and eighteen years of age, being mustered out as acting sergeant-major. He graduated at the university of Vermont, studied law, and was admitted to practice at St Albans; was official reporter of the house of representatives in 1867, and secretary of the senate from 1869 to 1873. In 1874 he married Fannie M. Brainard, and removed to Colorado in 1875. He was elected from Arapahoe, to the house of representatives in 1881, and a member of the senate in 1884. The *History of Denver*, from which I have frequently quoted, is a quarto volume of 652 pages. Its authorship is mixed, and the greater portion anonymous, but bears evidence of having been the performance of local writers well acquainted with their topics. It contains articles on a great variety of subjects, and many biographical sketches. It is on the same plan as *Clear Creek and Boulder Valley History* and the *History of Arkansas Valley*. Other authorities consulted are *First Annual Report of Denver Chamber of Commerce*, by Frank Hall, containing tables, etc., showing general condition of the state; *Porter's West Census of 1880; Colorado Notes*, MS.; *Graff's Colorado; Pitkin's Political Views*, MS.; *Dixon's New America*, as seen through English eyes in 1866; *McKenney's Business Directory*, 1882–3; *Meline's Two Thousand Miles on Horseback; Faithful's Three Visits to America; Leading Industries of the West*, August, 1883; *Williams' Pacific Tourist and Guide; Denver Rocky Mountain News*, June 6, 1870; *Denver Tribune-Republican*, Oct. 10, 1884; *Early Days in Denver*, by John C. Moore. He was born in Tenn. in 1835, and came to Colorado in 1859. He describes Denver and also Pueblo in the early days. *Sopris' Settlement of Denver*, MS., is another excellent authority treating of first things.

[23] Argo is the seat of Hill's reduction works. Other settlements in 1886 were Bear Creek Junction, Bennett, Bird, Big Timber, Box Elder, Brighton, Burnham, Byers, Cherry Creek, Deer Trail, Henderson Isle, Hughes, Gravel Switch, Island Station, Jersey, Junction, Kiowa, Living Spring, Magnolia, Melvin, Petersburg, Platte Summit, Pooler's Rancho, Poverty Flat, Rattle-

snake, Reduction Works, Schuyler, Vasquez, and Watkins. One of the pioneers of Arapahoe county whose name is found in the public prints is Caleb B. Clements, who came to Colorado in 1859, and was from the first identified with Denver, an addition to which bears his name. He was receiver of the land office when Chilcott was register. He died March 24, 1880. *Denver Tribune*, March 25, 1880.

C. J. Gross, who also came in 1859, was born in Vt in 1821. He was engaged in business in Fond du Lac, Wis., for several years, and helped to lay out the town of Boulder in Colorado, after which he settled in Denver, and was elected from Arapahoe co. to the legislature in 1866. He formed the Baltimore Mining company, one of the most substantial in the state, and owned 1,500 acres south-east of Denver. He married, in 1841, a daughter of H. T. Shepherd of N. Y., who died at Boulder in 1864. The following year he married Harriet Beecher of New Haven, Ct.

David A. Cheever was a midshipman in the U. S. navy in 1842. At the close of the Mexican war he resigned, and also came to Cal. in 1849, but returned to Wis. in 1854, and from there migrated to Colorado in 1859, engaging in real estate business. He was elected to the lower house of the legislature in 1864, county commissioner in 1873, and was postmaster in 1875–6.

Cyrus H. McLaughlin, born in Pa in 1827, and by trade a printer, came from Leavenworth, Kansas, to Colorado in 1859 as a messenger for Jones and Cartwright's express, and to learn the truth of the reports concerning gold discoveries. On returning to Leavenworth he carried $40,000 worth of the precious dust. In 1860 he removed to Denver and worked on the *News* for a time; then tried agriculture and cattle raising, but the flood of 1864 so damaged his farm that he gave it up and took a situation in the quartermaster's department, which he held for two years. In 1867 he was elected to the legislature, which met at Golden, and used his influence to remove the capital to Denver. In 1868 he was reëlected and chosen speaker. He was afterward receiver in the land office, clerk in the post office, and alderman. The rule of the Pioneer Association is that those who arrived before 1860 may become members. *Byers' Centennial State*, MS., 38. Among these were William Z. Cozzens, deputy-sheriff of Arapahoe district in 1860; David K. Wall, member of the provisional legislature; T. P. Boyd, associate justice of the supreme court; N. J. Curtis, W. F. Holman; Charles C. Post, member of constitutional convention of 1859; Nelson Sargent, who was in charge of the first express line across the plains, known as the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express company, as before mentioned; Philo M. Weston, built the first house in Granite; John Rothrock, built the 'eleven cabins,' 16 miles below Denver, on the Platte, in 1858, and was one of the discoverers of Gold Run, in Boulder co.; Joseph M. Brown, miner and cattle raiser, built Brown's bridge over the Platte, elected county commissioner in 1863 for 3 terms; Samuel W. Brown, miner, merchant, farmer; Samuel Brantner, farmer; his daughter was the first child of the settlers of Arapahoe, born four miles from Denver; Caleb S. Burdsall, miner, smelter, surgeon of the 3d Colo reg., discovered the soda lakes near Morrison, named after him; Joseph W. Bowles, miner, sheriff of Nevada mining district in 1860–1, farmer near Littleton, twice elected county commissioner; Hiram J. Brendlinger, tobacco merchant, member of the city council 1861–3, mayor in 1864, member of the legislature 1865; John W. Cline, miner, farmer; Henry Crow, miner, organized the City National bank in 1870 and was president six years, afterward in stock raising and mining; A. B. Daniels, vice-president of Denver and New Orleans railroad, died April 9, 1881; Daniel J. Fulton, miner, farmer; George C. Griffin, farmer and stock raiser; G. W. Hazzard, miner, farmer, banker, stock grower, owned 20,000 acres of pasture lands, died Feb. 9, 1878, leaving a wife and four children; Alfred H. Miles, farmer; John McBroom, farmer, elected to the state legislature in 1876; John Milheim, banker and capitalist; John H. Morrison, lumber merchant, miller, collector of internal revenue, agriculturist, died July 21, 1876; Jasper P. Sears, merchant with

C. A. Cook, banker, government contractor, and real estate dealer; Thomas Skerritt, miner, farmer; L. A. Williams, lumber manufacturer, farmer, stock raiser.

Hiram J. Brendlinger, a native of Pa, came with a stock of cigars to Denver in 1859, opening a store on Blake street in a log cabin in June 1859. In 1861 he erected a two-story frame building, which was burned in April 1863. Six months previous he had erected a brick warehouse, in which a large part of his stock was saved, with which he started business again, with a branch at Central City. In 1864 he established a branch at Virginia, Montana, in 1866 at Cheyenne, in Wyoming, and in 1877 at Deadwood, in Dakota. He was a member of the city council, mayor, and member of the legislature.

Daniel Witter, born in Ind., became a miner in Tarryall district, South park, where he worked in 1859–60, and was chosen a member of the house from his district the following year. In 1862 he was appointed postmaster at Hamilton, and soon after asst int. rev. collector and afterward was receiver in the land office, dealer in real estate and stock raiser. He originated the Denver Safe Deposit and Savings bank, of which he was treasurer until 1877. He was vice-president of the Denver Water company from its organization for many years.

David H. Moffat was born in N. Y. in 1839, and came to Colorado in 1860. He started a book and stationery business at Denver, in company with C. C. Woolworth, which became large and profitable, and from which he retired at the end of six years to take the position of cashier of the 1st National bank of Denver, of which he was elected president in 1880, and which owes much to his administrative ability. He was elected to the presidency of the D. & R. G. R. in 1887, and has been prominently connected with all the leading railroad enterprises since 1869, when he with Gov. Evans built the Denver Pacific to Cheyenne. He was one of the organizers of the syndicate which built the D. & S. P. R. R., and helped to build the D. & N. O. R. R. He is also interested in mines in nearly every county in Colorado, and justly ranks as one of the mining kings of the centennial state. He paid Tabor $1,600,000 for his interest in the Little Pittsburg at Leadville, even then making money out of the investment. His residence in Denver cost over $80,000. *N. Y. Financier*, Oct. 17, 1885; *Moffat's Sketch on Banking*, MS.

Bela M. Hughes, a native of Nicholas co., Ky, was born in 1817, and removed to Clay co., Mo., in 1834. He studied for the law, and was admitted to practice in 1841, and in 1845 was appointed receiver of public moneys for his district, which position he held four years, when he removed to St Joseph, where he remained until he came to Colorado in 1861, as president of the Overland Mail company, which office he filled for two years, and for six years afterward that of solicitor of the same company. In 1869 he began the general practice of law in Denver. He was democratic candidate for governor in 1876, though not elected.

Frederick Jones Bancroft, M. D., born May 25, 1834, at Enfield, Conn. On the paternal side he came from the Bancrofts and Heaths of Conn., and on the meternal side from the Bissells and Walcotts, prominent New England families. He was educated at Westfield academy, Mass., and Charlotteville seminary, N. Y., and studied medicine in the medical department of the university of Buffalo, graduating in 1861. His first practice was in Penn. Then he entered the army, and after the war attended lectures in Phil., removing to Colorado in 1866, and practised medicine in Denver, where he became medical referee for several insurance companies, and surgeon of three different railroad companies, as well as member of the Denver Medical society, of which he was president in 1868, of the Colorado Medical association, and American Medical association, and president of the state board of health. He was also an early and active member of the Colorado Historical society, and has been an officer in many societies, particularly educational, and is authority upon such topics. He married a daughter of George A. Jarvis, of Brooklyn, N. Y.

James Moynahan was born in Wayne co., Mich., in 1842. He entered the army as a private in 1862, remaining in it through the war, being twice wounded, and made a captain in 1863. In 1866 he married Mary Moynahan, of Detroit, and set out for Colorado with an ox-team, leaving his wife, who followed him in 1867. He resided in Park co. until 1884 when he removed to Denver to educate his children. In merchandising, mining, and stock raising, he fast accumulated property. He was elected to the state senate in 1876, and again in 1882.

Charles Hallack, born in N. Y. in 1828, came to Colorado in 1867 from Kansas, and settled in Denver in the business of a lumber dealer. In 1884 he was elected president of the State National bank, of which he was one of the organizers.

Job A. Cooper, born in Ill. in 1843, removed to Denver in 1872, where he practised law for four years, and was elected vice-president of the German bank. In 1877 the bank was reorganized under the name of the German National Bank, when he was elected cashier. In 1877 he purchased 300 head of cattle, on a range near the Neb. state line, but sold them and bought 15,000 acres of land in Weld co., on which he had in 1886–7, 500 head of cattle. He was president of the Colorado Cattle-grower's association, a wealthy organization.

D. H. Dougan, born in Niles, Mich., in 1845, removed to Ind. at the age of 15 years, and became a clerk in a bank at Richmond, studying medicine in his leisure hours. He subsequently studied at Rush medical college, Chicago, and at Bellevue hospital, New York, graduating in 1874, and coming to Colorado the following year. He resided in several parts of the state temporarily until 1878 when he went to Leadville, where he became mayor in 1881 and 1882. He was the first president of Carbonate bank, and remained a director while living in Denver.

John C. Stallcup, born in Ohio in 1841, came to Colorado for the benefit of his health in 1877, and remained. He was nominee of the democratic party for state senator in 1878, and was again nominated for attorney-general of the state in 1880. He was elected city-attorney of Denver in 1881, and was retained as city counsel afterwards in cases then pending. In 1884 he sold most of his city property, and invested in land in Arapahoe co., 17 miles from Denver, which was being stocked with cattle.

Stephen H. Standart, born in Ohio in 1833, and brought up on a farm, came to Colorado in 1879 to engage in cattle-raising. He started in business with 1,200 head, about 60 miles from Denver. He was one of the organizers of the Western Live stock co. in 1880, and of the American Cattle company in 1883, of 400 members, the two companies owning over 20,000 head in 1885.

For congressional and legislative references I have found matter in *Pac. R. R. Rept*, i. 17–19; *U. S. Sen. Jour.*, 808, 38th cong., 1st sess.; *U. S. H. Jour.*, 241, 38th cong., 2d sess.; *Zabriskie's Land Laws*, sup. 1877, 49; *Hollister's Mines of Colo*, 292–4; *Cong. Globe*, 1864–5, 316, 753, 1404; *U. S. H. Ex. Doc.*, i., p. 152, 46th cong., 1st sess., vol. 16, pt 2, 184, 227; 46th cong., 3d sess., and xxv., pt 1, 446; 46th cong., 2d sess.; *U. S. H. Misc. Doc.*, xiii., pt 4, p. 56–9, 124–31, 46th cong., 2d sess.; *U. S. Ex. Doc.*, xxv., 364, 47th cong., 2d sess.; *Gen. Laws Colo*, 1865, 108–11, 117–18, 127, 132, 135, 141, 142; *Id.*, 1877, 180–94, 738; *Sen. Jour. Colo*, 1881, 629–30; *Charter and Ordinances of City of Denver*, 287–309; *Corporations, Rev. Statutes*, 1883.

CHAPTER XII.

COUNTIES OF COLORADO.

1859–1886.

BENT COUNTY—INDUSTRIES, TOWNS, AND PEOPLE—BOULDER COUNTY—EARLY SETTLERS—QUARTZ MINING—COAL AND IRON—CHAFFEE COUNTY—DISCOVERIES AND DEVELOPMENT—CLEAR CREEK COUNTY—EARLIEST SMELTING—STAMP MILLS—CONEJOS COUNTY—COSTILLA—CUSTER—MEN AND TOWNS—MINING—DELTA, DOLORES, DOUGLAS, EAGLE, ELBERT, EL PASO, AND FREMONT COUNTIES—THE GREAT RAILROAD WAR—CAÑON CITY AND ITS INSTITUTIONS.

BENT county, separated from Arapahoe by Elbert county, lies on both sides of the Arkansas river, and occupies the country of which Bent's fort was in ante-mining days the seat of such civilization as was found on the east slope of the Rocky mountains. It was organized in 1870, and named after the Bent family. It occupies an extent of territory larger than the state of Massachusetts, but is comparatively uninhabited, being almost entirely appropriated to the uses of the great cattle companies and owners, a single one of whom owns forty miles fronting on the river.[1] Boggsville was the first county seat, which later was west Las Animas, the rendezvous of cattle owners and purchasers. East Las Animas, a few miles below, is another similar point. Both are on the railroad. La Junta, at the junction of the Pueblo branch, is a prosperous town. Besides these there

[1] J. W. Powers, before mentioned. He came to Colorado in 1858 a poor young man, made his first money cutting the native grasses for hay, and selling it to the government at Fort Lyon. He finally became a merchant and banker, and owner of 20,000 cattle.

are few worthy of note.[2] The Arkansas valley is adapted to agriculture, but the population of about 2,000 is devoted to the grazing interest to the exclusion of farming. The county of Greenwood was created at the same time that Bent was established, and occupied a part of its present territory, with Kit Carson for the county seat; but it was abolished in 1874, and the present boundaries decreed, at which time the county of Elbert was set off.

Boulder, one of the original seventeen counties established by the first legislative body of Colorado territory, contains 794 square miles, and combines mining with agriculture in a proportion which renders it a peculiarly favored section of the state. It was first settled by a portion of a train which arrived in 1858 by the Platte route, which on coming to the confluence of the St Vrain, determined to take a course directly leading to the mountains. Among them were Thomas Aikins and son, S. J. Aikins, a nephew, A. A. Brookfield and wife, Charles Clouser, Yount, Moore, Dickens, Daniel Gordon and brother, Theodore Squires, Thomas Lorton, Wheelock brothers, and John Rothrock. They pitched their tents on the 17th of October at Red rock, at the mouth of Boulder cañon. They were joined by others in the course of the autumn. On the 15th of January, 1859, the first gold was discovered at Gold Run by a party consisting of Charles Clouser, John Rothrock, I. S. Bull, William Huey, W. W. Jones, James Aikins, and David Wooley. Out of this gulch was taken by the hand-rocker that season $100,000. The second discovery, on south Boulder, was the Deadwood diggings, by B. F. Langley, about the last of

[2] Alkali, Apishapa Station, Arapahoe, Benton, Bent's Fort, Blackwell, Caddoa, Carlton, Catlin, Cheyenne Wells, Dowlings, First View, Fort Lyon, Granada, Hilton, Holley, Iron Springs, King's Ferry, Kiowa Springs, Kit Carson, Main Rancho, Meadows, Monotony, Nine-mile Bottom, Point of Rocks, Prowers, Red Rock, Robinson, Rocky Ford, Rush Creek, Salt Springs, Sand Creek, The Meadows, Tuttle's, Well No. 1, and Wild Horse, are the settlements in Bent co.

January; and the third at Gold Hill,[3] in February. Soon after David Horsfal discovered his famous mine.

In February the town of Boulder was laid off, ten miles from the gold diggings, by H. Chiles, Alfred A. Brookfield being president of the town company.[4] The first seventy houses on Pearl street were of logs. It soon had a population of 2,000, which so exalted the expectations of its shareholders that they turned away customers by their high prices. Efforts were made by bridging the Platte, and by other means, to draw immigration to that point, but without marked success.[5]

[3] Some of the pioneers of Gold Hill were P. M. Housel and wife, George W. Chambers and wife, Charles Dabney and wife, Charles F. Holly, Miles Jain, John Wigginton, William Fellows, James Smith, E. H. N. Patterson, W. G. Pell, James A. Carr, W. A. Corson, Henry Green, L. M. McCaslin, and family, Richard Blore, John Mahoney, Cary Culver, Hiram Buck, George Zweck, Alph. Cushman, Mrs Samuel Hays, William and John Brerly and families. The first child born in Gold Hill was Mamie McCaslin, who became Mrs J. C. Conlehan of Boulder.

[4] Brookfield was born in Morristown, N. J., in 1830. His father was a merchant, and he was his partner. He was afterward mayor of Nebraska City. He came to Colorado in 1858. Henry Wilson Chiles was born in Va in 1828, and came to Colo from Neb. in 1858. He served in the civil war, and returned to Colo at its close.

[5] Some of the men of Boulder were: Thomas A. Aiken, born in Md, 1808. He came to Colorado in 1858, and settled four miles from Boulder City. He died in 1878.

Samuel J. Aikins, born in Ill. in 1835, came to Colorado in 1858, and settled on a farm on Dry creek, five miles e. from Boulder City. A.J. Macky, who erected the first frame house in Boulder, was born in N. Y. in 1834. He came to Colorado in 1859, in company with Hiram Buck. He mined, worked at his trade of carpentry, and kept a meat market in company with Buck. He erected the first brick house in Boulder, and the first building with an iron front. He was postmaster, county treasurer, justice of the peace, member of the school board, clerk of the dist court, and deputy int. rev. collector. For eight years he held the office of sec. Boulder County Industrial association. In 1872 he was elected town clerk and treasurer, which office he retained for about ten years. He at one time kept the Boulder house. In 1865, in company with Daniel Pound and others, he constructed the Black Hawk and Central City wagon road, and the following year built the Caribou and Central City road. He was influential in securing the state university for Boulder, and aided all worthy enterprises.

Alpheus Wright, born in N. Y. and educated for the law, came to Colorado in 1859. He was a member of the legislature in 1865, and was elected county attorney. He made a comfortable fortune at mining operations.

Samuel Arbuthnot was born in Pittsburg in 1836, and came to Colorado in 1859. He mined at Gold Hill, at Russell gulch, and in California gulch. In 1863 he settled on a farm on Left Hand creek, Boulder co., and helped to organize the Left Hand Ditch company, of which he has been president. He was also clerk of the school board.

About this time men went wild over quartz, until they found, upon protracted trial, that they could not extract the gold I have already spoken of that era, and its effect on the country. Then they were driven to other pursuits, especially farming Boulder organized the first county agricultural society in 1867. Grist-mills were erected, and a farming community grew up at the confluence of the north and south Boulder creeks, with a thriving centre called Valmont.[6] Boulder became the grain-milling as well as grain-growing country[7] of the territory. In time, also, its mines were developed, until its annual production of the precious metals reached half a million,

George F. Chase was one of the Central City and Boulder valley toll-road builders, county commissioner, town trustee, farmer, and stock raiser. George W. Chambers was a miner, farmer, county commissioner, and justice of the peace. Andrew Douty erected on South Boulder creek the first grist-mill completed in Colorado. He also built a mill at Red Rock, near Boulder City, in 1866. In 1867 he erected the first flouring mills at St Louis, in Larimer co., where he died in 1874. Douty was from Pa.

Tarbox & Donnelly erected the first saw mill in Boulder in 1860, using the water power at the mouth of the cañon. J. P. Lee built the second the same season a few miles from Gold Hill; Tourtalotte and Squires a third in Boulder City in 1862. Samuel Copeland erected the first steam saw mill in Four-mile cañon in 1863.

Edward W. Henderson was the purchaser of the Gregory mine, and had many vicissitudes of fortune. He was connected with the Western Smelting company, in charge of affairs; was treasurer of Gilpin co.; and receiver of the U. S. land office at Central City 1873–9.

T. J. Graham brought the 3-stamp mill in 1859 which was set up on Left Hand creek, near Gold Hill. He continued to reside at Boulder.

Other men of Boulder in early times were William Arbuthnot, miner and farmer; August Burk, baker and farmer; Norman R. Howard, miner and farmer; Thomas J. Jones, miner, merchant, and farmer, built the large hotel at Gold Dirt in 1860; Henry B. Ludlow, miner and farmer; Holden R. Eldred, freighter and merchant; William Baker, farmer; Thomas Brainard, freighter and farmer; John Reese, carpenter, miner, and farmer, elected assessor of Boulder co. in 1871; Jay Sternberg, miller and proprietor of the Boulder City flouring mills; William R. Howell, twice elected sheriff of Boulder co.

[6] The first cheese factory was established at Valmont. This town was laid off by A. P. Allen, his sons, G. S. and W. H. Allen, and his son-in-law, Holden Eldred. Near Valmont were settled, with their families, W. B. Howell, once sheriff, now a large land owner, John Rothrock, Henry Buck, P. A. Lyner, William A. Davidson, H. B. Ludlow, J. J. Beasley, projector and builder of the Beasley irrigating canal; Jeremiah Leggett, Edgar Sawdey, Hiram Prince, E. Leeds, J. C. Bailey, Stephen H. Green, and George C. Green, his son.

[7] A. and J. W. Smith of Denver, erected a grist-mill at White Rock Cliffs, on Boulder creek, six miles from the mountains; P. M. Housel and John D. Baker built one near Valmont. Housel was twice elected county judge.

chiefly in silver, and the assessable valuation of the county is considerably over four and a half millions.[8] The coal production of the county in 1883 was 45,500 tons.[9] Iron is one of the valuable productions of this county;[10] and also stone for building purposes, and lime manufacture. Boulder county in 1870 received the addition to its early population of a company of persons organized in Chicago, under the name of the Chicago-Colorado colony, of which Robert Collyer was president, C. N. Pratt secretary, and William Bross treasurer. With so much ability at the head it should have made itself a history. The land, selected by W. N. Byers, consisted of 60,000

[8] The principal mining districts of Boulder are Caribou, in which are situated the well-known mines of Native Silver, Seven-Thirty, Ten-Forty, Poorman, Sherman, No Name, and the Caribou, which shipped in 1881 $227,982.88 in silver bricks. Ward district contained the Ni Wot, Nelson, Stoughton, Celestial, Humboldt, and Morning Star, free-milling gold mines. In Central district were the smuggler, John Jay, Last Chance, Longfellow, and Golden Age. The Gold Hill, Grand Island, Sunshine, Sugar Loaf, and Magnolia districts had good mines, which up to 1886 worked up to their greatest point of productiveness. Placer mines were neglected. *Smith's Rept on Development of Colorado*, 1881–2, 30, being the annual report of the state geologist. There were, in 1880, 9 mills, running 185 stamps, at work in Boulder county. *Fossett, Colorado*, 260.

[9] The coal of Boulder county is a free-burning lignite, of jet black color and high lustre. Coal was first developed here in 1860. In 1864 Joseph W. Marshall, one of the owners, after whom the coal-mining town of Marshall was named, William L. Lee, Mylo Lee, and A. G. Langford erected a small blast-furnace at this place, and made 200 tons of pig-iron from the red hematite ores which abound in the locality. The Marshall mine was worked for several years on a small scale; but when the Golden, Boulder, and Caribou railroad was completed, in 1878, the output immediately increased to 50,000 tons annually. *Tice's Over the Plains*, 86–7; *Rocky Mountain News*, May 6, 1868; *Clear Creek and Boulder Val. Hist.*, 421. Louisville is another coal-mining town on the Colorado Central railroad, 12 miles from Boulder. C. C. Welch of Golden conceived the idea of boring for coal at this place, where it is found 200 feet below the surface. The town was named after Louis Niwatany, a Polander, who had charge of the explorations. This mine was sold to Jay Gould, of the Union Pacific R. R., in 1879, with all its equipments. Louisville has a population of about 600. Among the permanent settlers in Coal Creek valley are the pioneer families of David Kerr, Robert Niver, W. C. Hake, first president of the South Boulder and Coal Creek Ditch company, G. W. Eggleston, A. M. Wylam, and James Minks. Niver, who is a well-to-do farmer, was the projector of the South Boulder and Coal Creek Ditch company, of which he was superintendent and stockholder, the benefit of which to the valley has been great.

[10] The Davidson Coal and Iron Mining company was incorporated in 1873, with a capital stock of $160,000, organized by William A. Davidson, Jonathan S. Smith, George W. Smiley, Charles B. Kountze, and William B. Berger. The company owned 8,000 acres on the line of the Colorado Central railroad, 8 miles from Boulder.

acres in the valleys of Boulder, St Vrain,[11] Left Hand, and Little Thompson creeks, including foot-hill lands with timber, building stone, water, iron, and coal convenient to railroad transportation. A location was chosen for a town about thirty miles due east from Long's peak, the view of which gave it the name of Longmont. The founders of the colony did not find it an Arcadia, but taking it all in all, it proved a good investment. The town, which was incorporated in 1873, had in 1886 1,800 inhabitants, excellent schools, local journals, several churches, important agricultural and milling interests, and a railroad connecting it with the Erie and Canfield[12] coal banks, and was on the line of the Colorado Central railroad.

Boulder City, the county seat of Boulder county, was incorporated in November 1871,[13] and had in 1886 a population of 6,000, railroad communication with Denver[14] and the other principal towns of northern Colorado and the main line of the Union Pacific, sampling and smelting-works, and flouring mills,[15]

[11] In St Vrain valley still reside some of the settlers of 1859, namely: Coffman, Pennock, Allen, Hamlin, Affalter, Peck, Isaac Runyon, B. F. Franklin, John C. Carter, Lyman Smead, David Taylor, Harrison Goodwin, Perry White, Richard Blore, Weese brothers, Thomas McClain, C. C. True, George W. Webster, Fred, George C., and Lawson Beckwith, Alf. and Wash. Cashman, John Hagar, Powell, Ripley. Mason, Manners, and Dickson.

[12] Canfield is another coal-mining town on the Denver and Boulder Valley railroad, 12 miles from Boulder. There were three mines, two owned by the Star Consolidated Coal-mining company, and another, opened in 1879, called the Jackson.

[13] Its mayors have been James Ellison, James P. Maxwell, Charles G. Van Fleet, and John A. Ellet. Maxwell was born in Wis. in 1839, and came to Colorado in 1860, settling first in Gilpin co. at mining and lumber dealing. He removed to Boulder in 1872, and engaged in farming and stock-raising. He was elected to the territorial legislature in 1872 and 1874, to the state general assembly in 1876 as senator, and in 1878 was chosen president of the senate pro tem. He was also elected co. treas. in 1880. Charles C. Brace, elected in 1885, came to Colorado in 1876 from Grand Rapids, Mich., where he was born in 1849. He studied medicine in the Hahnemann medical college of Chicago, coming direct to Boulder after graduating. He was chosen president of the Colorado State Homeopathic Medical society.

[14] While the population was only a few hundred the citizens subscribed $45,000 to secure a branch from the Denver and Boulder Valley R. R. Before it was completed the Colorado Central had reached them.

[15] The sampling-works were erected by N. P. Hill, manager of the Boston and Colorado Smelting co., the smelting-works by J. H. Boyd, in 1874. The Boulder City flouring-mill was erected in 1872 by Jay and D. K. Sternberg; the Colorado state mill in 1877 by Mrs E. B. Yount.

which purchased most of the wheat grown in the county. The business of the town and vicinity supported several banks.[16] It had a good system of water-works, erected in 1874 at a cost of $50,000, a fire department organized in 1875, excellent public schools,[17] newspapers, churches,[18] various benevolent societies, a public library,[19] and the state university. This last distinction was obtained from the legislature of 1861 and the corner-stone laid September 17, 1875. The preparatory and normal departments were opened in 1877, since which period it has increased and prospered.[20] There are few towns of importance in the county.[21]

[16] The Boulder bank was established in 1871 by George C. Corning of Ohio; discontinued in 1877. The National State bank was founded in 1874 by Charles G. and W. A. Buckingham of Ohio, but did not take the present name until 1877. The First National bank of Boulder was opened in 1877 by Louis Cheney.

[17] Boulder built the first school-house in Colorado in 1860, costing $1,200. It was occupied until 1872, when a large public school edifice was erected, costing $15,000, and the graded system was adopted. Since that period additions have been made as required.

[18] The churches of Boulder were founded as follows: methodist in 1860, by Jacob Adriance; congregational in 1864, by William Crawford; presbyterian in 1872, by J. E. Anderson; protestant episcopal, 1873, by Henry Baum; reformed episcopal, 1874, by James C. Pratt; catholic, 1876, by A. J. Abel; baptist, 1872, by J. G. Maver. After these came the christian and adventist churches, liberalists, and spiritualists.

[19] The library was founded by Charles G. Buckingham.

[20] Robert Culver and Charles F. Holly were active in influencing the location. The first board appointed consisted of D. P. Walling, J. Feld, A. O. Patterson, A. A. Bradford, William Gilpin, Edwin Scudder, C. Dominguez, Bryon M. Sanford, William Hammind, J. B. Chaffee, B. F. Hall, Amos Steck, Jesse M. Barela, G. F. Crocker, J. S. Jones, and M. Goss. *Colo, Sess. Laws*, 1861, 144–8. The first meeting of the board was held in Jan. 1870, when it was duly organized. The citizens had donated 61 acres of land, valued at $10,000, but there was as yet no cash found available. Application was made to the legislature, which not until 1874 appropriated $15,000, conditional upon an equal amount being subscribed in Boulder, and $16,656.66 being raised, the contract was immediately let to McPhee and Keiting of Denver. A second appropriation by the legislature was sufficient to furnish and start the institution. Provision was made for the permanent support of the university by the annual assessment of one fifth of one mill on the valuation of the state, and also for the election of regents by vote of the state. The first board elected were L. W. Dolloff and Junius Berkley of Boulder, George Tritch and F. J. Ebert of Denver, W. H. Van Geisen of Del Norte, and C. Valdez of Conejos. They chose Joseph A. Sewall president of the university. The regular collegiate course began in 1878, and in 1880 there were 121 pupils in attendance. The college edifice was placed on high ground overlooking the city, and surrounded by well cultivated and ornamented grounds. It was built of brick, three stories high, and surmounted by an observatory. The library, furnishing, and finishing were all that could be expected of a university school while in its infancy, and shows that Boulder has done well in selecting this one of the state institutions for its own.

[21] The towns and settlements of Boulder county not mentioned are Altona,

Chaffee county was created out of the southern portion of Lake in February 1879.[22] Its area is about 1,189 square miles, situated between the Musquito range and Arkansas hills on the east, and the great divide on the west. It is peculiarly a mining region. The districts of as yet comparatively undeveloped Chalk creek, one of the earliest discoveries on the east side of the range, Granite,[23] Monarch, south Arkansas, Cottonwood, and Hope are the most extensively developed. The discoveries at Leadville, and consequent railroad building, were the first causes of the recent developments in Chaffee county, as they were of its organization. The Monarch district, lying twenty-six miles west from the town of Salida, contains some of the most remarkable mines in Colorado. They are lead carbonates or argentiferous galena ores, and yield from 20 to 1,500 ounces of silver, and forty to sixty per cent of lead to the ton.[24]

Balarat, Blue Bird, Brownsville, Burlington, Camp Tellurium, Cardinal, Cove Creek, Crisman, Davidson, Eagle Rock, Erie, Four-mile Creek, Highland, Jamestown, Jim Creek, Lakeside, Langford, Left Hand, Logan Mine, Magnolia, Marshall, Mitchell, Modoc, Nederland, Nerkirk Mill, Ni Wot, North Boulder, Orodelfan, Osborn, Pella, Pleasant Valley, Queen City Mills, Rockville, Salina, Springdale, Sugar Loaf, Sumnerville, Sunbeam Gulch, Sunnyside, Sunshine, Tellermin, Ward District, White Peak, Williamsburg. Charles Dabney settled in Boulder in 1860 at mining and blacksmithing. He was postmaster in 1861–2, justice of the peace, and in 1863 county commissioner. In 1878 he engaged in mining and brokerage, and added real estate and lumbering. John J. Ellingham, miner, cattle-dealer, and owner of a quartz-mill, settled same year. Also William H. Dickens, farmer; and Porter T. Hinman, son of Anson Hinman, Alleghany co., N. Y., of which he was judge. He resided in Ohio and Iowa before coming to Colorado, and was assistant in the U. S. land office at Des Moines. He secured a farm of 320 acres on Left Hand creek.

[22] It was first allowed to retain the name of Lake, that portion of the original organization north of it, and containing Leadville, being named Carbonate. But the Leadville people protested—they were permitted to retain their county name of Lake, Carbonate was abandoned, and the new organization was called after a favorite senator. *Colo Sess. Laws*, 1879, 4.

[23] Stephen B. Kellogg, a pioneer of 1859, and who was one of the discoverers of Chalk Creek mines in 1860, was born in Vt in 1816. He had been in South America and Cal. before coming to Colorado. He changed his residence often afterward, but without leaving the state. He was a member of the provisional legislature, has been police justice, and has held several other official positions. *Arkansas Val. Hist.*, 520. Of Granite and its early history I have already spoken.

[24] The large-paying mines of Monarch district were Madonna, Silent Friend, Wilson, Oshkosh, Fair Play, Monarch, Eclipse, Rainbow, Little Gem, Denver, Wonder, Michigan, and Silver King. *Descriptive America*, May 4, 1884. In Chalk Creek district the Murphy mine yielded 50 or more tons of ore daily

The Madonna mine, discovered by the Boon brothers, had cut 300 feet, in May 1884, through solid ore of this description without finding the end of the deposit. Other districts contain copper and silver, some gold and silver, and some free-milling gold. The bullion product of the county in 1883 was about $300,000, nearly half of which was in gold.

The Calumet iron mine, the most valuable in the state, was a deposit of magnetic and hematite ore containing between seventy and eighty per cent pure iron. Ten car-loads daily were taken by railroad to Pueblo, where it was smelted and manufactured by the Colorado Coal and Iron company, who owned it. The other mineral resources of the county are numerous. Poncho hot springs and Wellsville hot springs[25] are extensively known for their medicinal qualities. Charcoal-burning is an important industry, being made from the piñion which covers the foot-hills. Lime, also made in large quantities, is used as a flux at the smelting works of Leadville and Pueblo, twenty-six car-loads daily going to those places.[26] Marble is also quarried near Salida, black, white, and colored, of excellent quality, and granite as fine as that of New England. Coal deposits just being opened in 1885 promised well. Agriculture, while

worth $60 per ton, net value. The Columbus, in the South Arkansas district, was one of the largest silver mines in the state, and yielded 100 ounces to the ton. These are only named as samples of the best mines in the county. The Hortense mine, on Mt Princeton, though of low grade ore, was one of the best developed and most productive.

[25] Poncho Hot springs are 6 miles southwe from Salida. They are 13 in number. Alongside of them are cold springs. hur and soda predominate, although it is said that 60 different mineral wate are flowing constantly from these fountains, with wonderful curative qualities. At Cottonwood creek, north of Salida, are similar springs. Horn's Rept on Mineral Springs of Colo, in *State Board of Health Rept*, for 1876, p. 62.

[26] These statements are furnished by W. W. Roller of Salida, who has contributed his *Colorado Sketches*, MS., to my library. He was born at Tonawanda, Erie co., N. Y., in 1842, and came to Colorado in 1877. After spending two years at Colorado Springs as a furniture-dealer, he removed to Salida and went into the more remunerative business of cattle-dealing. Roller is supplemented by *E. H. Webb's Salida and its Surroundings*, MS., which deals more particularly with the town. Webb was born in N. Y. in 1844. He came to Cleora, Colorado, in 1878 to engage in mercantile pursuits, but removed to Salida when it was founded, and opened business there in 1880, as the pioneer merchant.

still unrecognized as of importance, exists and increases, the soil being rich and warm in the valleys.[27] The great San Luis valley in the adjacent county of Saguache furnished in 1886 a convenient grazing ground for cattle.

[27] In 1863, when Chaffee was part of Lake county, Frank Mayol took land claim 8 miles north of Buena Vista, where he raised potatoes at 50 c. per pound, realizing $5,000 from 5 acres. He soon accumulated a fortune. George Leonhardy leased the farm in 1871, and purchased it the following year, paying $3,750. He also opened a 'cut-off' into South park, which became the mail route. A post-office was established at his place called Riverside. Leonhardy added to his land from time to time, and being engaged in other business became wealthy. In 1864 Andrew Bard and Frank Loan took up land near where Buena Vista now stands, which they watered from Cottonwood creek, and which produced large crops of hay and vegetables, all of which found a ready market. The next settlers were Benj. Schwander, William Bale, afterward sheriff, John McPherson, and J. E. Gonell, who took claims on the creek, and in 1865 Cottonwood was made an election precinct, and Bale, Bard, and Gonell were appointed judges of election. The same year Galatia Sprague, R. Mat. Johnson, Matthew Rule, and John Gilliland settled at Brown creek, where the agricultural and mining town of Brownsville grew up. Gilliland, John Weldon, and G. M. Huntzicker were appointed judges of election in that precinct, which extended from Chalk creek to the south end of the county. In 1866 John Burnett, with Nat. Rich and others, settled near the present town of Poncho Springs. Soon another election precinct was declared, embracing the county south of Sand creek, and Burnett, Rich, and W. Christison were appointed judges of election. At the election this year the county seat was removed from Oro to Dayton, near the upper Twin lake. Leonhardy, Bale, and Peter Caruth were county commissioners. At their first meeting in Dayton the Trout creek road was declared a public highway, and the following year a road was opened from the summit of the divide at Poncho pass to the Arkansas river above Trout creek, via the claim of George Hendricks and Brown creek. This gave communication between the north and south portions of the county, and was a difficult piece of work, as the road passed through the narrow defiles of the Arkansas river. Granite was made an election precinct in 1867. In 1868 R. B. Newitt took a claim on the divide, since known as Chubb's rancho, which became the centre of a mining camp, and Charles Nachtrieb erected a grist-mill on Chalk creek, which was proof of the grain capabilities of this region, although when transportation from Denver and other business centres became easier, wheat-raising was abandoned for other cereals. In 1868 Granite was made the county seat, and continued such until after the separation of the northern portion from what became Chaffee. Cache creek, where placer mining had been carried on since 1860, 300 persons being gathered at that camp previous to the rise of Granite, became again in 1865 active, the claims having been purchased by a company with means to work them by hydraulic process. The company obtained government patents to 1,100 acres of placer ground, from which they have taken over $1,000,000. Lost Cañon placer mines, owned by J. C. Hughes, were discovered in 1860, and lie in the mountains of that name at an elevation of from 11,009 to 12,000 feet. Red Mountain district, on the head waters of Lake creek, was discovered in 1864, and created a great excitement, the mineral belt being very extensive, although the ore was f a low grade. It took its name from the color given to the quartz by the decomposition of the sulphurets of iron. Other richer districts soon drew away the mining population. La Plata district, discovered in 1867, embraced the country on the head waters of Clear creek, and all the territory between the Arkansas river and the heights along the stream. Finding less gold than lead and other

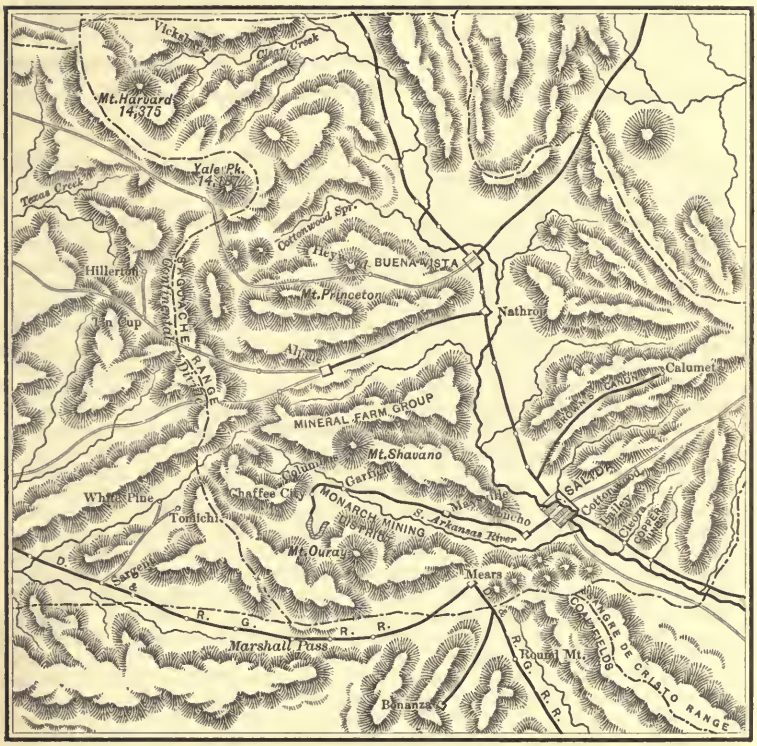
Salida, that is to say junction, twenty-eight miles south of Buena Vista, was laid out in May 1880 by Ex-governor Hunt, who owned the land, and was at that time connected with the Denver and Rio Grande railroad.[28] When it was three months old it had 1,000 inhabitants. It was for a short time the terminus of the railroad, which was being extended to Leadville, and was the shipping-point of freight and passengers for the Gunnison country, and points beyond. With the completion of the road to these points much of

metals for which they were not searching, the district was abandoned by its discoverers. In 1860 a revival of interest took place, the town of Vicksburg was laid off on Clear creek at the entrance to the cañon, and several farms located. Cottonwood district, on Cottonwood creek, is a silver-producing region of more recent development, with some rich mines on the north-east side of Mt Princeton, and on Jones and Fox mountains. Trout creek district was discovered after the Leadville mines, and includes Chubb's settlement before mentioned. It contains both gold and silver mines. Buena Vista, the county-seat, founded by the Buena Vista Land company, at the junction of the Railroads, is on Cottonwood creek, six miles east of Mt Princeton, in the midst of a plain surrounded by lofty peaks, and having a finely tempered climate. The company has made many improvements in the way of parks and irrigating ditches, and has donated land for school purposes. The town was incorporated in 1879. The population in 1884 was 3,000. There were good schools, several churches, and two newspapers, with a considerable and growing business. Cleora was founded in the interest of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé railroad, when it was expected that this road would have secured the right of way through the Grand cañon of the Arkansas river, which was finally granted to the Denver and Rio Grande company. Having refused any patronage to the bantling of its rival, the latter company laid out the town of Salida, two miles above Cleora, to which the inhabitants and business of the abandoned town immediately removed. Smith, in his *Statement*, MS., says: 'When Cleora was deserted, two brothers called Raglin went to Oriental, where they discovered a mine, near where Villa Grove now is... Fletcher Taylor went to Bonanza, in Saguache co. Dr Brien went to the Monarch district... Judge Hawkins built a hotel (at Cleora) which prospered until the town was abandoned... In 1879 Capt. Blake was one of the prominent merchants in Cleora. There were three lumber yards in Cleora, one belonging to Allen & Mack, who afterward moved to Salida.'

[28] Miss Millie Ohmertz, in her *Female Pioneering*, MS., states that she went to the Arkansas valley, 6 miles above Salida, in 1878, and for three years lived on a farm; but in 1881 moved to Salida to take charge of Gov. Hunt's real estate, he having left the Rio Grande company to undertake the development of extensive coal mines near Laredo in Texas, and to assist in the Mexican National railroad enterprise. In 1884 George Sackett, from Ohio, came to Salida and invested in real estate in and about the town, all of which he placed in Miss Ohmertz' hands as his agent. She is also manager of the landed interest of several Denver owners.

J. W. O'Connor, county physician of Chaffee co., was born in Ill. in 1852, and educated at the Rush medical college, Chicago, graduating in 1879. He came immediately to Denver, where he was appointed resident physician of the Arapahoe co. hospital. In 1880 he removed to Chaffee co., and the following year was appointed surgeon of the railway. He superintended the construction of the railroad hospital at Salida.

the business of the place was removed, and its growth was thenceforth slower. The railroad company in 1886 had extensive buildings and works; the town was well watered, and had a bank, an opera-house, churches, schools, good hotels, a public reading-room,



Salida and Vicinity.

pleasant drives, and was generally prosperous, being in the centre not only of rich mining districts, but of a good farming region, which was being rapidly settled.[29]

[29] In Ohmertz' *Female Pioneering*, MS., 2, it is said that a large oat-meal mill would be erected in 1865 by M. Sackett, and that a large smelter was talked of by other capitalists. A coal mine, 6 miles below Salida, owned by Davis, Carstarphan, and Craig Brothers, was about to be opened. J. H. Stead,

Clear reek county, not large, but important, was the scene of some of the earliest mining discoveries after the slight indications of Cherry creek, and one of the original seventeen counties organized by the first legislature. The early history of this portion of Colorado has been quite fully given.[39] Its name was taken from the creek which flows through it, the highlands along which for thirty-seven miles are filled with veins of silver. Another silver belt extends from Idaho springs up Chicago creek to Argentine

born in Albany, N. Y., in 1827, came to Colorado from Chicago in 1880, locating at Maysville, and remaining there for 4 years, when he removed to Salida. He was engaged in mining and merchandising. In a manuscript by him entilled *Town-building* are the following notes on Chaffee co. and Salida; 'Near Salida is the Sedalia copper mine, producing silver and copper, a very valuable mine. In Chalk creek district, 15 miles from Salida, is the Mary Murphy mine, valued at $3,000,000, besides several others of prospective great value.' On Monarch hill he mentions the Monarch, the Madonna, producing 100 tons per day, owned by the Pueblo and Colorado Mining and Smelting company at Pueblo, the Magenta, the Eclipse, Paymaster, Silent Friend, Robert Wilson, Fairplay, and Lexington. He represents the Arkansas valley between Salida and Maysville as being a fine agricultural region, with many valuable farms growing all kinds of grain, apples, and small fruits, while the mesas or table-lands north of them are also productive along the streams, which means that they only need irrigation to become fertile. See also *Frank Earle's Salida, its Mineral, Agricultural, Manufacturing, Railroad, Resources, Location, Society, Climate, Business*, etc., a pamphlet containing a map and a directory: *Colorado, The Press and People*, MS., a dictation taken from M. R. Moore, postmaster of Salida in 1884. Moore was born in Indiana, in 1846, and came to Colo from Kansas in 1875, locating himself in San Juan co., whence he removed to Salida in 1880. He published a nnmber of newspapers which will be mentioned elsewhere, and established the *Mountain Mail* at Salida. L. W. Craig came to Salida in 1880 and engaged in merchandising for five years. In 1885 he sold out and opened a private bank, known as the Continental Divide bank. He had previously made a fortune in the cattle business in Montana, and was owner in some Colorado mines. There were several other aspiring new towns in Chaffee county, in 1886, all owing their existence primarily to mining, but gradually developing other resources of the conntry. These were Alpine, Arborville, Americus, Arkansas, Columbus, Chaffee, Carmel, Cascade, Centreville, Chalk Mills, Cove Rock, Crees Camp, Crazy Camp, Divide, Foose's Camp, Forrest City, Free Gold, Garfield, Green Gulch, Hancock, Herring's Park, Helena, Hortense, Junction City, Knoxville, Kraft, Lake Fork, McGee, Mahonville, Mears, Midway, Nathrop, North Fork, Pine Creek, Sharano, Silverdale, Spaulding, St Elmo, Taylor Gulch, Trout Creek, Wellsville, Winfield. The population of the county in 1884 was 10,000.

[39] O. E. Lehow was discoverer of the Spanish bar diggings, and sold his mine for $4,000, receiving his pay in cattle and horses with which he began stock-farming on Cherry creek. In 1860 he located with his brother, C. L. Lehow, a rancho at Platte cañon where he resided until 1870, securing in the mean time 1,600 acres in San Luis valley, which he fenced and stocked with cattle. Then he became a resident of Denver, with an interest in mines at Silver Cliff, in Custer county.

pass. The principal gold district was immediately surrounding Empire, in the vicinity of which there were also some rich silver mines. Clear Creek county was the scene of the first successful milling and smelting of silver ores, as well as of the manufacture of the first silver brick by Garrett, Martine, & Co.[31]

[31] Among the stamp-mills so freely introduced from 1860 to 1864 was the What Cheer mill at Georgetown, arranged at first for the crushing and amalgamating of auriferous quartz. When it was ascertained that no supply of free-milling ores were to be found in that district, the mill was leased to Garrett, Martine & Co. for 5 years, who introduced Bruckner cylinders for roasting and revolving barrels for amalgamating silver ores. In spite of the many difficulties to be overcome, this firm saved 80 to 85 per cent of the silver treated. This was in 1867. In 1868 they sold to Huepeden & Co., but the superintendent, embezzling the funds of the firm, Palmer & Nichols next came into possession of the mill, and failed. In 1873 the Pelican company purchased the property, and having renovated and added to its machinery, made several thousand bars of silver from the ores of the Pelican mine. In 1877 the mill was leased to Ballou, Napheys & Co., who operated it for 10 months at a loss, after which it was used as sampling-works by the Boston and Colorado Smelting co. The next experiment, by Prof. Frank Dibdin of the International Mining co., began in 1868, at East Argentine, 8 miles from Georgetown, and has already been spoken of. This mill ran for 4 years on the company's ore, mixed with the lighter ore from the Belmont and Harris mines, under the superintendence of P. McCann. At the same time the Baker Silver Mining co., Joseph W. Watson, superintendent, erected a mill at West Argentine, which was destroyed by fire. Meanwhile, J. Oscar Stewart, of Georgetown, was experimenting with a small reverberatory furnace, and two amalgamating pans, erected in 1867, and achieved sufficient success to induce eastern capitalists to furnish money to erect a $100,000 mill, which was modeled after his experimental works. But the ores that could be reduced soon became scarce, and while he had thousands of tons of tailings on the dump, containing 40 ounces of silver each, he could not extract this without loss. Next the Arey and Stetefeldt furnaces were tried, which gave too little time for thorough roasting, then a smelting furnace for getting rid of the lead, and many variations and adaptations of the reverberatory furnace, and of the Hunt & Douglas leaching process, but all in vain. In the meantime the mill was twice burned, and a total failure was the result. In 1870–71 a mill was erected at Masonville, 4 miles below Idaho springs, which also failed after a short time. A mill was started in 1872 at Georgetown by Judd & Crosby, who soon abandoned the attempt at making it pay. J. V. Farwell purchased it, took down the patent furnaces, and placed in their stead Bruckner cylinders and amalgamating pans, which, under the management of S. J. Learned, saved a high percentage of the ores treated. The Clear Creek company, by using a modification of the Hunt, Douglas, & Stewart leaching process, made a successful specialty of treating low-grade ores. In this costly school was the knowledge acquired which was to benefit the future miner.

Among the early experiments was that of smelting for lead. The first effort was made by Bowman & Co., negroes from Missouri, who knew something about lead-mining in that state, and thought to put their knowledge to practical use. They erected a small smelter a mile above Georgetown, on Leavenworth fork. It consisted of a rude water-wheel, a bellows, and a 10-foot stack. It was charged a few times with antimonial galena from their mine, the Argentine, but this class of ore soon gave out, and their smelter became worthless. Caleb S. Stowel tried the Scotch hearth with no better results. In 1867 the Georgetown Smelting company erected a lead smelter

Although the county had produced between 1864 and 1884 bullion to the amount of $28,447,400, few of

with a large stack, and the most approved roasters, which produced a few bars of base bullion, and suspended. The Brown Silver Mining company, which owned two productive mines, the Brown and Coin, also erected, about the same time, a mill and smelting-works at Brownsville. By the aid of galena, iron pyrites, and fluxes secured from other districts, the company were enabled to keep their mill going for a year, when it was closed. In the course of their experiments they shipped a large amount of silver to Phil., one mass weighing 1,800 pounds. Subsequently the mill was leased to three different parties, each of which realized a profit from working over the refuse slag. Lead-smelting in Clear Creek co. has been abandoned, the galena ores being sent to Golden or Pueblo in Colorado, or to Omaha, Chicago, St Louis, Wyandotte, Pittsburgh, or Newark for reduction. Richard Pearce, Samuel Wann, and Hiram Williams attempted the smelting of gold and silver ores with the same results as above, the refractory nature of the silver ores preventing their success. But what can be done in other places can certainly be done here as well, when the facilities are provided. The first concentrating mill was introduced in 1870 by the Washington Mining association which had first tried smelting unsuccessfully. The Krom machines for dry concentration were tried, but the mill was burned before a fair test was made. The Clear Creek co. had in 1886 a fifty-ton mill which used Krom's improved dry concentrators with profit, on low-grade ores. Rude Cornish hand-jigs and buddles had been in use from the discovery of silver; but George Teel first systematized their working in 1873, when, as sup't of the Terrible mine, he induced the company to erect a 25-ton mill using the Hartz jigs, settling-tanks, and slime-tables. Teel, Foster, and Eddy erected the Silver Plume mill in 1875, which finally failed and was sold to Franklin Ballou. W. W. Rose & Co., in 1875, built a concentrating mill to reduce the ores of the New Boston mine on Democrat mountain, which failed on account of poor ore. John Collom, after 10 years of experimenting, had a mill built from designs of his own, at Idaho. The Dunderberg co. erected at their mine, in 1878–9, a concentrating-mill of 40 tons capacity, with 5 Hartz jigs, and improved machinery; and A. P. Stevens erected a 20-ton mill at Lawson. Several inventions have been introduced from time to time, but none that have been able to save all the silver, and some of which have failed entirely. The Freeland Mining co. erected at Idaho springs, in 1879, the best appointed concentrating-mill in the state at that time, with a capacity of 115 tons daily. It used 12 Hartz jigs for separating the worthless rock from the ore, and a rotary circular buddle for dividing the latter into pure ore, seconds, and tailings, and saved by means of a second stamp-mill all that the rock contained; but the ore of their mine ran two thirds gold to one third of copper, silver, iron, sulphur, and arsenic. Then there were the Farwell reduction-works, and Pelican reduction-works at Georgetown; the Colorado United Mining company, the Hukill company of Spanish Bar, the Miles company of Idaho, wet concentrating-mills; the Sunshine of Idaho, the Pioneer, Knickerbocker, and Bay State of Empire, raw gold ore amalgamators. The ore-sampling, buying, and shipping firms were: at Georgetown, Rocky Mountain mill, Matthews, Morris & Co., established in 1876, burned, and rebuilt in 1877; Washington mill, Olmstead & Ballou, 1872; G. W. Hall & Co., 1871–2; Clear Creek company, 1876; J. B. Church, 1874; P. McCann, Georgetown and Lawson, 1877–8; Silver Plume, Ballou & Co., 1875; Harry Montgomery, Idaho Springs, 1876. The number of men directly employed in mining, milling, and handling ore in Clear Creek co. was estimated by Fossett to be 2,000. The mines have returned an average of $3 per day for the men thus employed, and have at the same time been advanced nearly or quite an equal amount in value by each day's labor, the mining property of Clear Creek co. being estimated at $20,000,000, which was what the county had produced in gold, silver, lead, and copper down to 1880.

the mines were down to any great depth. The Terrible, situated on Brown mountain, three miles from Georgetown, had reached a depth of 1,300 feet. The ore at this depth yielded 200 ounces of silver to the ton. Twenty-five or thirty other large mines in Silver Plume district were the producing mines of the county, though the Dumont, Idaho springs, Fall river, Chicago creek, Atlantic, and Daily districts were promising, and some yielding well. Not more than half a dozen mines used pumps. The deeper mines were growing richer. Hence the inference that this country has before it a long and prosperous career at mining. The population in 1880 was about 8,000. Georgetown, the county seat, is situated at the head of a level valley, with mountains towering above it covered with pine and veined with silver. It has a population of 3,500. Higher, and at the foot of Republican, Sherman, and Leavenworth mountains, are the mining towns of Silver Plume and Brownville, with 1,800 and 1,000 inhabitants respectively. Notwithstanding the altitude of Georgetown, 8,504 feet, the mountains rise so much above it that half the day's sunshine is cut off except in midsummer.[32]

[32] Thomas Cooper, born in Kent, Eng., migrated to the U. S. in 1852, and after several removes and a visit to his native land came to Colorado in 1859, engaging in placer mining with success, making some valuable discoveries. He became one of the owners of the Champion.

Frank J. Wood, another of the men of 1859, was born in Ohio in 1839, and came to Colorado from Iowa. His first location was at Central, where he remained at mining for five years, making considerable money which he lost in speculation. He then set himself up in merchandising at Empire, but in 1867 removed to Georgetown, where he opened a drug store. After a time he sold out and went into the book and stationery trade.

F. J. Marshall, who organized the Marshall Silver Mining company, which sold its property to the Colorado Central Consolidated Mining company, and has been connected with some of the most celebrated mines in the county and state, was born in Va in 1816. He founded Marysville, on the Big Blue river, Kansas. He was a member of the first and second legislatures of Kansas. In the struggle of 1855 he was elected by the legislature brigadier-general of militia, and afterward promoted to be major-general and commander-in-chief of the Kansas militia. In 1856 he was elected governor under the Lecompton constitution, but retired to private life in 1857. Two years afterward he came to Colorado, and after a few years settled himself at Georgetown.

Charles P. Baldwin, a mining man of Georgetown, was born in Maine in 1835. On the breaking out of the rebellion he raised a company and enlisted in service of his country, being promoted until he reached the rand of briga-

The only other towns of any note in the county are Idaho springs,[33] Freeland, Empire City, Bakerville, Dumont, and Red Elephant.

dier-general. He was president of the board appointed to audit war claims at Richmond after Lee's surrender. On being mustered out in 1866 he came to Colorado, selecting Georgetown for a residence on account of the silver mines. After prospecting and mining for a time he purchased the Comet lode, which in a few months yielded $10,000, but could never be made to repeat this production. In 1879 he came into ownership of the Magnet, which for a long time was a rich and productive property. In 1884 he was appointed manager of the Terrible group of miners. He was a man of good ability and commanded the respect of all.

Russell J. Collins, who came to Georgetown in 1866 fresh from the army, in which he had served as surgeon of an Ill. regiment during the war. He was born in N. H. in 1828, and graduated from Berkshire college in 1851, afterward practising in Grand Rapids, Mich., and in Ill.

George W. Hall, born in N. Y. in 1825, came to Colorado in 1860, engaging in lumber dealing at Central and at Empire, but removing finally to Georgetown in 1868. In 1878 he engaged actively in mining, and became manager of the Colorado Central Consolidated Mining company's mines, which produced $500,000 in one year.

[33] Idaho Springs was the first settled town in the county. It was within its limits that the first mining was begun in 1859 on Chicago bar. About 200 miners were attracted thither, many of whom remained over winter, and in 1860 the town was perceived to be a fixed entity. A hotel was opened in a log cabin, kept by F. W. Beebe, which was the precursor of the present Beebe house. Among the pioneers of 1859 who still remained in 1880 were William Hobbs, John Needam, and A. P. Smith. A. M. Noxon, E. F. Holland, R. B. Griswold, John Silvertooth, M. B. Graeff, John W. Edwards, and others, settled in 1860. In 1861 religious services began to be held by an itinerant preacher nicknamed the Arkansas Traveller, whose real name was Bunch, intermitted with sermons by another preacher named Potts. In 1860 the Hukill quartz mine was discovered, and in 1861 the Seaton quartz mine and the first stamp mill erected. And in this year the county was organized, and the county seat located at Idaho Springs. It was not until 1863 that any attention was given to improving the hot soda springs, when E. S. Cummings erected a small bathing house. In 1866 Harrison Montague purchased them and began to prepare for the reception of visitors and invalids. Their medicinal qualities and nearness to Denver have made them a popular resort and the chosen residence of a number of wealthy families. The temperature ranges from 70° to 110° Fahr. in the several springs, which is tempered to use by water from Soda creek. The altitude of the springs is 8,000 feet, the scenery attractive, and the climate agreeable. In 1873 a government patent was obtained for the town-site, and a board of trustees organized, with R. B. Griswold president. It was not until railroad facilities reached it that the town began to make any rapid progress. The population in 1884 was between 800 and 900.

This history of Idaho Springs is only a proper introduction to the history of the present county seat and metropolis, Georgetown. In 1859 George F. Griffith and D. T. Griffith, his brother, while prospecting for gold, followed the windings of South Clear creek to the foot of the mountains, where Georgetown now stands, and discovered the Griffith lode, which runs into the town-site. Like most of the silver fissure mines, it showed gold at the top, and was rich. Griffith mining district was organized June 25, 1860, after a number of discoveries had been made in the neighborhood of the first. George F. Griffith was the first recorder, and James Burrell first president. About the same time the town was laid off, and named Elizabethtown, after a sister of the Griffiths. A rude water-mill, with 12 wooden, iron-shod

Conejos county, first named Guadaloupe by the legislature of 1861, and changed during the same ses-

stamps, pounded out the gold from the Griffith, Burrell, Corisannie, and Nancy lodes, which soon, however, betrayed that refractory character which paralyzed mining for a time. For two weeks in 1863 John T. Harris was the sole denizen of the town, the population having run after the better paying discoveries at Idaho, Spanish bar, and Empire, leaving Georgetown to desolation. In 1864–65 a company formed in the east erected a mill, which, on trial, was a failure, and the discovery that this was really a silver district coming about the same time, started on again the car of progress. In September 1864 Ex-provisional Governor R. W. Steele, James Huff, and Robert Layton discovered the Belmont lode, in East Argentine district, which, on being assayed, as I have related, established the argentiferous character of the region about Georgetown. From this time its prosperity was assured, In 1867 it was resurveyed and platted by Charles Hoyt, under direction of the citizens, and the name changed to Georgetown, by vote at a mass meeting held a the corner of Rose and Mary streets. At the general election of this year it became the county seat, and was incorporated in Jan. 1868. Under its municipal organization its first police judge was Frank Dibdin. The selectmen of the 1st ward were W. W. Ware and Charles Whitner; of the 2d ward, H. K. Pearson and John Scott. The *Colorado Miner* newspaper was established the same year, by J. E. Wharton and A. W. Barnard, the office being in a 12 by 14 building in the lower town. About the same time the public school was organized, Miss L. H. Lander being the first teacher. She was drowned in Clear creek about the last of June, 1867, slipping from the footlog used as a bridge. In 1870 the mining camp of Silver Plume, two miles above Georgetown, was first settled, and named after the mine, which has since become famous and given its name to the district, which contains many of the most important mines in the county. The richness of the Dives, Pelican, and other mines provoked cupidity, and consequent litigation, which for years netted a rich profit to the legal fraternity. The Terrible was at length sold to an English company, which has liberally aided its development. Georgetown receives the benefit of the immediate neighborhood of these mines, besides being the seat of most of the reduction-works of the county. Unlike the more modern towns of Colorado, little care was bestowed upon streets or buildings, although the character of the latter soon improved. It had an excellent public school, and several churches. The methodists organized in 1864, B. T. Vincent, preacher at Central City, officiating. They erected a church, costing $8,000, in 1869. The presbyterian church organized in 1869, and erected a stone edifice in 1874. The episcopalians first organized in 1867, F. W. Winslow rector, and built a small church in 1869, which was destroyed by a hurricane soon after its completion. It was rebuilt, and in 1877 received a large pipe-organ, the first in Georgetown. The catholics, as usual, secured a valuable block of land when the town was first laid out, Thomas Foley being their first pastor. In 1872 they built a small wooden church, and in 1875 a brick edifice, costing $12,000. Georgetown possesses a good system of water-works. The company was organized in 1874. The town has also a fire department, consisting of several companies. At a tournament, held under the auspices of the state association, at Georgetown, the Alpine hose company won the first prize, consisting of a silver tea-set and a brass cannon. In a contest with a Denver company the same year, the Bates hose company of Georgetown were victorious. In 1879, with the other Georgetown companies, they took the first prize of $150 at both the hose and hook-and-ladder races, and later in the year, at the state tournament in Denver, again took the first prize in the hose race. The Star hook-and-ladder company has also won a long list of prizes. Among them are a silk flag, presented by the women of Georgetown, and two silver trumpets. At the state tournament at Georgetown, in 1877, they were victorious, and at a tourna-

sion to Conejos, was until the advent of the railway inhabited almost exclusively by a Spanish-American

ment at Cheyenne, in July 1878, they won $50. In August of the same year they took the champion belt at the state tournament held at Pueblo, and $75 in gold. Georgetown has a public hospital, and a number of secret and benevolent orders and societies. The man who sawed the lumber to build the first frame houses in Idaho Springs was William F. Doherty. He was born in Me in 1837. He learned the trade of an iron-moulder, working thereat, and making occasional voyages to sea. In 1862 he enlisted in the 1st R. I. cavalry, was in several important engagements, and carried the colors in Sheridan's famous ride, in Oct. 1864. He was mustered out in Feb. 1865, and came to Colorado in May following. After mining at Black Hawk one year he settled at Idaho Springs, where, as miner and lumberman, he resided continuously. In 1884 he purchased the Spa hotel.

F. F. Obiston, born in England in 1843, came to the U. S. as secretary of the Washoe Mining company of Reno, Nev., in 1864, where he remained two years. He was afterward supt of different mines on the Comstock, and came to Colo in 1879, when he purchased, in company with J. W. Mackay, the Freeland mine, which produced, in the 6 years following, $2,000,000. He also purchased, with Mackay, the Plutus, another valuable mine. The two mines together produced $20,000 per month. The Freeland mine, in 1855, had two miles of tunnelling. The property is over a mile in length, and is situated on South Clear creek, 4 miles from Idaho springs, and two miles from the Colorado Central raildroad.

B. D. Allen, born in Ohio in 1845 came to Colorado in 1880. He was auditor of the express company until 1884, when he purchased, with Matthews & Webb of Denver, the sampling-works at Idaho Springs, of which he became manager, doing a business of $100,000, and handling 1,500 tons of ore per month, or about three fourths of all the output of the district.

The only other town in Clear Creek county in 1886, with a history, was Empire. In the spring of 1860 a few prospectors from Spanish bar, a small district contiguous to Idaho springs, namely, George Merrill, Joseph Musser, George L. Nicholls, and D. C. Skinner, temporarily organized Union district for placer mining, and founded a settlement, Merrill and Musser erecting the first cabin. Dr Bard, after whom Bard creek is named, drove the first wagon into the new town. About August 1st Edgar Freeman and H. C. Cowles came across the mountains from Central. Prospecting on Eureka mountain, they picked up some bits of wire gold, and, stimulated by this discovery, continued with others to search for mines of gold and silver in the district. In Sept. D. C. Dailey & Co. discovered a lode which they believed to be silver, naming the mountain where it was found Silver mountain, and the lode Empire. The Keystone lode was discovered about the same time. The miners at once proceeded to complete the organization of the district, electing, in Dec., Henry Hill pres., H. C. Cowles miners' judge, D. J. Ball clerk and recorder, James Ross sheriff, and George L. Nicholls surveyor, all of whom remained in office until the organization of the territory. Some further development of the mines in Union district showed them to be auriferous, and population flowed in from the adjoining districts. The settlement took the name of Empire City, and was surveyed and laid off in lots and blocks by G. L. Nicholls, H. C. Cowles, D. J. Ball, and Ed. Freeman. The enthusiasm of the first set-to at quartz-mining received a check when the owners of lodes had come down to pyrites, and the flush times of Empire were over in 1865; but ever since the art of mining properly and profitably began to be mastered, the mines about Empire have steadily yielded a golden return. The town, albeit it is a prettily situated spot, has never returned to the animation of its first days, and remains but a miners' camp.

Lawson, a mining camp six miles below Georgetown, named after Alexander Lawson, owes its existence to the Red Elephant group of mines, discovered in 1876. Dumont, two miles below, was formerly known as Mill

or Mexican population, which, while they sent members to the general assembly, maintained little communication with the United States Americans to the north of them.[34]

City, but in 1880 had its name changed in honor of John M. Dumont, one of the pioneers of the county. The other settlements are Bakerville, Baltimore Tunnel, Bear Creek, Big Bar, Brook Vale, Burleigh Tunnel, Camp Clifford, Downerville, Dry Gulch, Elephant, Fall River, Floyd Hill, Freeland, Gilson's Gulch, Grass Valley, Green Lake, Hukill, North Empire, Seaton Hill, Silver Creek, Silver Dale, South Clear Creek, Spring Gulch, Stephensville, Stevens' Mine, Swansea, Yankee Bar, and York River.

[34] An exception to the rule was Antonio D. Archuleta, born in Taos, N. M., in 1855, and removed to Conejos co. in 1856. He was sent to Denver in 1870 to be educated, where he remained 4 years, when he returned to Conejos to act as clerk in his father's store, and became a partner. He was elected to the general assembly in 1882, and in 1884 to the state senate. The boundaries of the county have been several times changed and diminished, but it still contains a large area, much of which lies in the fertile San Luis valley. The principal industries in the ante-railroad period were wheat-raising, wool-growing, and cattle-raising. The farming productions found a ready market in the San Juan mines to the west, but such was the race prejudice of the Mexicans that when the active American population began to invade this region, many abandoned it. Those who were left were chiefly employed as freighters. In 1879 a colony of Mormons settled at Manassas, on Conejos creek, and these will probably affect the agricultural output of the county favorably. An immigration of Scandinavians was invited to this section in 1882, which will add to the farming population a valuable element. Irrigating ditches are being constructed, which will bring a large body of land under cultivable conditions. Its mineral wealth is very little developed. The original county seat was at Guadaloupita, but was changed to Conejos, a Mexican town, and has a good local trade. Alamosa is, however, the principal town, having connection with Santa Fé, Pueblo, and the San Juan country. It is situated on the west side of the Rio Grande del Norte, almost in the centre of San Luis park, at an elevation of 7,492 feet, with a panorama of mountain views skirting the plain on every side. Aside from its fine situation it is a thriving place. It was founded in June 1878. In the first six months the sales of merchandise reached $600,000. The population at the end of a year was 500. A large amount of freighting was done in wool, pelts, hides, machinery, and bullion. *Colorado Condensed*, 6–7. This is a pamphlet collated in 1883 by the editor of the *Rocky Mountain News*, which furnishes a few paragraphs on the several counties, chiefly with regard to their present condition. *Fossett's Colorado*, 85–6, also furnishes a few hints of the recent advancement of Conejos county, and the *Colorado Gazetteer* of 1871 portions of its earlier history, but the whole is incomplete, owing to the avoidance of the Americans by the Mexicans, and the little known of the latter by the former. Pagosa Springs is a government reservation withheld from sale on account of the great hot basin of medicinal waters, which is found here. The spring is situated west from Alamosa, on the south side of the San Juan river, near its headwaters. Its altitude is 7,084 feet, the country about it is fertile, and the climate agreeable, a combination of advantages which, united with scenic and other attractions, promises to make this a noted resort whenever the required improvements are made for the accommodation of visitors. Antonita is a town which had a rapid growth. The lesser towns and settlements of Conejos co. are Amargo, Antonio, Camp Lewis, Capulin, Carracas, Chama, Cockrell, Coxo, Codyville, Cumbres, Ephraim, Fuertecitos, Gato, Juanita, Jackson, La Jara, Lava, Los Brazos, Los Pinos, Los Rincones, Los Serribos, Navajo, Osier, Piedra, Price,

Costilla county was originally larger than at present.[35] Its characteristics and history are similar to those of Conejos, having a Mexican population, and embracing a portion of the San Luis valley or park. A part, also, of the county is claimed as belonging to the Sangre de Cristo, or Beaubien grant, and is unsurveyed.[36]

Rincones, Rio Grande, Rivane, San Antonio, San José, San Rafael, Serro Largo Servilleta, Sheldon, Shultze Rancho, and Spring Creek.

[35] For earlier county boundaries, see *Gen. Laws, Colo*, 1861, 52–7; *Id.*, 1864, 68–9; *Id.*, 1877, 186–216.

[36] The history of this grant is given in a manuscript by Cutler, of the Denver *Journal of Commerce*, in my possession, as follows: A few years before the Mexican war two Canadians, Charles Beaubien and Miranda, settled at Taos, then a state of the republic of New Mexico, under the dictatorship of Santa Anna. The local governor of Taos was Armijo, a Mexican of culture and liberal ideas. He had for a secretary and confidential adviser Charles Bent, the same who was made military governor of New Mexico by Gen. Kearny when the U. S. acquired that territory, and who was killed in the massacre of Taos not long after. The Frenchmen above named obtained by purchase a large tract of desert country, lying north of Red river, the chief consideration being their promise to induce an immigration from Canada and France, an obligation which they never fulfilled, although the grant was approved by the Mexican government, and signed and sealed by Santa Anna. Lucien Maxwell married the daughter of Beaubien, and purchased of his father-in-law for a small sum all that part of the grant lying north of Red river, and between that stream and the Raton mountains. He erected a fine house on the Cimarron, where he entertained in good old feudal style, surrounded by his dependents, and owning immense herds of cattle, sheep, and blooded horses, employing as herders all the Cimarrons. About 1869 Wilson Waddington, Jerome B. Chaffee, and George M. Chilcott purchased the Maxwell grant for an English syndicate, each of them making a fortune out of it. The English company bonded the land in Holland as security for a large amount of money, and when the loan became due allowed it to be sold. But the Dutch proprietors in a few years tired of their useless possessions, and the land was sold year after year for taxes. Their agent in New York was Frank Sherwin, who bought in the shares of the Holland firm as he could obtain them until he became proprietor, and then he laid claim to a wide belt of land on the north-west border of the grant, extending over the Raton mountains into Costilla county, Colorado. Mining in this county is of late beginning, but promises well. Its iron mines include some of the largest bodies of that metal yet found in the state, the ore taken from here being smelted at Pueblo and Denver. The first county seat was San Miguel, changed to San Luis, the principal town in the county. The only other town of any note is Placer. Antonio A. Salaza, born at Abiquiu, N. M,, in 1848, began herding sheep at 10 years of age, remaining at that occupation 6 years, when he went to work in a general store in San Luis, becoming clerk, then treasurer of the county for two years, next, a stock-raiser and a merchant. He was elected to the general assembly in 1880, and to the state senate in 1882. He never spent a day in school, and acquired his education by night study. The following are the settlements in the county : Big Bend, Big Hill, Charmer, Conlon's Ferry, Costilla, Elkhorn, Fort Garland, Garland City, Grayback, La Trinchera, Lojeta, Medano Springs, Mountain Home, Orean, Russell, San Accacio, Sangre de Cristo, San Pedro, Spalding, Underhill, Upper Culebra, Valles, Wayside, Wilcox, Williams.

Custer, formerly a portion of Frémont, from which it was cut off in 1877, is a small county, lying on the east slope of the Sangre de Cristo range. It contains the El Mojada or Wet mountain valley, an elevated basin with an undulating surface, sentineled by lofty peaks, and offering some of the finest scenery in the state. The extent of the valley, which is watered by Grape creek, a tributary of the Arkansas river, is twenty-five miles in length by ten in width. Its elevation, from 6,500 to 7,000 feet, does not prevent it being a good farming region, although the lower and smaller Hardscrabble valley, twenty miles east, is more productive, with a shorter and less severe winter season. Wet mountain valley was for some years overlooked or neglected, owing to the difficulty, or rather, impossibility, of taking wagons through the cañons of Oak and Hardscrabble creeks leading into it; and although it was prospected for minerals in 1863, it had not a single settler before 1869. It was selected about this time for the seat of a German colony numbering 367 souls, who settled there in 1870.[37]

[37] The first prospectors in the valley were S. Smith, Melrose, and Wetmore, of Pueblo. The first settlers, in 1869, were Voris, Home, and Taylor, who took land claims that year. *Brinckley & Hartwell, Southern Colo*, 99. The history of the Colfax Agricultural and Industrial Colonization company is as follows: Prof. Carl Wulsten, impelled by a desire to ameliorate the condition of persons of his own nationality, 'condemned by a cruel fate to work in greasy, ill-ventilated, and nerve-destroying factories of the great city of Chicago,' formed a colony of about 100 families, and brought them to Wet Mountain valley, in his eyes a paradise of beauty, fertility, and health-giving air. But the colonists, used to city habits, and at a loss what to do in a naked country, however beautiful, proved ungrateful for the favor conferred, and in 6 months the organization had collapsed, every man following his own devices. It was doubtless best so, for every one of the colonists was in a few years in good circumstances, and the benefit aimed at was achieved independently of organization. About 30 families took land claims, which speedily became productive farms; the others went to different parts of the territory, but all remaining in it. William Ackelbein, John and William Knuth, O. Groeske, Carson Kunrath, William Shultz, Ruester, father and son, Dietz, Menzel, Klose, John and Frederick Piorth, Kettler, Philips, Katzenstein, Henjes, Falkenberg, and others were among those who remained. Abstract of an account of the colony, by its founder, in *Brinckley and Hartwell's Colo*, 106-7. Roads were made, farms opened, and the colonists, being joined by others, soon made this portion of Fremont county blossom as the rose. But had it remained purely an agricultural community, its separate organization as Custer county might not have occurred. The ubiquitous prospector, in the persons of Daniel Baker and C. M. Grimes, from Black Hawk, discovered a

Delta is a new county, cut off from Gunnison in February 1883, lying on both sides of the north fork of Gunnison river. What has been said of the leading features of the Gunnison country in a previous

crevice containing metal in 1871. Grimes was a pioneer, and had been a leading man in Gilpin co. as sheriff and territorial representative. He was of that genial, liberal, merry making disposition which secured for him the affectionate appellation of 'old Grimes,' according to mountain custom. Wulsten, in 1869, took to Chicago pieces of rock from the vicinity of later discoveries at Gold Hill, which assayed 1¾ ounces in gold, and 37 ounces in silver, per ton. The Black Hawk mine, later called the Senator, began to pay in 1873; the Pocahontas and Humboldt in 1874. These were the initial point in the mining district named Hardscrabble, in which more than 600 locations were made previous to 1874. Mining was carried on, and some small smelters introduced, but no excitement was created for some years. Meantime, the mining town of Rosita had grown up, overshadowing the pioneer settlement of Ula, situated on Grape creek, in a location thought favorable to future greatness. Joseph A. Davis was the first settler at Ula, in Sept. 1871. Soon after he erected the Ula hotel, and kept a store in it. The town grew, and the people having petitioned for a post-office, it was established, under the name of Ula, at Davis' store. The Wet Mountain Valley Library association was founded in 1874 by R. S. Sweetland and Dr Richter, who was one of the original colonists. The interests of the district and valley seeming to demand it, the legislature created the county of Custer in March 1877, and the commissioners, R. S. Sweetland, H. E. Austin, and T. W. Hull, named Ula as the county seat, but it was removed soon after, by election, to Rosita. This step in advance was greatly hastened by the remarkable discovery of the Maine gold and silver mine, by Edmund C. Bassick, who named it after his native state. This was in many respects a phenomenal mine, consisting of a chimney of circular form, filled with boulders, and from six to 25 feet in diameter. The ores, both of gold and silver, were new to mineralogists. They consisted of a true conglomerate, the kernels of which were trachytic, prophyry, and quartz, encased in a cement of a telluride of gold and silver, exceeedingly rich. For instance, a lump 12 inches long and wide and six inches in thickness weighed 43 pounds, and assayed $7,000 per ton. *Engineering and Mining Journal* in *Yankee Fork Herald*, Oct. 18, 1879. The proportion of gold and silver was 70 per cent of the former to 30 of the latter. Some of these nodules had the telluride coating covered with crystallized blende and copper pyrites. Altogether, the Bassick mine was a discovery of much interest to the scientific world, as it was of profit to its finder, for it sold for over $1,000,000 when it was down nearly 300 feet. Its yearly yield after 1880 was nearly $1,000,000. The Bassick mine, as it is now called, was situated on the top of a conical hill, two miles and a half north-west from Rosita; and it appeared as if it might have been at some period of the earth's history a geyser which had built this mound. The suggestion led to prospecting in the direction of other similar eminences, and the discovery, three miles westerly from Rosita, of the Golden Eagle, a true fissure vein in black granite, carrying from two to five ounces of free gold per ton.

In 1878 a miner named Edwards, while passing by a long sloping hill which from its abrupt termination at one end was called the cliff, knocked off a piece of rock, which he had assayed, and which returned twenty-seven ounces in silver per ton, not enough to pay the expense of smeltiug. He thought no more of it for several months, when, weary of unfruitful prospecting, he returned with his partner, Powell, to the cliff, and soon found rock which assayed $1,700 per ton. Taking in another partner, Spoffard, they made further investigations, and located the mines later celebrated as the Racine Boy, Horn Silver and Plata Verde situated on the mountain which

chapter pertains also to this division. The town of Delta is the county seat. Escalante and Dominguez are two other new towns.

Dolores county was established in 1881. It contains in its eastern part the great carbonate district

they called Silver Cliff. This district soon bade fair to rival Leadville, the ores being chlorides, which needed no roasting. In 1879 the discovery mine was sold in New York to Senator Jones, of Nevada, and James Keene, and stocked for $10,000,000. The other two sold equally well. Other chloride mines were soon after discovered, and more recently a second mine, like the Bassick, called the Bull Domingo. I have not space to mention the many important mineral discoveries which have made the new and small county of Custer notable and prosperous among its older neighbors. Its most important towns are Rosita and Silver Cliff, besides which there are several busy mining camps. Rosita, that is to say, little rose, was founded early in 1873, as the capital of the mining district of Hardscrabble, organized Nov. 15th of the year previous. The miners gathered in the district at this time were the Remine brothers from Central City, Jarvis and son from Georgetown, Schoolfield brothers from Mill City, Jasper Brown from Fort Garland, Hedges, V. B. Hoyt, James Pringle, William J. Robinson, Charles Ragnan, Nicholas Mast, Thomas Barrett, and John Palmer. When the town was laid off Frank S. Roff was the first blacksmith—he was afterward mayor of Silver Cliff—Frank Kirkham and Lewis Herfort, storekeepers, James Duncan and Charles Nelson, carpenters, James A. Gooch, afterward postmaster, George S. Adams, the first lawyer, J. M. Hobson, Woodruff brothers, Alexander and Thomas Thornton, Charles Fisher, keeper of the first meat market, and livery stable, Ed C. Smith, saloon keeper, John Hahnenkratt, boarding house keeper for the Hoyt Mining company, who afterward built the Grand View hotel, A. V. Temple, who surveyed the town site, Malcolm C. Duncan, and others. In the autumn of 1874 the town consisted of 400 houses, with over 1,000 inhabitants. It had by this time several stores and hotels, a newspaper, the *Rosita Index*, owned by Charles Baker, and edited by Lane Posey, and a bank, owned by Boyd and Stewart. These bankers claimed to have secured an interest in the Pocahontas mine, which was in possession of Herr brothers, and, aided by the superintendent, Topping, assumed tne management, Topping retaining most of the miners, and keeping a reserve of rough characters to fight, if fighting it came to, in the struggle for mastery. The leader of this gang was one Graham, an ex-convict. James Pringle having been wounded by one of Graham's men, without provocation, a committee of safety was organized, the roads guarded to prevent escape, and the mine surrounded. Graham appearing, armed, was ordered to surrender, but turning to fly was shot down. The remainder of the gang attempted to escape in a body, but were intercepted, and being much frightened at the attitude of the citizens, displayed a white flag, and were finally permitted to leave town. Boyd, who had been seized and confined, was also permitted to depart. Stewart had already fled. It was later discovered that he was a forger, being sought by the police of New York, having served a 20 years' term in the Sing Sing state prison. Thus ended an attempt at the piracy of a mine. The same property was embarrassed by litigation, in which Ballard of Ky figured, but ultimately emerged from its troubles to be a good property. There were the usual unsuccessful attempts at the reduction of ores, but the Penn. works situated in the town, erected to treat the Humboldt ores, performed the same for other mines. The richer ores were sent to Cañon City or Pueblo. The Denver and Rio Grande extended a branch to Silver Cliff in 1881, which facilitated their transportation. The population in 1880 was 1,200. Elevation of the town 8,200.

of the San Juan country already described, and in its western part good grazing grounds, which, if irrigated, would be cultivable. Rico is the county seat, and the seat of the smelters erected to reduce the rich ores of the district to bullion. The population in 1883 was 2,000, of which 750 were at Rico. Bowen, Narraquinep Spring, and Dolores are rising towns. The assessed valuation was $552,310, and the bullion production $200,000. Besides silver and gold mines, some of the best coal in the state is found here.

Douglas county was organized by the first territorial legislature, since which time it has lost the larger portion of its area. It resembles Arapahoe, which it adjoins, and is principally occupied by a grazing and farming population, with dealers in lumber and building stone, which find a ready market in Den-

Silver Cliff took root with the erection of the first house in Sept. 1878 by McIlhenney and Wilson, and grew so surprisingly that when it was a year old it had 1,200 inhabitants and houses for their accommodation, with all the usual concomitants of comfortable living, and some of the luxuries of older communities. The town site was patented Dec. 8, 1879. The population was at one time 4,000, but since the rush has passed has settled back to 1,500. Mills and reduction works are being introduced. In 1882 the Silver Cliff mines were under a cloud from the difficulty of finding the exact processes for the deeper ores, none, however, except one, being down more than 700 feet, the Humboldt being 1,800. At this time there was a 40-stamp mill in operation on the property of the Silver Cliff Mills company, treating 100 tons daily of the Racine Boy ore. The sampling establishment of the Milling company, with a capacity of 50 tons daily, adjoined the mill. The Plata Verde also had a 40-stamp mill near the town, which was the base of supplies for these works. The town was incorporated in 1879. Its first mayor, elected in Feb., was J. J. Smith; recorder, G. B. McAulay; trustees, Frank S. Roff, Walter B. Janness, Mark W. Atkins, Samuel Baeden. In April Roff was chosen mayor; Webb L. Allen, Samuel Baeden, Samuel Watson, and O. E. Henry, trustees. In April 1880 S. A. Squire was chosen mayor; C. D. Wright, recorder; O. E. Henry, John Dietz, William French, and Alfred Wood, trustees. In 1881 H. H. Buckwalter was elected mayor; George W. Hinkel, recorder; R. Rounds, W. T. Ulman, William Feigle, and E. Meyers, trustees. In 1882 Oney Carstarphen was elected mayor, and re-elected in 1883 and 1884. Carstarphen was born in Mo. in 1844, came to Colorado in 1879, and settled at Silver Cliff. He was elected to the state legislature in 1884, and became interested in various mining properties. Querida is a town which has grown up about the Bassick mine, with a population of 400. Dora is another little place built up about Chambers' concentrator, 6 miles N. E. from Silver Cliff, which has a capacity of 20 tons daily. Blackburn is 12 miles from Silver Cliff. Westcliff and Bassickville are also mining camps. Other settlements are Benton, Blumenau, Colfax, Comargo, Govetown, Hardscrabble Cañon, Hollan Springs, Millville, Round Mountain, Silver Circle, Silver Creek, Silver Park, South Hardscrabble, Wetmore, Wet Mountain Valley, Wixon Park.

ver. Castle Rock is the county seat. Sedalia was founded and fostered by the railway corporation. The settlements in Douglas county not named above are Acequia, Bear Cañon, Divide, Douglas, Franktown, Glen Grove, Greenland, Huntsville, Keystone, Larkspur, Mill No. 1, Mill No. 2, Parker, Perry Park, Pine Grove, Platte cañon, Plum, Rock ridge, Spring valley, Stevens Gulch, and Virginia Rancho.

Eagle county, organized in 1883, was cut off from Summit, and contains a rich mineral district, of which Red Cliff is the metropolis and the county seat. It is broken by high mountains and lofty peaks. The population in 1884 was 2,000, confined to the southeast portion. The assessed valuation of the county in 1883 was $338,454; the yield of the mines—one group—was $940,000. Besides Red Cliff, which had at this time 500 inhabitants, there were the towns of Gold Park, with 400 population, Holy Cross, Cleveland, Lake, Mitchell, Rock Creek, Taylor, and Eagle.

Elbert, organized in 1874, and large enough for a kingdom, is one of the great stock-raising counties of Colorado. The western portion, which joins Douglas, is well watered, and considerably cultivated.[38]

El Paso, one of the original seventeen counties, is reckoned among the agricultural divisions, and, as such, is one as yet unrivalled for resources. Its assessable property in 1885 was nearly $5,000,000,

[38] There is also a large supply of pine timber in this end of the county. But the principal capital of its business men is in stock cattle. The population, at the census of 1880, was 2,500, and the valuation of assessable property $1,202,052. This gives about double the usual amount of property per capita in farming districts. The county seat is at Kiowa. Moses R. Chapman, born in N. Y. city in 1844, was brought up in Ill. In 1859 he came to Russell's gulch, and was afterward about Central City. Becoming discouraged, he borrowed money enough in 1865 to take him to Elbert co., where he engaged himself as a herder, and gradually worked himself into the stock business. In 1874 he married Laura A. Danks. In 1882 he was elected to the general assembly, having been county commissioner for 14 years. He owned, in 1886, a large farm and over 1,000 head of cattle. The towns and settlements of Elbert county are Agate, Arroyo, Bellevue, Boyero, Brown & Dods, Buzzards & Sharretts, Cameron, Cedar Point, Clermont, Cochran's Rancho, Elbert, Elbert Station, Elizabeth, Fork-in-Creek, Gebhard, Godfrey, Gomer's Mills, Hugo, Lake, Lake Station, Long Branch, Middle Kiowa, Monatt's Mills, Ranch, River Bend, Rock Butte, Running Creek.

divided between farm improvements, cattle, and other stock, and town property. Immense coal deposits exist in the eastern portion of the country. Pike's peak, by which Colorado was long known, is situated in this county. In an earlier chapter I have given a narrative of its first exploration and settlement, when Colorado City aspired to be the leading town of the territory, and of the causes of its failure. The principal city of El Paso is now Colorado Springs, already world-famous as a health resort.[39]

[39] When Gen. William J. Palmer in 1870 organized the Denver and Rio Grande railway company, he likewise projected a number of auxiliary organizations to develop town-sites, coal lands, and other resources of the region through which the railway was expected to pass. Among these was the Colorado Springs co., which acquired about 10,000 acres of land near the base of Pike's peak and on both sides of Colorado City, including a large level tract through which the railroad would run, and where it was proposed to build the principal city of this region. On July 31, 1871, the first stake was driven, and the city named Colorado Springs because of its proximity to the famous soda springs at the entrance to Ute pass, which were also owned by the company. The region developed more rapidly than was expected, and early in 1872, a hotel had been erected at the springs and a little village there started, named at first La Font, but soon changed to Manitou, the Indian name of one of the springs. The president of the Colorado Springs co. was William J. Palmer. Its executive director was Henry McAllister, Jr, who was born in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1836, and won the title of major by his services in the army during the rebellion. At the close of the war he was elected secretary of the American Iron and Steel association, which position he resigned after seven years' service. He was at once elected president of the National Land Improvement co., organized to develop the lands lying along the Denver and Rio Grande railway. He was also made executive director of the Colorado Springs co. At the time Colorado Springs was started, the success of the Union and other colonies in Colorado had popularized this method of town building, and hence was formed the Fountain colony, which had no legal existence, but was simply an instrument of the Colorado Springs co. in the development of its property. From the beginning this company and its associate colony pursued a liberal and far-sighted policy. The profits accruing from the sale of two thirds of its property were constituted a fund for general and public improvements. Early expenditures from this fund were $44,000 for an irrigating canal, and $15,000 for the purchase and planting of 7,000 trees upon the town-site. During the first five years of the company's history, about $272,000 were thus expended. A lot was presented by the company to each of the Christian denominations, and ample reservations were also made for a public school and for a college. The officers of the colony were Robert A. Cameron vice president, William E. Pabor secretary, E. S. Nettleton chief engineer, William P. Mellen treasurer, and Maurice Kingsley assistant treasurer. The trustees were William J. Palmer, Robert H. Lamborn, Josiah C. Reiff, Robert A. Cameron, W. H. Greenwood, William P. Mellen. The temperance question was given prominence in the organization of the colony by the insertion in every deed given by the company of a clause forever prohibiting the manufacturing, giving, or selling of intoxicating liquors as a beverage in any place of public

Frémont county, a portion of whose early history has been given, has remained in a backward condition

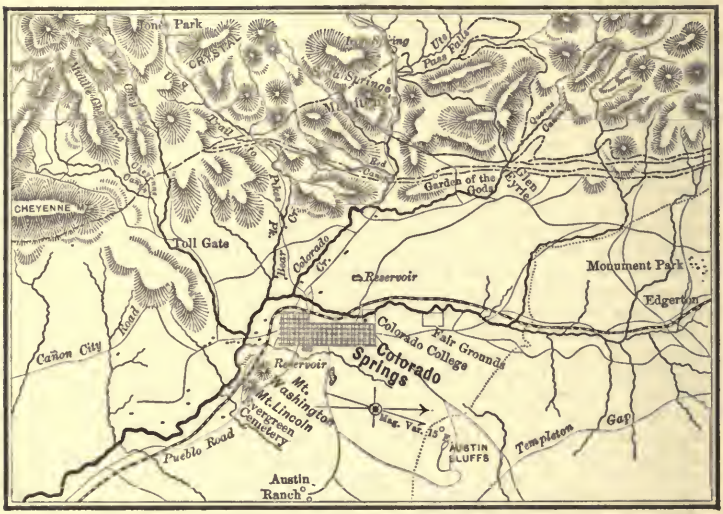
resort. As might be expected, this clause was soon and repeatedly violated; but the cases were decided in favor of the company in the state supreme court in 1876, and the lands forfeited. On appeal to the U. S. supreme court in 1879, this judgment was affirmed. The public sentiment of the city has always sustained prohibition. *Fountain Colony of Colorado, Prospectus; Denver Tribune*, June 29, 1871; *Faithful's Three Visits*, 146–50; *Graff's Colorado*, 41–6; *Buckman's Colorado Springs; Roberts' Colorado Springs and Manitou; Colorado Springs*, by H. H.; *Raper & Co.'s Directory of Colorado Springs; Selections from the Enclycopedia of the New West*, 5.

Colorado Springs became the ideal city of the Arkansas valley, if not of the entire Rocky mountain region, by reason of its wonderful and beautiful surroundings, its healthfulness and orderliness, its temperance, education, and refinement. Its growth from the first was healthful and uniform. At the close of the first year of its history, 277 town lots had been disposed of at a valuation of $24,700, 159 houses erected, and the population was estimated at 800. The value of the buildings erected by private individuals was placed at $160,000. Two church edifices were built, and a weekly newspaper was established. An enterprise most fruitful in benefit to the new city was the building in 1871 of a good wagon road through the Ute pass to the mining region of South park. The trade of a growing section was thus secured, contributing from the beginning no little to the commercial importance of Colorado Springs. When Leadville arose in 1878, this road became one of the chief highways to that great camp, and made Colorado Springs a principal supply point. When the railroad reached Leadville in 1880, this trade ceased, but it had sufficed to establish the commercial interests of Colorado Springs on a sound basis. At one time during the palmy days of Leadville freighting, 12,000 horses and mules were employed in transportation over the road. During 1876–7, the city suffered from the depression then general throughout the country, and also from a visitation of grasshoppers, which caused great devastation to the Rocky mountain region. Prosperity was fully restored in 1878, in which year a complete system of water works was constructed, the supply being taken from one of the sparkling streams flowing down the sides of Pike's peak, at a distance of seven miles from the city, and at a point 1,200 feet above its level. Gas works costing $50,000 were built in 1879, in which year also new buildings to the value of $200,000 were erected. The growth of the city has since been continuous, and with slight exceptions uniformly rapid, till in 1886 it had attained a population of about 7,500, the assessed valuation of its property was $2,248,300, and its business, exclusive of real estate sales, aggregated nearly $3,000,000. Accessions to the population were largely of health seekers, to accommodate a portion of whom was begun in 1881 the Antler's hotel, a handsome Queen Anne structure costing $200,000, and ranking among the most noted of Rocky mountain hostleries. The public spirit of three citizens, Irving Howbert, B. F. Crowell, and J. F. Humphrey, gave to Colorado Springs a beautiful opera house, seating 750, and costing $80,000, which was opened April 18, 1881.

The public schools of Colorado Springs have always been adequate and of high grade. In 1871, Mrs Gen. Palmer established the first school, giving her services voluntarily and without compensation. In 1874, a handsome school building was erected costing $25,000. By 1879, this had become crowded, and two frame buildings were added. In 1884, a large modern brick school-house was built at a cost of $20,000, and in 1886 two others were completed. Colorado Springs is the seat of Colorado college, founded by the Colorado association of congregational churches, on the general plan of New England colleges, but with modifications. T. N. Haskell, formerly of the state university of Wisconsin, was selected as financial agent. The prepar-

for reasons which will appear hereafter. In natural resources it is rich, especially in an excellent quality

atory department was opened in May, 1874, with Jonathan Edwards, graduate of Yale, as principal. A frame building was temporarily erected, in which the school remained until 1880. A department of mining and metallurgy was established about 1877, of which in 1880 William Strieby, a graduate of Columbia college, was in charge. This department met with such success that for its better accommodation a wing was erected on the north side, contributed by William J. Palmer, who also offered to add a south wing if the college were first freed from debt. This promise inspired the friends



VICINITY OF COLORADO SPRINGS.

of the college to make the requisite effort, and the building now presents a handsome front of over 100 feet. The library embraces 6,000 volumes, including 1,000 contributed by the El Paso county library association. A collection of natural science specimens and an herbarium of native plants has made a promising beginning. President Tenney did much by his writings and personal efforts, to make both the city and college known in the east. Friends came to the rescue, and in 1886 it was in a fair way to be extricated. Its officers in 1886 were: William Strieby chairman of faculty, W. F. Wilder vice-president, G. H. Parsons secretary, J. H. Barlow treasurer, and George N. Marden financial agent. The territorial legislature of 1874 located an institute for the education of deaf mutes at Colorado Springs, appropriating $5,000 for immediate application to that purpose, and providing a permanent fund by instituting a tax of half a mill on all the assessable property in the territory. A house was rented and the institution opened with a dozen pupils. To this, also, the Colorado Springs company donated 12 acres of land, title to be given whenever suitable buildings should be erected thereon. Thus prompted, the trustees raised $5,000, and started the building. At its next session the legislature appropriated $7,000, independent of the tax, and additions were made. Subsequently that body added to the institution a department for the blind, $20,000 more being

of coal, of which the amount is practically unlimited. Petroleum has also been found. It has gold and sil-

appropriated for improvements. The institution is in a prosperous condition and doing a noble work.

The first religious services were held in the winter of 1871, by the Rev. Edwards, rector of the episcopal church at Pueblo. From this time till 1873 services were held at irregular intervals, conducted by Bishop Randall or by J. E. Liller as lay reader. In 1873, Grace church parish was organized, and soon afterward a church built at a cost of $12,000. The First presbyterian church was organized in 1872, previous to which time services had been held in various places. The M. E. church, which was organized in Colorado City very early in the history of that place, was in 1873 transferred to Colorado Springs. In 1881, an edifice costing $12,000 was built in a central location. The First baptist church was organized in 1872. The congregationalists, Cumberland presbyterians, Roman catholics, christians, and African methodists established congregations at later dates. Of the various secret and benevolent organizations, the masons and odd fellows early established lodges in Colorado Springs, and were followed by the knights of pythias, good templars, knights of honor, united workmen, and others. In 1886, there were 20 lodges and encampments of the various organizations.

Previous to 1878, there was no fire department worthy of the name, the only protection against fire being a hook and ladder company, a Babcock engine, and the water from a few wells. When in that year the system of water works was introduced, the organization was begun of a volunteer fire department that for efficiency has no superior in the country. The first bank was established in 1873 by William S. Jackson, C. H. White, and J. S. Wolfe, and called the El Paso. Soon afterward J. H. Barlow became connected with it. This was followed the next year by the First National, organized by W. B. Young, B. F. Crowell, C. B. Greenough, G. H. Stewart, F. L. Martin, and others, and two years later James H. B. McFerran started the People's bank. All are sound and prosperous institutions, and in 1886 had deposits of $500,000. The history of journalism in El Paso county began in 1861 with the publication of *The Journal* at Colorado City. It was edited by B. F. Crowell, and was issued weekly for about a year, when publication was discontinued. After that the county possessed no newspaper until 1872, when the first number of *Out West* was issued by J. E. Liller. About the same time, Judge Eliphalet Price began the publication of the *Free Press*. In January, 1873, *Out West* became the *Colorado Springs Gazette*, and about a year later the *Free Press* was merged into the *Mountaineer*. In 1878, the *Gazette* became a daily, as did also the *Mountaineer* in 1881 under the name of the *Republic*. The *Gazette* and *Republic* continue the leading newspapers of the county. Various weeklies appeared from time to time, prominent among which was the *Hour*, started in 1885. Monument, a town in the northern part of the county, has had at times a weekly paper since 1878.

William J. Palmer, to whom Colorado Springs owes its existence, and the state in large measure its present condition of development, was born in Philadelphia in 1836. Receiving a fair education, he early became confidential secretary to J. Edgar Thompson, then president of the Pennsylvania railroad, in which position he evinced marked ability, and at one time was sent to Europe to study methods of iron manufacture and railroad management. On the breaking out of the rebellion, he raised the Anderson cavalry, of which he was, till the close of the war, the commander. Meantime Thompson and his associates had become interested in the Kansas Pacific railroad, and on Palmer's return from the war he was made managing director of that enterprise, and superintendent of construction. While thus engaged, he made the famous survey of transcontinental routes along the 32d and 35th parallels. Failing to induce the Kansas Pacific management to adopt one of these, and impressed with the resources of the Rocky mountain region, in 1870, as-

ver mines, not yet much developed, also copper, lead, zinc, mineral paint, marble, alabaster, valuable building stone, potters' clay, and one of the few jet mines in the world.[40]

sociated with William A. Bell and others, he organized the Denver and Rio Grande railway company. In the face of difficulties, physical and financial, he pushed this great enterprise to completion, after first building the Denver and Rio Grande Western, of which he was president until 1883. He was at the head of a majority of the companies organized for the development of southern Colorado, the most prominent among which was the Colorado Coal and Iron company. A few years later he retired from the presidency of the Mexican National, though still remaining at the head of the construction company. He is also president of the reorganized Denver and Rio Grande Western railway company, which is becoming a very important factor in the railroad system of the Rocky mountains.

Doctor William A. Bell, prominently associated with General Palmer in the building of the Denver and Rio Grande railway, was born in Clonmel, Ireland, in 1841. He studied at the London hospital, and took a medical degree at Cambridge in 1865. In 1866-7 he visited the United States, and in the latter year joined the 35th parallel surveying expedition, which brought him into close personal and business relations with Palmer. Returning in 1870 from a visit to England, he joined him in the organization of the Denver and Rio Grande railway company, and was its first vice-president.

M. L. De Coursey, who had much to do with the building up of Colorado Springs, was born in Philadelphia in 1842, and served in the civil war in which he was captain. In 1871 he joined his former cavalry commander, General Palmer, in Colorado, and held prominent positions in the national land and improvement and other companies. He afterwards engaged in the real estate business.

The growth and permanent prosperity of Colorado Springs has been very marked. Among the publications that have made known to the world its scenic wonders and famous climate, as well as the merits of its mineral waters, are Charles Dennison's *Rocky Mountain Health Resorts*, a treatise on pulmonary diseases and their cure; *Colorado Springs*, a descriptive and historical pamphlet relating to the city of that name and its vicinity, by George Rex Buckman; *Health, Wealth, and Pleasure*, a treatise on the health resorts of Colorado and New Mexico; *Glenwood Springs*, a descriptive pamphlet; Mrs Simeon J. Dunbar's *Health Resorts of Colorado Springs and Manitou*, descriptive; S. Anna Gordon's *Camping in Colorado*, descriptive and narrative. Dr S. Edwin Solly, of Colorado Springs, has done much by his pamphlets to call attention to the curative value of Colorado's climate and mineral waters. He graduated in London in 1867, and in 1874 came to Colorado Springs, where he has since been engaged in the practice of his profession. He is a member of the royal college of surgeons, England, and of various other medical and scientific societies, both in England and America.

The villages and settlements in El Paso county are Aroways, Bassett's Hill, Bierstadt, Big Sandy, Bijou Basin, Cheyenne Peak, Chico Basin, Colorado House, Costello's Rancho, Crystal Peak Park, Easton, Edgerton, El Paso, Florissant, Fountain, Four-mile Creek, Franceville, Franceville Junction, Granger, Gwillemville, Highland Rancho, Hursley's Rancho, Husted, Jimmy Camp, Lake Station, Little Buttes, McConnellsville, Monument, O. Z., Petrified Stumps, Quarry, Sidney, South Water, Suffolk, Summit Park, Table Rock, Turkey Creek, Twin Rocks, Weissport, Wheatland, Widefield, Wigwam, Winfield.

[40] It has ranked mainly with the agricultural counties, but it is not eminent in that class, although its altitude of less than 6,000 feet gives it a climate better suited to corn than most other counties in the state. In 1883

The chief town and county seat is Cañon City, with a population of about 3 000 in 1884. The Col-

it raised considerable grain, and had 15,000 head of cattle, besides 5,000 other animals, produced $625,000 worth of coal, and $20,000 in bullion. It had 108 miles of railroad within its boundaries, and its population was 4,730. This was not a flattering exhibit for one of the oldest counties with these natural resources. But the hindrance to development had been, first, the want of railroads, and secondly, a war between railroads for possession of the Grand cañon pass through the Rocky mountains. This wonderful and awful defile of the Arkansas was the gate of the mountains, its eastern end being situated in the neighborhood of Cañon City, named in reference to it. To secure the exclusive right of way through this passage involved a long struggle between two companies, first in personal encounter, and lastly in the courts, where the Denver and Rio Grande prevailed against the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé company.

The first organized effort to secure a railroad was made in the autumn of 1867. This was done by a committee consisting of B. M. Adams, B. F. Rockafellow, and Thomas Macon, who appointed A. G. Boone, about to visit Washington, a special commissioner to confer with John D. Perry, president of the Kansas Pacific railroad, in reference to the Arkansas valley transcontinental route. Perry promised that his engineers should look into the matter, and the Fremont county people were hopeful. At that time General Palmer was managing director of the Kansas Pacific, and had charge of its construction, and W. H. Greenwood was its chief engineer. Palmer organized and commanded an expedition which surveyed the proposed route. His report, which was made in 1868, recommended that the route from Ellsworth, Kansas, westward should deflect to the south of its former survey, and follow the one by the Arkansas river to its headwaters, and thence via the San Luis valley to intersect the thirty-fifth parallel transcontinental route. This road, had it been built, would have given an outlet eastward to the richest mineral and some of the best agricultural country in Colorado. But the eastern managers decided to build to Denver, a decision which finally threw them into the hands of the Union Pacific. When the Kansas Pacific was about completed, Palmer, remembering what he had seen on his surveys, originated the plan of a narrow-gauge railway, which should run southward from Denver along the base of the mountains. Disappointed in their expectations of a direct road to the east, the people of Fremont county welcomed the thought of communication with Denver and connection with the Union Pacific, and voted the Denver and Rio Grande company—the narrow-gauge line—$50,000 in county bonds, the first contribution of the kind received by them, and which through some technicality was finally lost in the courts. In the mean time the Denver and Rio Grande had constructed its road to Pueblo, with a branch to the coal mines at Labran, eight miles from Cañon City, which was completed in October, 1872, and without going to Cañon City, as was expected, was pushing south with the design of reaching the extensive fields of coking coal at El Moro, near Trinidad, and of ultimate extension to the city of Mexico, via Santa Fé and El Paso, which latter was, of course, regarded as an achievement of the somewhat remote future. Thereupon, there was a movement made inviting the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé to come to Cañon City and occupy the route formerly suggested to the Kansas Pacific. For this purpose a public meeting was held at Cañon City in Jan., 1873. But the A., T., & S. F. co. proving slow to act, and the people being impatient, the county again voted its bonds to the D. & R. G. co., this time for $100,000, after an exciting canvass, there being a majority of only two in favor of the gift, and the county commissioners refusing to issue the bonds. In 1874, however, on demand of the D. & R. G. co., Cañon City voted $50,000 in bonds, and in addition gave deeds to $25,000 worth of property, and the road was soon afterward completed to

orado penitentiary is located here, and was in charge of the general government until 1874, when the ter-

that place. The next movement in the way of increased railway facilities was in Feb., 1877, when the Cañon City and San Juan railway co. was organized, with C. T. Alling president, B. F. Rockafellow secretary, James Clelland treasurer, and H. R. Holbrook chief engineer. Alling soon resigned, and was succeeded by Frederick A. Reynolds. Meantime the new Leadville mining region began to attract attention, and was seen to offer a promising field for railroad enterprise. Stimulated by this, and it may be also by the appearance of a rival in the field, the D. & R. G. co. proceeded, on April 19, 1878, to resume work on its line from Cañon City westward and towards the Leadville region, and on that day took possession by its agents of the narrow portion of the grand cañon, known as the Royal gorge, with the avowed intention of constructing its road upon the line of the surveys made in 1871–2, right of way over which had, as it claimed, been secured to it by acts of congress of June 8, 1872, and March 3, 1875. But during the night of April 19, 1878, the board of directors of the C. C. & S. J. co. were convened, and elected William B. Strong and A. A. Robinson respectively general manager and chief engineer of the A., T., & S. F. co., to similar positions in the C. C. & S. J. co., giving conclusive evidence that the great Santa Fé co. was behind the local enterprise. These officials made preparations to take immediate possession of the grand cañon on behalf of their company, which was done as early as four o'clock on the morning of April 20th, at which time a small party of men, under the charge of an assistant engineer, swam the Arkansas river, and in the name of their company took possession of the cañon. That party was followed the same day by a large force of workmen under the control of Chief Engineer Robinson. The war was now commenced. Each side had from 500 to 700 men at work. Fortifications were erected by each, beyond which the other was not permitted to pass, and for a time the spilling of blood seemed inevitable. These movements were succeeded by a suit instituted the same day in the state court in the name of the C. C. & S. J. co. against the D. & R. G. co., in which an injunction was obtained, afterward sustained by Judge Hallett of the U. S. district court, restraining the latter company from occupying or attempting to occupy the cañon for railroad purposes, and from interfering with the C. C. & S. J. co. in the construction of its own road therein. By virtue of this decision the C. C. & S. J. co. proceeded with the work of construction through the grand cañon, and completed during the following ten months the 20 miles from Cañon City, being as far as it was permitted under its charter to build. The work in the grand cañon was difficult, requiring engineering skill of the highest order. In places the blasting could be carried on only by suspending men by ropes down the rocky walls 2,000 feet in height; in others the chasm was so contracted that the road itself was suspended over the river by a hanging bridge, supported from above by braces fixed in the rock and raised in the middle on the principle of an arch. About the time the C. C. & S. J. co. had finished its 20 miles of road, the D. & R. G. co., under stress of the decision against it and the financial troubles which this had served to bring to a climax, executed a 30 years' lease of its entire completed line to the A., T., & S. F. co., which took possession in Dec., 1878. The right of way through the grand cañon was expressly excluded from this lease, the A., T., & S. F. co. taking the ground that this was the property of the C. C. & S. J. co., and that a lease thereof from the D. & R. G. co. would be of no effect.

In April, 1879, the U. S. supreme court, to which the case has been appealed by the D. & R. G. co., reversed the decision of the lower court, and confirmed to the D. & R. G. co. its prior right to the grand cañon. The possession of this prior right, however, was not to be understood as preventing the C. C. & S. J. co. from afterward building a parallel road of its

ritory assumed its support. In 1877 it consisted of one cell building with forty-two cells. The state now owns thirty-six acres, five of which are enclosed by a wall of stone twenty feet in height and four in thickness, with good buildings, and cell-room for over 400 inmates,[41] a boot and shoe factory, lime-kilns, stone-

own through the cañon, where the latter was wide enough to admit of two, nor from using the D. & R. G. tracks in common with that company, in the narrow places where but one road could be built, these rights having been generally conferred by act of congress of March 3, 1875. Complications then arose in the affairs of the A., T., & S. F. and D. & R. G. companies which kept them in constant litigation. The latter company, now that its rights in the grand cañon had been restored to it, and in view of the great business revival, due to the discovery of new and rich mining regions, naturally desired to regain possession of its road. It charged the lessee with non-observance of contract in certain particulars; but the case turned on the point that there was no Colorado law which would permit a foreign corporation to operate a railroad within the state. The prayer of the D. & R. G. co. was granted, and a writ issued by the court, copies of which were placed in the hands of sheriffs in the principal places along the line, the effect of which was to restore the road to the D. & R. G. co. These were served simultaneously at Denver, Colorado Springs, Pueblo, Cañon City, El Moro, and Alamosa, and possession taken in each place by the officers and agents of the D. & R. G. co. Immediately after possession had been gained, on June 15, 1879, Judge Bowen, on application of several of the D. & R. G. bond-holders, appointed one of the company's solicitors, Hanson A. Risley, its receiver. He took possession of the road and operated it for one month, during which time his receivership was attacked in several courts and finally terminated by Chief Justice Miller, who ordered the discharge of the receiver, and enjoined him to restore the road to the D. & R. G. co., and that company in turn was directed to restore it to the A., T., & S. F. co., in accordance with a writ previously issued by Judge Hallett and not at that time obeyed. When all this had been done, Judge Hallett further ordered that, till the equities of the several parties could be determined, both companies be restrained from further work in the grand cañon, and appointed L. C. Ellsworth as receiver, to take possession of the property of the D. & R. G. co., and operate it under the direction of the court. While this warring had been going on, the Pueblo and Arkansas valley railroad company, a local corporation of the A., T., & S. F. system, had begun to build westward from the 20-mile point where the Cañon City and San Juan company had stopped, and had succeeded in completing about two miles, when the D. & R. G. co. arrested further progress by erecting stone enfilading forts and keeping them manned, besides mining the position in readiness to send the enemy skyward at a moment's notice. Meantime Judge Hallett had appointed a commission to determine what parts of the grand cañon would admit of the construction of but one line of railway. In accordance with the report of this commission, the court, on January 2, 1880, issued a decree giving to the D. & R. G. co. the exclusive right of way through the grand cañon from Cañon City to South Arkansas—the present town of Salida—and to the Pueblo and Arkansas valley railroad the right of way from South Arkansas to Leadville, either company having the right to build a separate road between the latter points. This practically ended the war, and the two companies, after having spent $500,000 in carrying on the fight both in and out of the courts, concluded a treaty of peace. In accordance with an agreement entered into, all suits were withdrawn, and the A., T., & S. F. co. bound itself for a term of ten years

quarries, and brick-yards, in which the convicts are employed. The Colorado collegiate and military institute is located here. It was established by a stock company of citizens in 1881, under the supervision of E. H. Sawyer.[42] There is also a large silver smelter, and a copper smelter. The Arkansas river offers abundant water power; the town is supplied with water works; there are cold and hot mineral springs, and other scenic attractions, all of which promise a not unimportant future for this place when the surrounding country shall be made to yield its corn and wine, its coal, gold, silver, and copper.

not to build either to Leadville or Denver, while the D. & R. G. co. for a like period was to be restrained from building within a specified distance from Santa Fé. The D. & R. G. co. purchased the 20 miles of road constructed through the grand cañon by the C. C. & S. J. Co., paying therefor, according to the *Denver Tribune*, of April 2, 1880, the sum of $1,400,000. In the same month Receiver Ellsworth was discharged by the court, and the property turned over to the D. & R. G. co. Construction had meanwhile been pushed with all speed, and in July, 1880, Leadville was reached, and the golden stream of wealth started which has ever since continued to flow. Thus ended Colorado's most serious railroad war, and one waged for the possession of a prize well worth the struggle.

William H. Greenwood, so conspicuous in railroad affairs in Colorado, was born at Marlboro, N. H. He had purchased property in Cañon City when he made his survey of the grand cañon. After the railroad war was ended, he settled there with his family. In the summer of 1880 he was employed by the D. & R. G. to go to Mexico, and while near Rio Hondo was assassinated by an unknown person. The Mexican government exhibited much feeling, and made every endeavor for the apprehension of the murderer, but in vain.

[41] New buildings were added for the second time in 1883. Fowler remarks that there are over 400 convicts confined here, 'and more life-prisoners among them, in proportion, than elsewhere in the world.' This may be accounted for by the further statement that there are throughout the state drinking-saloons in the proportion of one to every 67 inhabitants—only a little behind Nevada, which has one to every 56—and the prevalence of gambling.

[42] The board of trustees consisted of F. A. Reynolds pres.; D. G. Peabody vice-pres.; W. R. Fowler sec.; J. F. Campbell treas.; E. H. Sawyer, J. L. Prentice, A. Rudd, Samuel Bradbury, and J. J. Phelps. It had besides a 'collegiate committee,' and a 'military committee.' E. H. Sawyer was president, commandant, and professor of moral, mental, and military science and engineering. The other instructors were H. S. Westgate, Frank Prentiss, J. M. Willard, and C. Uttermochlem.

CHAPTER XIII.

COUNTIES OF COLORADO CONCLUDED.

1859-1886.

GARFIELD COUNTY—ITS GREAT POSSIBILITIES—GILPIN COUNTY AND CENTRAL CITY—EXPRESS, TELEGRAPH, NEWSPAPERS, BANKS, SCHOOLS, AND CHURCHES, LIBRARY, FIRE DEPARTMENTS, MILITARY AND BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS—BIOGRAPHY—GRAND COUNTY—GUNNISON AND HUERFANO COUNTIES—VARIETY OF PRODUCTS IN JEFFERSON COUNTY—GOLDEN, LAKE, AND LA PLATA COUNTIES—BIOGRAPHY—LARIMER, LAS ANIMAS, MESA, MONTROSE, OURAY, PARK, PITKIN, PUEBLO, RIO GRANDE, ROUTT, SAGUACHE, SAN JUAN, SAN MIGUEL, SUMMIT, AND WELD COUNTIES—SOCIETY—RETROSPECT.

GARFIELD county was organized in February 1883 out of Summit, one of the original divisions of 1861. At that time the county seat was temporarily located at Parkville, but removed soon after to Breckenridge. On the organization of Garfield and Eagle counties little of Summit remained, and the county seat of the former was located at Carbonate, near the eastern boundary. It lies wholly on the western slope of the Rocky mountains, and is chiefly an agricultural and grazing region, but has mines of silver and enormous deposits of coal. It was vacated by the Utes as late as 1882, and has little history. Carbonate was one of the earliest settlements, and Glenwood springs, located at the junction of Roaring fork and Grand river, with its mineral waters and rich tributary region, is becoming the commercial centre of northwestern Colorado.

[1] M. L. De Coursey, who furnished me a manuscript on *Glenwood*, in 1884, and whose biography is briefly related on p. 604 of this vol., is manager for the town company, in connection with Glenwood springs. Though containing much that is of interest, it is impossible to devote to it in these pages the

The population is between 300 and 400. The other towns are Axial, Gresham, Barlow, and Ferguson. The valuation of the county in its first year was $136,781.

Gilpin, named after the first governor has an area of twelve by fifteen miles. It is purely a mining region, and not exceeded in mineral productions except by the county of Lake. Within its limits mining has been carried on for twenty-four years, during which time it has produced $43,208,988 in bullion, of which $38,500,000 was in gold, being about one-fourth of the production of the state in precious metals. In a previous chapter I have sketched the beginning of Gilpin's history, when John H. Gregory there discovered gold, and was followed by a rush of miners, who soon exhausted the surface deposit, and after impoverishing themselves in milling experiments abandoned mining or sought new fields of exploitation. The gold-bearing lodes occupy an area one mile wide and four miles long, in the midst of which are the closely allied towns of Black Hawk, Central, and Nevadaville. The silver belt extends across north Clear creek and other hills from York gulch to Dory hill. It was not discovered until 1878.

The first improvement of the gold district was by the construction of the Consolidated ditch in 1860. More than 100 small mills were taken to Gilpin county in its early years. In 1868 there were over thirty

space that the subject might seem fairly to demand. Suffice it to say that by many excellent authorities there are claimed for the waters of these springs properties as valuable as any in the state. Great stress is laid by all the local writers, and by many transient ones, on the merits of the various mineral waters of Colorado, their variety and excellence, especially as to their curative properties. To discuss the statements of each one, or indeed to make other than passing mention of the various pamphlets and treatises, would be altogether apart from the purposes of this work. Among others, in addition to those already mentioned, are T. G. Horn's *Scientific Tour*, MS., descriptive and historical, concerning the various springs of the country; *Mineral Springs of Colorado* is a pamphlet by the same authority. Horn came to Colorado in 1874, being a graduate of medicine in St Louis, and a native of Va, born in 1832. He is a member of the state board of health, to which he made a report at considerable length on the mineral springs of the state in 1882.

mills at work operating 700 stamps. In 1874 mining was dull. Soon after large operators began purchasing small mines and consolidating, by which means a new impulse was given to this industry. The gold ores of Gilpin are of a low grade, and do not pay for any other treatment than by stamp-mill or smelting. There are fewer mills of larger capacity than formerly, and although the increasing depth of the mines makes the extraction of the ore more expensive, the returns are satisfactory. The entire bullion output of 1883, for instance, was $2,208,983. The assessed valuation of the county for that year was $1,871,244, and its population 7,000.[2]

Central City,[3] which, next to Denver, has been the seat of money, political influence, and brain power,

[2] Some account of the earlier and later operations in this county seems imperative, although it should but repeat the experiences of others. In 1859 several arastras were constructed to pulverize quartz. A miner named Red fixed a trip hammer, pivoted on a stump, the hammer pounding quartz in a trough. His invention was called the Woodpecker Mill. Charles Giles, of Gallia, Ohio, made a 6-stamp wooden mill, run by water power, in Chase gulch, which pounded out $6,000 in a season. T. T. Prosser imported the first mill not home made. It was a 3-stamp affair, and was set to work in Prosser gulch in Sept. 1859. Coleman & Le Fevre brought in a 6-stamp mill the same season, which was run with the Prosser mill on Gunnell quartz, saving from $60 to $100 per ton. Ridgeway next set up a 6-stamp mill on Clear creek, below Black Hawk, and soon after Clark, Vandewater, & Co. imported a veritable foundry made, 9-stamp mill at the junction of Eureka and Spring gulches, where now is the centre of Central City. This was all accomplished in 1859. The Gregory lode has maintained its preëminence. The Bobtail was reckoned second; the Gunnell third. There are several mines on each of these. They all have a history, but for which I have not space. Few of the mines are down more than 1,500 feet; but this depth requires tunnelling, of which a good deal has been done. The British-American tunnel, beginning on south Clear creek below Fall river, extends 4 miles northerly, through Quartz hill to the silver district, and is not yet finished. The Union tunnel cuts through Maryland mountain. The European-American tunnel begins a mile below Black Hawk and runs westerly, being incomplete. There are numerous other shorter tunnels. The first iron-works set up in Colorado was by Langford & Co. of Denver, in May 1861, who manufactured iron from the bog ore found 16 miles north-west of Denver. After making the trial they removed their works to Black Hawk, where they continued to make iron and manufacture mining machinery.

[3] Although early settled, Central City was not surveyed into lots until 1866, when George H. Hill laid it off. The town-site act of congress authorized the location of 1,280 acres where there were over 1,000 inhabitants, and Central being entitled by population to half that amount, obtained it, less a little over 50 acres already patented to mines. The question of superior rights necessarily arose for settlement, the town being upon mining ground. Theodore H. Becker contested the claim of the city to a strip of surface ground 50 feet wide lying through the centre of town, on the supposition

which was at one time the capital of the territory, and is the county seat, is the principal of the three towns

that the prior record of his mine would secure him in his claim. The secretary of the interior decided adversely to Becker, but referred the case to the courts. The city obtained its patent without reservation of the ground claimed by Becker, but with a proviso again referring the question to 'existing laws.' The existing laws granted mining patents in towns, excepting all rights to the surface, or anything upon it, which decision was finally established and order restored. Black Hawk was incorporated in 1864. The first post-office in the Rocky mountains was located here, in 1860, and designated Mountain City, to distinguish it from another Central City in Kansas, of which Colorado was then a part. The name was dropped when the territory was organized. The second land office in Colorado was opened at Central City in 1868, for the district composed of Clear creek, Gilpin, and parts of Jefferson and Boulder counties, Irving Stantan register, and Guy M. Hulett receiver. The first application for a patent was for the Compass and Square lode, in Griffith mining district, Clear Creek co. The first express company which extended its line to Central City was the Central Overland and Pike's Peak express, in the spring of 1860. It came into the possession of Holladay in 1861, and in 1865 was transferred to Wells, Fargo, & Co., after which it passed into the hands of the Kansas Pacific Railroad company in 1871, when that road was completed to Denver. It was then known as the Kansas Pacific Railroad Express company, but later became the Pacific Express company.

The telegraph line was completed to Central City Nov. 7, 1863, by the Pacific Telegraph company, which two years later was merged in the Western Union company.

The first newspaper started in the county was the *Rocky Mountain Gold Reporter and Mountain City Herald*, published in 1859, by Thomas Gibson, at Gregory point. It suspended the same year. The *Miners' Register*, published by Alfred Thompson, was the second, in 1862, which went through several changes, and suspended in 1873. In 1876 the *Post*, democratic, was first issued at Black Hawk, by William McLaughlin and W. W. Sullivan. It soon came into the hands of James R. Oliver.

The first banking in Central City was done by the private firm of Kountz Brothers. In 1866 the Rocky Mountain National bank was organized, Joshua S. Reynolds president. In 1874 the First National Bank of Central City was organized, which succeeded the private banking house of Thatcher, Standley, & Co., successors of Warren, Hussey, & Co. Hanington & Mellor organized a banking house in Central City in 1875. There is also at Black Hawk a private banking house, owned by Sam Smith & Co., established in 1880.

Public schools were organized in Central City in 1862, Daniel C. Collier superintendent; first teachers, Thomas J. Campbell and Ellen F. Kendall. Schools were organized the same year in Black Hawk and Nevadaville. The first public school-house erected by the county was completed in 1870, at a cost of $20,000, at that time the best school building in Colorado.

Religious services were held in the open air in 1859, at Gregory Diggings, by Lewis Hamilton, resulting in the formation of a union church, composed of all denominations. The hall over the post-office at Central City was used as a meeting house. In 1862 Hamilton went as chaplain to a Colorado regiment, and the records of the church were lost. G. W. Fisher, methodist, also held open-air meetings in 1859, and organized a church in 1860, afterward holding meetings in a public hall. A lot was purchased in 1862, but no church edifice was completed before 1869, when the first methodist church at Central was dedicated by Bishop Calvin Kingsley. The society in due time had a church, costing $20,000, and a membership of over 300. Its first settled pastor was Mr Adriance. A methodist church was also organized

before mentioned as occupying the heart of the gold district. It was named in reference to its central

at Black Hawk in 1862, and a small church edifice erected. The first settled pastor was D. H. Petfish. It was not until after 1872 that a church was built for the Methodist society at Nevadaville. The first woman to arrive in the gold district of Gilpin county was Mary York, afterward Mrs William Z. Cozzens, in 1859. She was a catholic. There were plenty of her faith in the mines, and services began to be held in the following year in a public hall by J. P. Machebeuf, afterwards bishop of Colorado. In 1862 a building was purchased and converted into a church, which continued to be used until the present large edifice was erected, the corner-stone of which was laid by Bishop Machebeuf in 1872. It was first used for religious services in 1874, though still incomplete. During this year an academy was opened on Gunnell hill by the catholics, under the charge of the sisters of charity. The presbyterians were organized into a church in 1862 by Lewis Hamilton, before mentioned, under the name of First Presbyterian church of Central City, George W. Warner, missionary, being its first pastor, succeeded by William Crawford, Theodore D. Marsh, Sheldon Jackson, J. G. Lawrie, H. B. Gage, J. P. Egbert, W. L. Ledwith, R. M. Brown, J. W. Johnstone, J. H. Bourns, and Otto Schultz, covering a period of about 20 years. The church building was erected in 1873. The First Presbyterian church of Black Hawk was organized in 1863 by George W. Warner. A church was erected the same year costing $7,500, and dedicated Aug. 28th, Warner pastor. He resigned in Nov., and was succeeded by T. D. Marsh, Dr Kendal, A. M. Keizer, Albert F. Lyle, G. S. Adams, and W. E. Hamilton. The church was closed in 1872, and subsequently rented to the methodists. The congregationalists organized in 1863, under William Crawford's ministrations, as the First Congregational church of Colorado, being what its name indicated in reality, and wishing to be general in its efforts to do good. It was incorporated in 1866, however, as the First Congregational church of Central City. In that year a church edifice costing $11,700 was erected. Crawford remained with the society until 1867, when he resigned, and was succeeded by E. P. Tenney, after whom came S. F. Dickinson, H. C. Dickinson, Theodore C. Jerome, and Samuel R. Dimock. The church was closed in 1876. A baptist church was organized in 1864 by Almond Barrelle, a missionary from the American Baptist Home Mission society, and a house of worship erected, which in 1871 was repaired, and in 1879 closed, being since occupied as a store and dwelling. The episcopal churches also have closed their doors. Why Central City so often closes its churches seems to require explanation. Probably the attempt to support too many in the three contiguous municipalities rendered abortive the effort to support any. In this matter the protestant churches would do well to imitate their catholic brethren.

In 1866 was organized the Miners and Mechanics' Institute of Gilpin county, Colorado, which association was chartered in 1867, but did not remain permanent. The library of 1,000 vols which it collected was sold to the city of Central at a nominal price, for the use of the public schools. The school board soon added another 1,000 volumes to the public school library. The cabinet of minerals and other valuable matter was burned in 1874.

The fire department of Central City was organized in 1869, when the Central Fire company No. 1 was formed, with 78 members, M. H. Root foreman. The city was not then supplied with water for extinguishing fires, and the department was otherwise wanting. After the fire of May 1874, which burned the greater part of the business portion of the town, it was reorganized. The Rescue Fire and Hose company No. 1 was first formed, N. H. McCall foreman. In 1875 the Rough and Ready Hook and Ladder company No. 1 was organized, M. H. Root foreman. In 1878 the Alert Fire and Hose company No. 2, Thomas Hambly foreman. In 1879 the Black Hawk Fire and Hose

position between Black Hawk and Nevadaville. The other towns are but its suburbs, and together make a

company No. 1 was organized, W. O. Logue foreman. There was soon an efficient fire department, with hydrants at convenient distances, and reservoirs at a sufficient elevation to throw water over any building in the town. There was mustered into service as Colorado militia a military company, known as the Emmet Guards of Gilpin county, in Nov. 1875, James Noonan captain, James Delahanty 1st lieut, T. F. Welch 2d lieut.

Of secret and benevolent orders there are a number in Gilpin county. Nevada Lodge No. 1, of Free and Accepted Masons, was granted a dispensation by the grand lodge of Kansas Dec. 22, 1860, and formally opened for business Jan. 12, 1861. Its lodge-room being burned in the autumn, steps were taken to rebuild, and 80 feet of ground fronting on Main street purchased. Nevada lodge was the first organized in Colorado, but later in the same year John M. Chivington, appointed by the grand master of Nebraska, instituted lodges as follows: Golden No. 1, at Golden City; Rocky Mountain No. 2, at Gold Hill; and Park No. 3, at Parkville, in the counties of Jefferson, Boulder, and Summit respectively. He then called a convention at Golden, to institute a grand lodge, Aug. 3, 1861. This action of the Nebraska grand lodge was regarded by the Nevada lodge as an infringement of the privileges of the Kansas grand lodge, under whose jurisdiction Colorado, it was claimed, properly came. The Kansas grand lodge, however, recognizing the Colorado grand lodge, removed the difficulty, and Nevada lodge surrendering its first charter, was rechartered by the Colorado grand lodge as Nevada lodge No. 4. Its building was of stone, brick, and iron, and cost $7,000. Chivington lodge was chartered Dec. 11, 1861. Central City Chapter No. 1, Royal Arch Masons, received its charter from the grand royal arch chapter of the United States, Sept. 9, 1865. Central City Council No. 54, Royal and Select Masters, was chartered by the grand council of Ill., Oct. 23, 1872. Central City Commandery No. 2, Knights Templar, was instituted Nov. 8, 1866, and received its charter from the grand encampment of the United States Oct. 24, 1868. Black Hawk lodge No. 11, A. F. & A. M., was instituted Feb. 17, 1866. The Rocky Mountain lodge No. 2, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, was chartered June 14, 1865. Colorado Encampment No. 1, I. O. O. F., was instituted May 22, 1867. Colorado lodge No. 3, of Black Hawk, instituted May 16, 1866. Nevada lodge No. 6 was chartered Sept. 23, 1868. Bald Mountain Encampment No. 3 was instituted at Nevada March 18, 1871. The first lodge of Good Templars in Gilpin county was instituted at Nevada in August 1860, by A. G. Gill, commissioned by the grand lodge of Kansas. The fire of 1861 having destroyed their lodge-room, the order was reorganized at Central under the name of Central City lodge No. 23, of Kansas, and prospered until the fire of 1874 again destroyed its property. The lodge did not disband, but continued to meet in hired rooms. The first grand lodge of this order was instituted in Washington hall, Central City, March 17, 1868, with 788 members and 11 lodges. Nevada lodge No. 52 was instituted by the grand lodge of Kansas in April 1866; but in March 1868 it applied to the Colorado grand lodge for a new charter, and received the name of Nevada lodge No. 3. It owns a building, and is in good circumstances. The Knights of Honor, Knights of Pythias, Knights of the New World, Foresters, and Red Men have their organizations in Gilpin county, as well as the Scandinavian and other benevolent societies. Not to be behind the rest of the world in amusements, Central is provided with an opera house of stone, 55 by 115 feet, which will seat 500 persons in the dress-circle and parquette, and 250 in the gallery. It is warmed by hot-air furnaces, is finely frescoed, lighted with gas, and cost altogether $25,000. It was begun in 1877, and completed in 1878, and furnishes a strong contrast to Hadley Hall, the large log building, still standing, in the upper story of which, in earlier times, theatrical representations were wont to be given.

population of 5,500. It has excellent schools, and a generally progressive and refined society. The other towns and camps in the country are Rollinsville, Russell's gulch, Black's camp, Cottonwood, and Smith hill.[4]

[4] Among the pioneers of Gilpin county are the following: Corbit Bacon, who came to Colorado from Pontiac, Mich., in 1858 with a small party consisting of James A. Weeks, Wilbur F. Parker, and Alverson and son. Arriving late in the year he encamped 30 miles above Denver, and the following spring began mining on Quartz hill. He has continued in the business in Gilpin county ever since. J. M. Beverly, born in Va, in 1843, came to Colorado from Ill. in 1859 in company with J. R. Beverly, his father. They went at once to Gregory gulch, and thence to Nevadaville, where they erected the first cabin. J. M. Beverly was elected recorder, sheriff, and justice of the peace in the autumn of 1859. During the winter he discovered a mine, named after him, on the Burroughs lode, which he sold in 1864. He built the Beverly mill in Nevada gulch in 1862, which he sold after running it 5 years, and built another. Having accumulated a fortune, he returned to Chicago, but suffered a loss of his property in the great fire of 1871, and began the study and practice of the law in that city. Later he invested in mines in Lake and Gilpin counties. Chase Withrow, born in Ill., in 1839, came to Colorado in 1860, and settled at Central City, where he followed mining for two years, after which he engaged in lumber-dealing for 6 years. He then returned to the study of the law, commenced before leaving Ill., was admitted to the bar, and practised until 1875, when he was elected clerk of the district court, which position he held for 6 years, when he returned to the practise of his profession. Soon after he was elected city attorney. William H. Beverly, his brother, came to Colorado in 1860, and settled at Nevadaville. Hugh A. Campbell, born in Pa, in 1826, was brought up in Ohio. In 1850 he joined a party of adventurers going to California, and mined in Nevada co. 8 years. He had no sooner returned to Ohio than the rush to Pike's peak began, which he immediately joined, arriving in Central City in June 1859, where he opened a store with Jesse Trotter, in a brush tent. During the summer they erected a log cabin, on what is now Lawrence street, and removed their goods to it. They put a sign over their door with Central City on it, and so fixed the name, not recognized by the P. O. department. Campbell discovered the Cincinnati lode on Casto hill; owned 40 acres of placer ground on the south side of Quartz hill; 30 acres on Pine creek; the Globe, Progressive, and Centennial lodes on Gunnell hill; Greenback lode on Casto hill; Inter-ocean and Gettysburg on Quartz hill, and other mining property.

D. D. McIlvoy, born in Ky, in 1824, was the son of a farmer. He crossed the plains to Cal. in 1850. He joined a militia company during the Pah Ute outbreak, and was commissioned a lieutenant by Gov. McDougal. In 1851 he returned home by sea, meeting at Habana with the filibustering army of Lopez, recruited at New Orleans, witnessing the shooting of Capt. Crittenden and 50 men by Lopez, for insubordination and desertion. In 1859 McIlvoy came to Colorado with his family, and settled on Missouri flats near Central City. Soon after he discovered Lake gulch, and engaged in mining and farming, having 160 acres of land on the flats.

David D. Strock, born in Ohio, in 1832, raised a farmer, and educated at Hiram, came to Colorado in 1859, mining at Gregory gulch that summer, when he returned to Kansas, but finally settled at Black Hawk, in this state, in 1863, as a millwright and carpenter. He owned 50 feet on the Gunnell lode, which he leased to the Gunnell company.

Anthony W. Tucker, born in Pa, in 1837, reared in Ohio, a machinist by trade, came to Colorado in 1859, and mined at Gregory and Russell diggings.

Grand county, organized in 1874, included the North park, and most of the Middle park, and all of

He set up and operated the first engine in Colorado, in Bentley & Bayard's saw-mill at Central City. In 1862 he worked on J. L. Pritchard's quartz-mill at Nevadaville. Afterwards he superintended different mills—D. P. Casey's in Chase gulch, Ophir mill, Clayton mill, Truman Whitcomb mill, and Wheeler & Sullivan mill. In 1877 he leased the Tucker mill in Russell gulch, which was burned in 1879, after which he purchased an interest in the New York quartz-mill at Black Hawk. He was elected county commissioner in 1877. Henry Paul, born in Ky in 1841, and brought up to farm life in Ky and Mo., came to Colorado in 1859, but returned to Mo. the same year, and studied medicine until 1863, when he settled in Gilpin co., where he engaged in mining and farming, varying these pursuits with medical studies. His mining discoveries are the Hazelton, Helmer, Powers, and Searle lodes in Willis gulch in Gilpin county, and Security lode, on Mt Bross, in Park co., and many others in several counties. He was elected to the legislature in 1873, and was chairman of the committee which drafted the mining law of Colorado. He was a delegate to the National Democratic convention at Cincinnati in 1880. He engaged in mining and merchandising.

Joseph S. Beaman, born in Baden, Germany, in 1834, was apprenticed to a brewer. He came to the U. S. in 1851, and learned carpentry at Louisville, Ky, after which he attended school two years. In 1859 he came to Colorado, locating at Central City, where, after mining a few years, he worked at his trade, and finally established himself as a bottler of soda water and liquors.

Lewis W. Berry, born in Brooklyn, N. Y., in 1822, was the son of a ship-carpenter, and learned the trade of painter. He was in New Orleans in 1846, where he raised a company for the Mexican war, and fought under Gen. Scott, as captain. Returning to Brooklyn, he remained there until 1859, when he came to Colorado, mining at Central City for 4 years, when he spent two years in Montana, living later at Idaho Springs.

Samuel Copeland, born in Me in 1819, after a youth spent on a farm and at academies in St Albans and Charleston, embarked in mercantile pursuits at several points in Me, N. B., and Mich., and travelled for health and pleasure. In 1860 he came to Colorado, having invested his means in a train of 11 wagons, 28 yokes of oxen, and 4 horses, the wagons being freighted with machinery for a quartz-mill, saw-mill, and shingle-mill. The quartz-mill proved a loss, but the others were set up and profitably operated in Michigan gulch until 1863, when he removed them to Boulder, being the principal lumber merchant there until 1870, and engaged also in mining and merchandising. His energetic course resulted in a fortune.

James B. Gould, born in N. Y. in 1836, was reared in Pa and Iowa as a farmer. He came to Black Hawk in 1860, engaging in freighting about the mines for two years, and afterwards for 7 years between the Missouri river and Denver. He then sold his teams, and purchased a farm in Boulder co., where he secured 440 acres of improved land near White Rock. I have abstracted these biographical sketches from *Clear Creek and Boulder Val. Hist.* The names of C. A. Roberts and Charles Peck occur in connection with mining regulations in 1859, but I have no further information of them. *Hollister's Mines of Colo*, 78. Some facts concerning Central City and Gilpin co. have been drawn from N. T. Bond's *Early History of Colorado, Montana, and Idaho*, MS., containing narratives of discovery and early government.

Clara Brown, a colored woman, born near Fredericksburg, Va, in 1800, after an eventful life as a slave, was liberated in Ky. In her 57th year she removed to St Louis, and again to Leavenworth, joining in the spring of 1859 a party bound for Pike's peak, and paying for her transportation by cooking for a mess of 25 men. She had the first laundry in Gilpin co., and in a few years accumulated $10,000. After the close of the war she went to Ky for her relatives, and established them in Colorado, herself settling in Denver in

what is now Routt county. It now embraces the Middle park and most of the settlements of its former territory.[5]

Gunnison county, whose early history has been given, was organized in 1880. Its development has been rapid. Over 100,000 tons of coal were taken out of this county in 1883. It is beginning to be cultivated for its agricultural wealth; its grazing interest is large and increasing; but its gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, and iron mines are still the chief incentive to settlement. The bullion output in 1883 was $650,000, and the assessed valuation of the county $3,234,490.[6]

a neat cottage of her own, and being a member in good standing of the presbyterian church. *Clear Creek and Boulder Val. Hist.*, 443.

[5] It contains arable and grazing lands, beautiful mountain lakes, and is a sportman's paradise. The lack of facilities for transportation have interfered with its development. The population in 1880 was but little over 400, but had increased in 1883 to 2,000. One of the attractions of the park are the hot sulphur springs on Grand river and at Grand lake. Placer mining has been carried on in this county for twenty years, and coal of good quality is one of its best known resources. The later mineral discoveries have revealed gold and silver lodes of great value. Petroleum is another natural production awaiting railroads to be made available. The assessment valuation in 1883 was 353,998. Grand Lake, with a population of 300, was the county seat. Hot Sulphur Springs had 300 inhabitants, Teller 500, while Fraser, Gaskill, Lulu, Troublesome, Colorow, Rand, Hermitage, and Canadian had 100 or less.

[6] Gunnison City, the county seat, had in 1883 6,000 inhabitants, and the county not less than 14,000, distributed among other towns as follows: Pitkin 1,500, Crested Butte 1,000, Gothic 900, Irwin 600, Tin Cup 500, West Gunnison 400, and the remainder among mining camps and settlements. There were numerous settlements belonging to Gunnison at that time, namely, Allen, Almont, Anthracite, Aureo, Barnum, Bellevue, Bowman, Camp Kingsberry, Chipeta, Chloride, Cloud City, Copper Creek, Crooksville, Curran, Delta, Doyleville, Drake, Elko, Elkton, Emma, Galena, Haverly, Hillerton, Howeville, Indian Creek, Jack's Cabin, Marom, Montrose, Ohio, Paradox Valley, Parlins, Petersburg, Pittsburgh, Powderhorn, Quartzville, Red Mountain, Richardson, Roaring Rock, Rock Creek, Ruby City, Rustler Gulch, Sage, Sapinero, Scofield, Silver Night, Spring, Stevens, Toll Gate, Tomichi, Turner, Uncompahgre, Virginia, Waller's Camp, Washington Gulch, White Earth, White Pine, White Sulphur Springs, and Woodstock. Some few of these have been cut off by the division of the county in 1883.

The Denver and Rio Grande railroad now passes across the county from east to west, with a branch to Crested Butte, where considerable progress is being made in the development of extensive and valuable deposits of anthracite, bituminous, and coking coal. But there is less population in the towns, notably less in Gunnison City, than for the first two or three years of growth, and when this was the terminus of the railway. The secondary epoch of all mining and railroad towns is upon it, from which the healthy growth of the country, which comes later, alone will redeem it. There are some interesting and

Hinsdale county, named after George A. Hinsdale, was organized in 1874, on the discovery of the mines of the San Juan country. Owing to its mountainous character, and lack of transportation, it made

instructive facts given in *Eaton's Gunnison Yesterday and To-day*, MS. 'We have always,' he says, 'lived on eastern capital,' and proceeds to relate that a St Louis company laid gas and water pipes, expending $100,000; erected the La Veta hotel, on foundations abandoned by its projector, at a cost of $212,000; formed a plan for an opera house and a block of stores; organized the Gunnison Steel and Iron company, buying coal and iron lands all over the country, the city raising $20,000 to put in escrow, to be paid over when it should fulfil certain conditions. Furnaces were partially erected when it was discovered that the coal owned by the company was not coking coal, and that the coking coal had been bought up by the Colorado Coal and Iron company. This suspended the business of the St Louis company. A patent smelter, owned by Moffat of Joplin, Mo., was erected in 1882–3, and failed, but was afterward made to work successfully. Shaw and Patrick, young men, also erected a smelter, which when still incomplete was abandoned, presumably for want of capital. An attempt was being made in 1884 to raise money to start the works. These several failures of companies and individuals affected the business of the town, and decreased its population. In the autumn of 1884 a brewery was started, which, with the Moffat smelter, two planing-mills, a cement, and a mineral-paint factory constituted the manufacturing industry of Gunnison.

The first banks of Gunnison were the Miners' Exchange, and the Bank of Gunnison, both owned by private individuals, but afterward made the First National and the Iron National banks, the latter printing drafts with an engraving of the projected steel works in a corner.

A. E. Buck, proprietor of the *News-Democrat*, formerly of the *Spirit of the Times* in New York, laid out an addition to Gunnison town site. The first amusement hall was the Globe theatre, of a low character. It was purchased by the citizens, and converted into an academy of music. In 1882 the Gunnison opera house was erected, and a private theatrical company of the citizens gave entertainments occasionally, varied by the performances of travelling artists. In 1882 Gunnison had two small brick school houses. The following year $28,000 was appropriated by the citizens for the erection of two new school buildings, to be used in connection with the others, and the schools rose to a high order. Six churches were organized by 1886, having their own edifices. A chamber of commerce was started in 1884, for which there appears to have been no urgent demand. It had begun making a collection of minerals.

Hartly C. Eaton, from whose MS. I have taken most of the above suggestive items, was born in Portland, Me, in 1853. He came to Gunnison in 1882, with J. A. Small and A. W. Sewall, to engage in the book and stationery trade. John B. Outcalt, born in New Jersey in 1850, a carpenter by trade, who came to Denver in 1871, and to Gunnison in 1874, with Richardson and William W. Outcalt, and who secured, with his brother, 1,100 acres of meadow land and town property enough to make them wealthy, also furnished me the result of his observations on Gunnison county and city, in *Grazing in Gunnison*, MS. See *Gunnison Sun*, Oct. 13, 1883; *Gunnison Review*, Jan. 1, 1883. The principal reliance of Gunnison is in coal and iron, to promote manufactures, which are still in their infancy, a fine grade of anthracite being found within twenty-five miles. Sandstone, granite, and marble are abundant in the neighborhood; also fire clay and materials for cement. But the place lay long under the ban of the railroad, to whose tyrannies men and municipalities must ever submit. Archie M. Stevenson, born in Scotland in 1857, but brought up in Wis. and educated for the prac-

little progress. Lake City, the county seat, had in 1886, 800 inhabitants. It lies in a sloping valley, at an elevation of 8,550 feet, surrounded by mountains ribbed with mineral veins. The principal mining districts are Engineer mountain, Lake, Park, Sherman, and Cimarron. The first development attained to was due chiefly to the firm of Crooke & Co., eastern capitalists, who purchased a number of mines, and erected concentrating and smelting works near Lake City, which were completed in 1878. The product of their mines the first year was $85,498 in silver, $23,698.27 in lead, and $2,925 in gold.[7]

Huérfano county was organized in 1861 with the county seat temporarily at Autobes. It was removed to Badito subsequently, and is at present at Walsenburg, a railroad and coal-mining town. Huérfano is principally a grazing and agricultural district. There were in the country in 1883, 20,000 cattle, and 100,000 sheep. No mining except for coal was being done there, although it is known to have mines of gold and galena. The coal product of 1883 was 100,000 tons, from the mines of the Colorado Iron and Coal company. The population at that date was over 5,000, and the assessed valuation $1,321,826. Walsenburg had in 1886 400 inhabitants.[8]

Jefferson county, besides being one of the earliest

tise of the law, came to Colorado in 1880, locating first at Pitkin, but removing to Gunnison after being elected to the state senate for 4 years, in 1882. He formed a law partnership with Stevenson and Frankey.

[7] Two smelters were also erected at Capitol City, in 1880, under the management of George S. Lee. The mines of the county best known are the Little Annie, Golden Queen, Ute, Ulé, Belle of the West, Ocean Wave, Emperor, Fairview, Scotia, John J. Crooke, El Paso, Inez, Palmetto, and Hotchkiss, which are but few of the many good mines. Capitol City, Antelope Springs, Sherman, Burrows Park, and Argentum, have from 125 to 200 inhabitants each. There are a few other settlements, and mining camps: Antelope Park, Barrett's Station, Belford, Clear Creek, Crooke City, Hudson's Rancho, Lost Trail, San Juan, Sparling's Rancho, Tellurium, and Timber Hill.

[8] Lesser settlements are Apache, Butte Valley, Chabez Plaza, Cucharas, Dickson, Dixolt, Fabian Plaza, Gardner, Garzia Plaza, Hager's Mill, Hamilton, Huerfano, Huerfano Cañon, La Veta, Malachite, Meaz Plaza, Mining Camp, Mule Shoe, Ojo, Park's Mills, Piedras Animas, Quebec, Quinland, Rito de Gallina, Sangre de Cristo Station, Santa Clara, Santa María, Spanish Peaks, Tirneros Plaza, Turkey Creek, Veta Pass, Wahatoya, Walsen's Springs, Walsen Station.

settled and first organized, enjoys the advantage of a nearness to the metropolis and a variety of products to take to that market. While not strictly a mining county, it contains in its western portion gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, iron, mica, coal, mineral paint, petroleum, alabaster, fire clay, potters' clay, limestone, marble, building stone, timber, and other productions which enter into manufactures. Its coal mines are extensively worked. It is one of the foremost agricultural and horticultural counties, and has a greater variety of industries than almost any other. The population in 1883 was 8,000, and the assessed valuation $2,746,498. Golden is the county seat, with 2,500 inhabitants. There are a number of smelters located here for reducing the ores from other counties, besides flouring mills and factories of various kinds.[9]

[9] The towns of Arapahoe, Mount Vernon, and Golden Gate were mining camps in the spring of 1859, the second at the mouth of Table Mountain cañon, and the latter at the mouth of another cañon called the Gate of the Mountains. Golden City on Clear creek, was settled at the same time by W. A. H. Loveland, John M. Ferrell, Fox Deifendorf, P. B. Cheney, George Jackson, Hardy, Charles M. Ferrell, John F. Kirby, T. P. Boyd, William Pollard, James McDonald, George West, Mark L. Blunt, Charles Remington, E. B. Smith, J. C. Bowles, David McCleery, I. B. Fitzpatrick, and W. J. McKay. A part of this number belonged to the Boston company of 8 members who crossed the plains together, arriving in June, among whom were Henry Vallard and A. D. Richardson and Thomas W. Knox, the celebrated correspondents of the *N. Y. Tribune*. George West, a Bostonian, was president of this company. They decided that the temporary settlement at the crossing of Clear creek was the proper site for a city, and accordingly they, with Loveland, Kirby, J. M. Ferrell, Smith, H. J. Carter, Mrs Williams, Stanton & Clark, F. W. Beebe, J. C. Bowles, E. L. Berthoud, and Garrison selected 1,280 acres on both sides of Clear creek and laid out a town. F. W. Beebe surveyed 320 acres that season, but the survey was completed in 1860 by Berthoud. By the close of the year, with the help of a saw and shingle mill, Golden had grown to a town of 700 inhabitants. Robert L. Lambert erected a log store in the winter of 1859, between the seasons of mining. He became a wealthy cattle and sheep raiser in Las Animas co. Many farms were taken up. I. C. Bergen settled in Bergen park, where he kept a hotel. In the autumn McIntyre and McCleery organized a company to construct a wagon road from old Fort St Vrain to South Park, via Golden, Bergen Park, Cub Creek, etc., which was located in the following spring. On the 7th of Dec., 1859, the *Western Mountaineer* issued its first number, George West publisher. The first county election under the provisional government was held Jan. 2, 1860, when the votes for county seat gave Golden a majority over Arapahoe of 401 to 228. Baden, later Aleck, received 22 votes. Joseph C. Remington was the first sheriff elected. There was a public sale of town lots in February, prices ranging from $30 to $120. A school was also opened in the spring by M. T. Dougherty, with 18 pupils. At the first municipal election, held April 10, 1860,

Lake county was first organized in 1861, when California gulch was in its first flush period, with the county seat at Oro. On the discovery of silver at a later date the legislature cut off the northern end and

J. W. Stanton was chosen mayor; S. M. Breath, recorder; W. C. Simpson, marshal; W. A. H. Loveland treas.; R. Barton, J. M. Johnson, R. T. Davis, D. G. Dargiss, O. B. Harvey, A. B. Smith, W. J. Smith, J. Kirby councilmen. In August a weekly mail was established. A period of slow progress, and in 1883 Golden was made the capital of Colorado, but the legislature did not meet there until 1866–7. In 1867 the county voted $100,000 in bonds in aid of the Colorado Central and Pacific railroad to Cheyenne and to Denver. Golden had now two flouring-mills, a brewery, and a paper-mill, and was making fire-brick. In 1868 ground was broken for the first Colorado railroad, and the following year the road-bed was made ready for the rails 10 miles, from Golden to the eastern boundary of the county. On the 26th of Sept., 1870, the first locomotive reached Golden. In April a narrow guage railroad, the first west of the Mississippi, had been begun, which was finished to Black Hawk late in 1872. In March 1873 a narrow guage to Floyd Hill was in running order, and in April the Golden and Julesburg branch of the Colorado Central was completed to Longmont. Still later in the year the Golden and South Platte railway was graded 18 miles to Plum creek. Then came the panic of 1874–6, when railroad building was interrupted. In 1877 the narrow guage to Georgetown was completed, and the line from Black Hawk to Central in the spring of 1878. The Colorado Central also, when completed, belonged to the system of railroads which contributed to the prosperity of Golden, 34 trains leaving and arriving daily. They carried away coal, stone, hay, grain, and flour, and brought ore, coal, coke, lumber, grain, and groceries. Golden built three flouring-mills, five smelting and reduction works, two breweries, a paper-mill, six coal shafts, three fire brick, pressed brick, and drain-pipe factories, three perpetual lime-kilns, and two quaries, with a variety of minor industries. The smelters turned out from $1,200,000 to $1,500,000 annually. It has seven churches, good schools, and an intelligent press. The state school of mines was placed at Golden. It was established by act of legislature in 1870, making an appropriation for that purpose. It was reëstablished by another act in 1874; and in 1877 still further placed on a permanent footing. It now occupies a fine brick edifice, and is an ornament to the town. It is supported, like all the other state institutions, by a direct tax of so many mills on the dollar. A signal-office has been maintained in connection with it. Here are taught analytical and applied chemistry, mineralogy, metallurgy, assaying, civil and mining engineering, geology, and mathematics. The state industrial school is also located at Golden by an act of the legislature of 1881, the old school of mines building being used for a beginning; but by an act of 1883 an appropriation of $15,000 was made for new buildings. The whole appropriation for industrial school purposes in that year amounted to $60,000, to be applied to its maintenance, machinery, and material for industries, and a library. The lesser towns and settlements of Jefferson are Ahlstrom's, Anchor Station, Archer's, Arvada, Bartlett's Lake, Bear Creek, Beaver Brook, Beeson Mill, Bellville, Big Hill, Brownville, Buffalo, Buffalo Creek, Buffalo Tank, Chimney Gulch, Church's, Clear Creek, Copperdale, Cottonwood Falls, Creswell, Crossons, Crosson's Camp, Deansbury, Deer Creek, Deer Creek Mines, Dome Rock, Eagle Brook Park, Elk Creek, Emperor Rancho, Emperor Springs, Enterprise, Ford Lake, Forks Creek, Forks of Clear Creek, Gallagher Camp, Gilman, Glen Plym Rancho, Grotto, Guy Creek, Hildebrande, Hines Rancho, Huntsman, Hutchinson, Jefferson, Jefferson Park, Johnson's Crossing, Jones Siding, Last Resort, Leahow Island, Lee Siding, Little Station, Littleton, Memphis Camp, Morrison, Mount Carbon,

called it Carbonate county, with the county seat at Leadville, while the southern portion retained its former name. At the same session, however, the name of Lake was restored to the silver region, and that of Chaffee given to the remainder.[10]

Olio, Oxeville, Park Siding, Pine Grove, Platte Cañon, Platte River, Ralston, Ralston Creek, Shingle Mill, Smith Hill, South Platte, Spruce Park, Steven's Gulch, Stewart's Rancho, Thompson's Mill, Troutdale, Turkey Creek, Turtle Pond, Ute Trail, Vermillion, Webber's Saw-mill, Welters Wood Camp, Willowville, Wilson's Saw-mills.

Andrew H. Spickerman, born in New York in 1820, came to Colorado in 1859, and settled on Turkey Creek in 1862, where he has continued to reside. Reuben C. Wells, born in Ill. in 1833, came to Colorado in 1859 from Moline, of which his father was one of the founders. He returned the same year to Ill., but finally settled at Golden in 1869, where he is engaged in making paper. David G. Dargin, born in Me in 1835, came to Colorado in 1859, settling at Golden City, and opening the second store, Loveland having opened the first. He afterward spent some time in other parts of the union, but returned in 1879 to Golden, where he improved his town property, and opened the Monster lode in Clear Creek co., where he secured several mines.

[10] These changes were made in Feb. 1879. It is a small county, and noted only for its mines, of which I have already given an account. Its history is summed up in the brief statement that it produced in gold, silver, and lead between 1860 and 1884, $79,934,647.69. Of this amount about $13,000,000 was in gold, and $55,000,000 in silver. Lake county is the largest lead producing district in the U. S. A variety of the less common minerals and metals is found in these mines, among which are zinc, antimony, bismuth, tin, copper, and arsenic. The official reports for four years give $15,025,153 for 1880, $12,738,902 for 1881, $16,531,853 for 1882, and $15,691,200 for 1883, with better prospects for 1884. There are 13 smelters at Leadville, and 231 steam-engines employed in the mines, with an aggregate horse-power of 5,454. Other business is proportionately active. The population of Leadville is 20,000. Adelaide and Malta have together 1,000 inhabitants, besides which there are the villages of Twin Lakes, Eilers, Alexander, Alicante, Soda Springs, and a number of small settlements. They are Bird's Eye, Buckskin, Clark Rancho, Crane Park, Crystal Lake, Danaville, Dayton, Evansville, Fifteen-mile House, Hayden, Henry, Howland, Keeldar, Oro, Ryan's, Union Station. Soda Springs, five miles from Leadville, is a popular health resort; and Twin lakes, on which a steamboat was placed in 1880, a famous pleasure resort.

Among the pioneers of Lake county are the following: George L. Henderson, born in northern Ohio in 1836, came to Colorado in 1859, and resided at Central City and California Gulch. He was the first postmaster of Leadville, and claims to have suggested its name. His business is general merchandising.

Emmet Nuckolls, born in Va in 1842, migrated to Nebraska City while a boy, and thence to Colorado in 1859, engaging in cattle-trading. He removed to Leadville on the discovery of silver, where he engaged in selling stock, wagons, hay, and grain. He was a member of the board of aldermen.

Rufus Shute, born in N. Y. in 1837, removed to Wis. at an early age, and thence to Colorado in 1859. He mined for a year, and returned east, and did not again visit this state until 1877, when he located at Leadville in the lumber trade. In 1879 he sold out and went into stock-raising. He served as alderman one year.

N. C. Hickman, born in Mo. in 1844, was the son of a physician, and left Davenport, Iowa, with his father in 1859 for Colorado. In the following year his father died at Central City, and young Hickman returned to Iowa

La Plata county is the south-west division of the state, organized in 1874, but its development has not

college to complete his education, after which he came once more to this state and located at Central as merchant and miner. In 1867 he sold out and spent several years in Kan. and N. M., but returned in 1879 to settle at Leadville, where he became a merchant and miner again on a larger scale than before. He was elected alderman in 1880, serving for two years.

Irving J. Pollock, born in Sterling, Scotland, in 1829, removed to America at the age of three years. He received a university education, and travelled extensively. In 1858 he came to Colorado, mined in Russell gulch, and afterward in California gulch. He was elected vice-president of the territorial medical society in 1873, and was chosen a delegate to the U. S. medical convention at St Louis in 1874.

Nelson Hallock, born near Albany, N. Y., in 1840, came to Colorado in 1859. He engaged in mining both here and in Montana, In 1865 he left mining for lumbering, and ran a saw-mill for 12 years in Jefferson and Park counties, and finally erected a mill in Lake co. on the site of Leadville. When that town came into existence he went into the livery business and teaming. In 1877 he sent out some prospectors, who discovered the Carbonate mine, which he sold in 1879 for $175,000. He then purchased an interest in the Colorado coal and iron works, of which he became president. He is a director and vice-president of the First National bank of Leadville.

John Riling, born in Canton, Ohio, in 1836, migrated to Pike's peak in 1859, mining at several points. He discovered and located the placers of Lost cañon, and followed the rush to California gulch. He returned east in 1861, remaining at Leavenworth until 1878, when he yielded to the desire to revisit the scenes of his mining adventures and removed to Leadville, where he makes wagons and does a general blacksmithing business.

George W. Huston, born in Pa in 1839, learned book-keeping, and was employed in Iowa and Kansas at his profession. In 1859 he came to Colorado, mining in Gilpin co. during summer, but returning to Leavenworth to winter. In 1860 he came again, and this time went to California gulch, where he was elected sheriff. Afterward he served in the civil war, and was register of deeds at Leavenworth, but returned to Leadville in 1878, where he engaged in real estate transactions.

Robert Berry was born in Ohio in 1830. In 1859 he came to Colorado and ereeted the second saw-mill in the territory on Plum creek for D. C. Oakes & Co. the same year. From this he went to mining at Gold Dirt diggings, Russell gulch, California gulch, and Frying Pan or Colorado gulch. In the latter locality Berry and his partner, Walters, obtained a patent for 140 acres of placer ground, which they worked for many years. Berry was U. S. marshal and int. rev. collector in the early territorial times; member of the legislative council in 1864 and 1865, being elected sec. in the latter year; was county clerk and recorder in 1862; and was appointed county judge to fill a vacancy.

Charles F. Wilson was born in Ky in 1830, and was engaged in a grocery business when attracted to Pike's peak in 1859. After working by the day in Russell gulch for a time, he set out prospecting, and was one of the discoverers of California gulch. He settled eventually in the cattle-raising business, 20 miles from Cañon City.

Charles L. Hall, born in N. Y. in 1836, and brought up in Iowa, left Iowa college in 1859, and after a short experience of milling grain, came to Colorado and started a stock-farm, but gave it up and began prospecting for mines in California gulch. He was one of Baker's party, which explored the San Juan country in the winter of 1860-1, and in attempting to return by a shorter route was lost 14 days without food. He was finally rescued when unable to walk. In 1862 he was operating salt-works 20 miles from Fair Play, and raising stock in South park. In 1865 and 1866 he was a mem-

been rapid. In the south-west corner of the county are found many of the cliff dwellings, whose history

ber of the lower house of the legislature. For three years he was county commissioner of Park co. He removed to Leadville in 1878, where he organized a gas company and engaged in mining operations. He also owned considerable railroad stock.

Men of the later period, or the renaissance, of California gulch whom I may mention are: F. A. Wheeler, born in Weld co., Colorado, August 21, 1863, educated at the common schools of his native state, and appointed deputy clerk of the 5th judicial district court at the age of 19 years, which position he long occupied.

William R. Kennedy, born in Pa in 1844, migrated to Colorado in 1865. He located at Central City, where he practised his profession of law, and was elected probate judge in 1868, serving two terms. Subsequently he spent some time at Georgetown and in the San Juan country. He was twice elected prosecuting attorney of Hinsdale co., and chosen a delegate to the constitutional convention in 1875. He came to Leadville in 1878, being elected city attorney within a month of his arrival. He secured an interest in the Home-Stake and other valuable mines.

Peter Becker, born in Germany in 1848, immigrated to America in 1853 with his parents, who settled in Iowa. Remaining there until 1870, he then came to Colorado, and when the town of Colorado Springs was started, began business there as a harness-maker. He was elected sheriff of El Paso county in 1875, and reëlected in 1877. When Leadville was at the height of mining excitement he removed to this place, and again was elected sheriff in 1881, and reëlected in 1883. He interested himself in mining, and secured a large rancho in Lake co.

R. H. Stanley, born in Mo. in 1843, entered the union army as a private, serving through the war, a part of the time as lieut-col of the 19th Ill. infantry. He migrated to Colorado in 1870, remaining 6 years in Denver. In 1876 he visited the San Juan mines, coming to Leadville in 1877. In 1879 he was elected county treasurer, and was the republican candidate for mayor in 1884, but was beaten. He was interested in mines, and secured a section of land near Leadville for a home.

John Harvey, born in Scotland in 1844, came to Colorado in 1870, residing in Denver until 1879, when he removed to Leadville.

A. T. Gunnell, born in Mo. in 1848, and educated at Bethany college, Va, admitted to practise law in 1872; being apparently far gone in a decline, came to Colorado in 1873, where in a few months he recovered his health, and where he determined to remain. He was elected to the legislature from Hinsdale co. in 1878. In the following year he removed to Leadville, and was elected county judge in 1880, and again in 1883.

John Law, born in Iowa in 1844, studied medicine at the Chicago medical college, graduating in 1868. He came to Colorado and settled in Park co. in 1873, and was elected judge of the county court in 1876. In 1878 he removed to Leadville, where he was elected coroner the following year. He held the office two years, during which time there were over 300 inquests upon persons who had died from other than natural causes. He was elected city physician in 1879, and county physician in 1881. He never heard of a case of consumption originating in the altitude of Leadville, but knew of many wonderful cures.

David May, born in Germany in 1848, immigrated to the U. S. in 1863, and graduated from the commercial college of Cincinnati in 1865. He afterward resided in Ind., where he was in business, removing to Colorado on account of health, and settling at Leadville, where he resumed business as a clothing merchant. He was appointed county treasurer in 1884.

Joseph H. Playter, born in Canada in 1854, removed to Kansas in 1873, and to Colorado in 1878, living at Leadville, where he engaged in mining.

must be relegated to the indeterminate and unrecorded past.[11]

Larimer county was organized in 1861, with the county seat temporarily at Laporte, and belongs to

In 1883 he was appointed clerk of the district court, and also elected a member of the city council. In 1885 he was the democratic nominee for mayor, but was defeated by the republican candidate, Irwin.

Jeremiah Irwin, born in Pa in 1834, and brought up in Ohio, was educated in Cincinnati. He came to Leadville in 1879, and commenced making brick, being contractor for most of the brick buildings in the city, finding it a profitable business. He was elected mayor in 1885.

J. H. Monheimer, born in Germany in 1844, came to the U. S. in infancy, and resided in New York city, where he was in the dry-goods business. He removed to Leadville in 1880, purchased a prominent corner lot, erected a handsome brick store, and commenced business as a retail merchant. In 1882 he erected Union block, the finest in the city.

B. S. Galloway, born in Ontario, C. W., in 1854, entered the medical college at Ann Arbor, Mich., and on graduating, in 1880, came at once to Leadville to practise his profession.

Charles F. Lee, born in Iowa in 1855, removed from Des Moines to Chicago in 1875, and travelled for a mercantile house until 1880, when he came to Colorado, stopping first at Kokomo, where he was postmaster, but soon settling in Leadville, where he engaged in mining operations and fire insurance.

Charles H. Wenzell, born in Louisville, Ky, in 1855, came to Colorado in 1877, and commenced the practice of the law at Georgetown, having been admitted to the bar a few months previous at Pittsburgh, Pa. On the discovery of silver carbonates, he removed to Leadville, where he formed a partnership with R. S. Morrison, and was employed by the Leadville Improvement company in their contest with squatters from 1878 to 1882. In 1884 he was elected city attorney.

[11] See *Tenny, Colorado and Homes in the New West*,49–61; *Hayden, Great West*, 6, 8, 129–34; *Denver Tribune*, Dec. 16, 1879; *Tice, Over the Plains*, 211–12; *Crofutt, Grip-sack Guide*, 165–9; *Stone's General View*, MS., 24–7; *Meagher's Observations*, MS., 3. Although rich in agricultural and mineral resources, the county had in 1880 not more than 1,110 inhabitants. In 1883 the population had increased to 6,000; 234,000 acres of land were under improvement; there were 60,000 cattle and 20,000 sheep on its pastures; its coal mines produced 12,000 tons of semi-anthracite, and the bullion output was $128,688. The assessed valuation of the county, not including mining property or crops, was $2,243,481. The county seat was at Parrott, a small town situated on the Rio de la Plata, where it leaves the mountains. It is a mining-town, named after a banker of San Francisco, and with a promising future, the ores by which it is surrounded carrying tellurium and free gold. But about 1880 Durango was laid off and became the county seat. It is situated in the midst of a region of natural wealth in mines, timber, coal, agriculture, and stock-farming. The San Juan and New York Smelting company erected the first smelter at Duraago in 1880, and a company with A. C. Hunt at its head erected a hotel costing $100,000, on the most approved plan. No pioneer cabins for corporations. The population in 1883 was less than while the terminus of the railroad was here, amounting only to 3,500; but it is still a thriving business centre. The towns and settlements of La Plata county are Animas City, Animas Park, Arboles, Bocea, Carboneria, Colina, Dolores, Elbert, Florida, Fort Lewis, Hermosa, Ignacio, La Boca, Mancos, Merritts, Nic Cora, Pegasus Spring, Pine River, P. P. Divide, Rockwood, Serape, Solidad, Southern Ute, Vallejo.

the agricultural divisions, although it has mines of copper, silver, and gold in its mountainous parts. Its facilities for irrigation from the Cache-la-Poudre and Big Thompson rivers are gradually extending the cultivable area.[12]

[12] The principal productions are hay, wheat, oats, barley, rye, corn, roots, melons, and vegetables, which grow to great perfection, and with cattle and sheep form the wealth of the county, which in 1878 was assessed at $1,502,-330, but which increased after the irrigation canals were completed to $3,012, 040, in 1883. The population in 1880 was 5,000; in 1883, 7,500. Fort Collins, the county seat, is situated on Cache-la-Poudre river, thirty miles above its junction. It has some small manufactures, several churches, good schools, two local newspapers, and about 1,300 inhabitants. The buildings of the State Agricultural society and college are located here. There are no important towns besides, the population being widely scattered on farms.

Abner Loomis, born in N. Y. in 1829, and brought up in Iowa, crossed the plains in 1850, and remained in the mines of Cal. until 1859, when, after a brief visit to Iowa, he came to Colorado, and mined for a season, but soon engaged in freighting. In 1864 he began stock-raising with 100 head of cattle, but sold out every autumn for several seasons, fearing to trust his herd to the winter climate. Having ventured to do so for one winter, and finding that the loss was insignificant, the rapid increase of his herd followed upon keeping them on the range throughout the year, until, with two partners, he became owner of 6,000 head.

James B. Arthur, born in Ireland, in 1833, migrated to the U. S. in 1848, and to Colorado in 1860, settling near Fort Collins, and making hay for freighters, the money from which he put into cattle. He believed in the fertility of the lands about him, which was obtained from the government for $1.25 an acre, and in a short time became worth from $40 to $60 per acre.

William B. Osborn, born in Yates co., N. Y., in 1824, at the age of 21 years removed to Ohio, where he taught school, removing in 1852 to Ind. and teaching at South Bend until 1860, when he came to Colorado. He was recorder of Gold Dirt mining district for the first year, after which he settled on a farm in Larimer co. near Loveland. He was elected county judge in 1864, county treasurer in 1866, and again in 1868, after which he declined office. He, with H. M. Teller, signed a call for the first republican meeting ever held in Gilpin co., and organized the first ever held in Larimer. His wife was the second white woman resident in the co.; the first died in 1885.

John J. Ryan, born in Ireland in 1837, migrated with his parents to the U. S. in 1841, and residing in St Louis. He came to Colorado in 1860, and after mining a short time, took a land claim near Loveland, engaging in farming and stock-raising, borrowing money to make the first purchase. In 1882 with Mr Herzinger, he built the wheat elevator at Loveland. He also established the Bank of Loveland the same year. He has owned 5,000 cattle at one time, and now raises choice breeds.

John L. Herzinger, born in Germany in 1834, migrated with his parents in 1838, and was brought up in Mo. Coming to Colorado in 1871, he engaged in merchandising at Boulder, where he remained 7 years, when he removed to Loveland, where he erected the first house in 1878.

Arthur H. Patterson, born in Pa in 1884, came to Colorado from Kansas in 1868 in company with William F. Cody, or Buffalo Bill, driving an ox-team. He had no regular occupation for several years, but in 1866 started a saw-mill at Fort Collins for government contractors, remaining in their service until 1869, when he purchased their supply-store and began business for himself. He sold out on being elected county clerk in 1870, in which office

Las Animas county was organized in 1866, and comprises a large extent of country in the south and south-eastern part of the territory. It is an agricultural and coal-producing district, and excellent in both.[13]

he remained three years, resigning on account of ill health, and returning to the out-door life of freighting until 1876. He then opened an agricultural-implement and feed store. He has been for several terms a member of the city council.

Jay H. Boughton, a prominent man, was educated for the bar, began practice in 1870 at Cortland, but removed to Colorado and settled at Fort Collins in 1872. He was elected county attorney in 1874, and county judge in 1876, 1878, and 1880; president of the school board in 1879, 1882, and 1885; and for several years was member of the city council.

Andrew Armstrong, born in Ireland in 1825, immigrated to the U. S. in 1839, residing in New York city until 1873, when he came to Colorado on account of failing health. He settled at Fort Collins, which at that time had 200 inhabitants, bought real estate, and realized satisfactory returns.

Charles P. Miller, born in Mich. in 1855, graduated from the medical department of the state university as a homeopathic physician in 1877, and removed to Colorado the following year, there to practise his profession. The towns and settlements are as follows: Ada Spring, Berthoud, Box Elder, Branch Cañon, Buckhorn, Burns Station, Chambers, Colorado Junction, Cow Creek, Crescent, Elkhorn, Elkhorn Rancho, Estes Park, Fall River, Farrar House, Ferguson Rancho, Fossil Creek, Home, Horse-shoe Lake, Hupp's Rancho, Lamb's House, Laporte, Lily Lake, Little Thompson, Livermore, Lone Pine, Loveland, McGregor Hotel, McLaughlin Rancho, Michigan, Moraine, Mugen Gulch, Namaqua, North Fork, Otis, Pinkhamton, Pinewood, Pollock's, Raw House, Round Butte, Rustic, Sprague's House, Spring Cañon, Spring Gulch, St Louis, Taylor, Timber Creek, Tyner, Virginia Dale, Walden, Wheatland, Whyte Rancho, Willow Park, and Winonac.

[13] The wheat yield exceeds 150,000 bushels annually, corn 110,000, and oats 200,000 bushels. It has 60,000 head of cattle, 142,762 sheep, 6,210 horses and mules, the value of which exceeds one million dollars. The county was assessed in 1883 on $3,654,987, without its mines, mining land, and crops. Its coal-field is 50 miles square, and the coal of the best quality for heating or cooking purposes. As much of the coal found in other parts of the state does not coke, this is in demand, and the coke-ovens of El Moro and Trinidad furnish large quantities to the smelters of Pueblo, Denver, and Leadville. The production of the mines in 1883 was 370,680 tons, worth about $833,000. There were produced 136,000 tons of coke, and 20,000 tons of iron ore, which is worked by the Colorado Coal and Iron company at Pueblo. Limestone, hydraulic lime, building stone, cement, grind-stones, and silica are among the mineral deposits of the county. The population is 10,000. Trinidad, with 3,500 inhabitants, is the county seat. Its altitude is 6,005 feet. It is an old Mexican town, but much modernized. The business houses are of stone and brick; it has schools, churches, secret orders, hotels, banks, and newspapers like any American city. El Moro, five miles from Trinidad, has a few hundred inhabitants. Barela and Starkville have each 400, and Apishapa 200.

Casimero Barela, a member of the mercantile house of Barela and Wilcox at El Moro, and of the house of C. Barela & Co. at Trinidad, is a man of note in Las Animas county. Born at El Embuda, Rio Arriba co., N. M., in 1847, he received his education from Bishop Salpointe of Mora, and at the age of 20 years came to Colorado in search of something to do, having already married Josefa Ortiz. He began life as a freighter. In 1870 he was elected assessor of Las Animas county; in 1872 and 1874 he represented the county

Mesa county was organized in 1883, from the western portion of Gunnison, bordering on Utah. It is for the most part an agricultural and grazing country, with large beds of coal. As a fruit-growing region it is likely to surpass the counties east of the Rocky mountains, and has already extensive nurseries. Grand valley, supplied with water from the Grand river, in irrigating ditches, is an extraordinarily rich region, 70,000 acres of which were made cultivable by irrigation in 1882–83. The climate is delightful, the altitude being 4,500 feet. Large herds of cattle and sheep are pastured in the county, which had a population of about 3,000 when organized.[14]

Montrose county, organized at the same time, out of the south-west corner of Gunnison, is drained by the Rio Dolores, San Miguel, and other affluents of the Grand and Gunnison rivers. Its eastern portion contains extensive beds of coal, and probably other minerals and metals. The Uncompahgre valley is a fine agricultural district, bordered by the lofty mesas which are a distinctive feature of western Colorado. The valuation of property in this county in 1883 was estimated at $575,448, and its population at about 2,800. Montrose, the county seat, had then 300 inhabitants, Cimarron 100, Brown 100; and there

in the territorial legislature, being also elected sheriff in the latter year. In 1875 he was chosen a member of the constitutional convention, and in the following year was elected to the first state senate, drawing the long term. Being a democrat in politics, he was chosen delegate at large to the democratic national convention at Cincinnati in 1880, and again elected to the state senate. In 1881 he was elected treasurer of Las Animas county. He became a member of one of the largest stock companies in the state, with the largest herds and the best breeds. The minor settlements are Alfalfa, Apishpa Station, Barnes, Bent Cañon, Carriso, Chilelila, Cordova, Davis, Dodsonville, Earle, Eagle, Gonzales, Grinnell, Hoehne's, Hog Back, Hole in Prairie, Hole in Rock, Las Tijeras, Linwood, Lucero, Morley, North Siding, Pedros Coloradus, Placita, Purgatoire, Pulaski, Raton, Red Rock, San Francisco, San Isidro, San José, San Pedro, Spring Valley, Stockville, Stonewall, Strange, Tejara, Terrichero, Thatcher, Toll Gate, Tyrone, and Vigil.

[14] The county seat is at Grand Junction, which has had a rapid growth, and is destined to be an important railroad centre. In 1883 it had 2,000 inhabitants, two weekly newspapers, five churches, three schools, and other features of advanced society. The use of brick in building gives an air of permanency to the improvements. The assessable property of the county in 1883 was $965,144. Fruita had between 300 and 400 inhabitants, Mesa 150, Arlington 100. Whitewater, Kahuah, and Bridgeport were railroad stations.

were a few other incipient towns, but the population is chiefly bucolic.

Ouray county, organized in 1877, at which time it comprised a large extent of territory, has been cut down, and had its boundaries changed, until it now occupies a small portion of the eastern part of its former domain. In 1881 Dolores was set off. In 1882 Uncompahgre was taken, partly from the eastern side of Ouray, and partly from Gunnison.[15]

Park county, organized in 1861, covers nearly 1,000 square miles in the geographical and metal-producing centre of the state. South park, which it includes, has an elevation of 8,842 feet, and the average altitude of the whole county, which embraces a number of high peaks, is 10,000 feet. It contains ten or more mining districts, each differing from the other, some containing fissure veins, some contact lodes, others blanket or bedded deposits. The mineral belt is twenty-five miles long by five in width. Placer mining has not failed in this county, where the hydraulic process has yet to be applied to placer ground. Besides gold and silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and salt are produced.[16]

[15] In 1883 Uncompahgre county was changed to Ouray, and Ouray to San Miguel. Ouray is altogether a mining county. The population in 1883 was 2,800, and assessable valuation $482,993; but in 1884 the local newspapers predicted a bullion output of $5,000,000. Red Mountain district produced $1,000,000 in 1883, about one third of which was gold, and the greater portion of which was from one mine, the Yankee girl. The districts of Poughkeepsie Gulch, Mount Sneffles, Uncompahgre, and Imogene Basin were also largely productive. Coal mining had only begun about this time. Ouray was the county seat, with 500 inhabitants. It is named after the Ute chief, for whose friendship the white people were grateful, at a time when his word might have precipitated war. Its situation, at the western end of the Uncompahgre cañon, is on the Pacific slope of the continent, at an elevation of 7,640 feet, in a round park, with rocky heights all about it of exceeding grandeur and startling wildness. Three miles below Ouray the valley is cultivable. In all respects this mountain-walled town is like the cities of the plains, with stores, churches, schools, newspapers, quartz-mills, smelters, sampling-works, and concentrators. It is reached by a branch from the Denver and Rio Grande from Montrose. There are hot sulphur springs a few miles from Ouray. About one mile south is the famous mineral farm, which has already been mentioned, discovered in 1875. Red Mountain City had about the same population in 1883 that Ouray had; Ophir 200, Ironton 150, Portland 100, Mount Sneffles 100; Aurora, Hoffman, Windham, and half a dozen hamlets, less.

[16] Salt was made from saline springs in Park county, which contain from

Pitkin county, named after Governor Pitkin, was organized in 1881, being set off from Gunnison, with a fair division of the indebtedness of the elder county. It embraces the mining region about the headwaters of Roaring fork of Grand river, which produced between 1879 and 1884, $550,000 in gold and silver.[17]

Pueblo county was organized in 1861, and much of its history appeared in previous chapters. Its first commissioners were O. H. P. Baxter, R. L. Wooten, and William Chapman. At the first county election Chapman was chosen probate judge, and John B. Rice sheriff.[18] The first term of court in the county

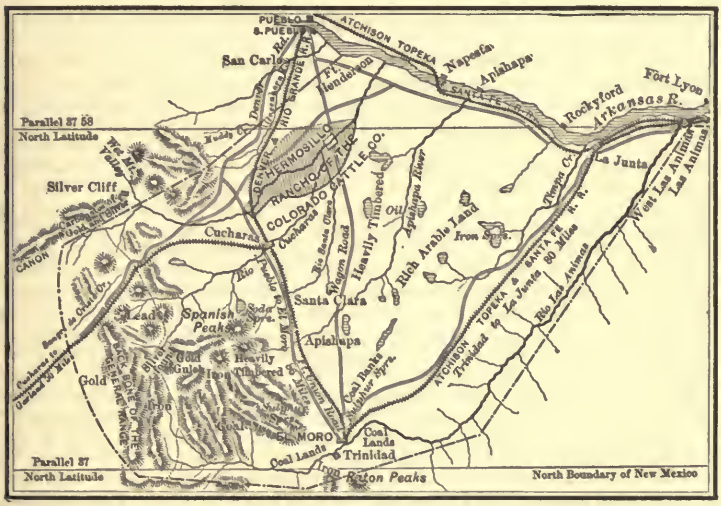
6 to 14 per cent salt. They were first located and improved by Charles L. Hall, who manufactured salt in 1861–3. A company was formed in 1864, J. Q. A. Rollins at the head, and Hall superintendent. Works costing $25,000 were erected, and the manufacture carried on until the completion of railroads, which transported salt more cheaply than it could be made in Colorado, caused the works to be closed. This information is taken from N. T. Bond's *Early Hist. Colorado, Montana, and Idaho*, MS., 21–2. As a history of Park co. it is very complete. The Hartsel mineral springs, named after their discoverer and locator, are noted for their healing qualities. From 40,000 to 50,000 cattle, 5,000 horses, and 10,000 sheep are grazed in South park. The bullion output of 1883 was $400,000, many of the mines being idle. The county was assessed, not including mining property, at $1,911,166. The population was 5,000. Fair Play, the county seat, has 800 inhabitants, Alma 900, Como 550.

Abraham Bergh, born in Milwaukee, Wis., in 1835, came to Colorado in 1859, locating himself in South park. He erected the first house in Fair Play, where he has been a hotel-keeper and merchant, as well as miner and owner in valuable mining property. He was elected to the general assembly in 1882, and again in 1884. The towns and settlements of Park county not named above are Alma, Arthur, Astroville, Bailey, Bentley's, Bordenville, Buffalo Springs, Como, Dudley, East Leadville, Estabrook, Fairville, Garo, Grant, Guirds, Guyrand's Park, Hamilton, Hall Valley, Hartsel, Holland, Horse Shoe, Hubbard, Jefferson, Jones Saw-mill, Kenosha, Lone Rock Rancho, Mountaindale, Mullenville, Park, Park Place, Platte Crossing, Platte River, Platte Station, Rocky, Sacramento, Salt Works, Spring Rancho, Slaght, Sulphur Springs, Summit, Tie Siding, Webster, Webber's Saw-mill, and Weston.

[17] The valley of Roaring fork is also a good grazing country. Absence of the means of transportation has retarded the development of the mines, one of which, the Smuggler, is widely known. The population in 1883 was estimated at 2,500, and the assessed valuation of the county $319,107. Aspen, the county seat, is situated at the confluence of Castle, Hunter, and Maroon creeks with Roaring fork. It had a population of 750 in 1883, and was a thriving business centre for the county. Ashcroft, above it on the river, had about 500 inhabitants, and Independence 250, Sparkhill 100; besides which there were Highland, Massive City, and Sidney.

[18] Stow, in his *General View of Colorado*, MS., says that one of the original town company, J. F. Smith, was the first police magistrate, and that Ned Cozzens, a cousin of Fred S. Cozzens, author of the *Sparrowgrass Papers*, was another. William H. Young and William H. Green were also of the company. Duell and Boyd were the surveyors.

was held by A. A. Bradford, in a house belonging to A. G. Boone, on the lower end of Santa Fé avenue, Pueblo. An adobe building was subsequently erected on the same avenue near Third street for a court-house. No jail was erected until 1868, when a stone building was rented to the county by R. N. Daniels for that purpose, which served until the commissioners soon after erected a brick jail on Court-house square, which was in use until 1880, when the present prison was completed.[19]



LAS ANIMAS GRANT.

[19] Pueblo county has no mines except of coal, and is therefore classed with the agricultural counties. Its inhabitants in its earlier years lived by growing provisions, which they sold to the miners outfitting for the mountains. At present stock-raising is followed equally with farming. The beautiful Hermosillo rancho of the Colorado Cattle company, covering 91,000 acres, lies in this county, twenty miles south of Pueblo City. It belongs to an organization of eastern capitalists, and grazes an immense number of cattle. This rancho is a part of the Las Animas grant. It was obtained by Ceran St Vrain and Cornelio Vigil, of the governor of New Mexico in 1844, and comprised all the country north of the Beaubien grant in N. M. as far as the Arkansas river, and between the Las Animas and the St Charles tributaries. The U. S. government reduced the grant subsequently to 11 leagues. A part of it was called the Nolan grant, and was sold to the company which laid out south Pueblo. There is still some question as to the rights of heirs of the original grantees. The amount of wheat raised in Pueblo county in 1883 was 10,696 bushels, which placed it in the fifth rank of wheat-producing

Rio Grande county was established in 1874. It is situated on the west side of San Luis park, and is

counties, Boulder, San Miguel, Larimer, and Jefferson, in the order here given, being the leading wheat-growing districts. In corn-growing Pueblo ranked third, Weld and Boulder taking the lead. Pueblo had 213,781 acres of pasture-land, being only a little less than El Paso, Weld, and Elbert; but it had 92,422 acres under irrigation, which was more than other county, and irrigation is likely at any time to change pasture into farming lands. The county contained 50,000 cattle, 75,000 sheep, and 5,600 other domestic animals. The population has increased from 7,617 in 1880 to 20,000 in 1883, and the total assessable valuation was $7,286,422. Like almost every county in the state, it has hot mineral springs.

The town of Pueblo, the county seat since 1861, had a population in 1880 of 3,317, and south Pueblo, on the opposite side of the Arkansas river, 1,443, or 4,760 altogether. Together they had, three years later, four times that amouut of population, and were practically one city, although still keeping up separate municipal governments. Old Pueblo is handsomely laid out, with an abundance of water and shade-trees, churches, schools, newspapers, banks, a board of trade, places of public amusement, founderies, mills, smelting-works, water-works, gas-works, and street railroads. The county buildings are among the best in the state. The state asylum for the insane is located here. I have a dictation from P. R. Thombs, who is superintendent of the insane asylum. He was in Colorado before the settlement, and acquainted with the famous traders and guides, Bridger, Carson, and others. He is a man of fine physique, medium size, fearless and genial. He gave me some bits of early history in his *Mexican Colorado*, MS., which I have incorporated in my work. The legislature of 1879-80 authorized the establishment of the asylum, making the necessary appropriation for their support by a tax of one fifth of a mill upon all taxable property. Previous to this date each county had taken charge of its own lunatics, for which they were reimbursed by the state. Pueblo obtained the location by donating the land required—40 acres. The board of commissioners appointed, James Macdonald, Theodore F. Brown, and J. B. Romero, purchased the residence of George M. Chilcott, near Pueblo, which served for a beginning, but the next legislature appropriated $60,000 for the erection of a new building, which not being sufficient, $80,000 was appropriated in 1883 to enlarge and furnish the asylum. A part of old Pueblo was entered under the act of congress of March 2, 1867, by Mark G. Bradford, probate judge of Pueblo co., in trust for the occupants. On Jan. 19, 1869, the present title to that portion was derived from the United States through him. Another portion was entered by the county at the same time. The town was incorporated March 22, 1870. The trustees appointed were: George A. Hinsdale, M. G. Bradford, James Rice, H. C. Thatcher, and H. H. Cooper. The first town election was held in April. It was merged in a city organization in March 1873. The first city election was held April 7th of that year, when James Rice was elected mayor, and G. P. Hayslip, O. H. P. Baxter, H. M. Morse, and Weldon Keeling aldermen. In 1871 the county voted $100,000 in bonds to aid the D. & R. G. R. R., rather than have it go south via Cañon City, which was threatened. In this same year the U. S. land-office was opened at Pueblo, with Wheeler as register, and M. G. Bradford receiver. The Pueblo *People* was also first issued this year in Sept., with Hinsdale editor, the office being the n. e. corner of Fourth and Summit streets. Its material was sold in 1874 to the proprietors of the *Chieftain*, its successor. The county court-house was completed in 1872, and was paid for from the sale of lots in a quarter-section of land preëmpted by the county authorities, and filed as an addition to the city, costing the taxpayers nothing. The successors to Mayor Rice were John R. Lowther, M. D. Thatcher, W. H. Hyde, and George Q. Richmond. In 1874 the present Holly system of water-works was completed, at a cost to the city of $130,-

watered by the Rio Grande river. The western portion of the county lies in the San Juan mountains, in

000, the contract being let to the National Building company of St Louis. Soon after a fire department was organized, consisting of two hose companies and a hook and ladder, W. R. Macomb chief. In 1875 the Pueblo and Arkansas valley railroad, connecting with the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé, was completed to Pueblo, giving it a road to the east. The county subscribed $350,000 to this road, and its opening was the occasion of a monster excursion from all parts of Colorado, and from Kansas, the rejoicings lasting for two days. The first handsome public school building was erected in 1876, the district voting $14,000 in bonds. The trustee, after realizing the money, left the country, and the county was $14,000 poorer. Mather & Geist erected large smelting-works in 1878, which treat ores from all parts of the state, and employ about 500 men. The methodist church south began in 1884 to organize a college at Pueblo, which is meeting fair encouragement.

South Pueblo is a manufacturing town, the seat of the Colorado Coal and Iron company's works, one of the most extensive of the kind in the United States, where iron and steel manufactures are carried on. The works cover 40 acres of area, and the other buildings of the company 400 acres more. The town was founded by the Central Colorado Improvement company, whose officers were the officers of the D. & R. G. Co., and which was subsequently merged in the Colorado Coal and Iron company. According to M. Sheldon of south Pueblo the D. & R. G. Co. agreed to build a station on the north side of the river should the county vote the required amount in bonds to help construct the road. Having an opportunity, in 1872, to purchase 48,000 acres of the Nolan grant, they took the name of Central Colorado Improvement company, founded a town on the south side, and removed the terminus of the railroad to that site. Sheldon was born in Trumbull co., Ohio, in 1844. He came to Colorado in 1872 for his health. *South Pueblo*, MS. There are 1,000 acres laid out in town lots, with wide streets, bordered with trees, which are irrigated by tiny canals. The town has a mayor, board of aldermen, newspapers, and post-office of its own. The only thing shared in common between the towns is gas, the new town illuminating from the gasworks of north Pueblo. Taking them together as one, Pueblo is the natural centre of commerce and railroads for south-eastern Colorado, the depot of merchandise, and convenient seat of manufactures for an immense region. These advantages, with the resources already named, are sufficient to maintain a large city. There are no other considerable towns in the county. *Stone's Land Grants in Colo*, 4–6; *Gray's Colo*, 47–51; *Inter-Ocean*, Jan. 10, 1883; *Rocky Mtn News*, May 7, 1870; *The Pueblos, and Pueblo Co., Colo*, being a history of the twin cities; south Pueblo *Pueblo Collegiate Institute, Prospectus*. W. W. Strait, born in Pa in 1839, came from Min. to Colorado in 1876, and kept the Grand Central hotel in south Pueblo for a year and a half. From him I obtained a manuscript, *The Pueblos*. James Rice, born in Vt in 1830, came to Colorado in 1868, locating himself at Pueblo, engaging in the book and stationery business. From him, also, I gathered some interesting details. *Politics in Pueblo*, MS. The towns and settlements not named are Agate, Anderson's Rancho, Andersonville, Barry Rancho, Baxter, Beulah, Booneville, Cactus, Chico, Cody Rancho, Cook Rancho, Dog's Rancho, Doyle's Mill, Dry Rancho, Fosdick's Rancho, Four-mile Rancho, Goodnight, Graneros, Greenhorn, Holliday Rancho, Horn Rancho, Huerfano, Jackson, Jones' Rancho, Juniata, Langley Rancho, McClellan's Rancho, McIlhaney's Rancho, Meadows, Mace's Hole, Merrie's Rancho, Mexican Plaza, Muddy Creek, Nada, Nepesta, Old Fort Reynolds, Osage Avenue, Parnassus Springs, Peck's Rancho, Piñon, Pond, Robinett Rancho, San Carlos, Skeeter Rancho. Spring Lake Rancho, St Charles, Sulphur Springs, Swallows, Table Mountain, Taylorville, Undercliffe, Walker Rancho, Wilson's Rancho, Wood Valley.

a rich mineral region. Its resources are about equally divided between mining and agriculture. The Sum-

Peter K. Dotson, born in Va in 1823, crossed the plains from Independence, Mo., in 1851, intending to go to Cal., but stopped at Salt Lake, where he was employed a few months in running a distillery for Brigham Young. The following year he was engaged by an express and mail company as agent, which position he held for 9 years. In 1855 he was commissioned U. S. marshal for Utah, but being ordered away from the territory by Heber Kimball in 1857, he went to Washington, and came with the army of Johnson to Utah. He came to Colorado in 1860, and settled at Fountain City, (now Pueblo) and commenced the business of cattle-raising. I took a brief dictation from him called *Dotson's Doings*, MS. One of the pioneers of Pueblo county is here briefly mentioned: J. W. Lester, born in Pa in 1828; owns 240 acres of land on the Arkansas river below Florence.

Jacob A. Betts, born in Md in 1830, was a tailor by trade. He went first to Central City on coming to Colorado, but after roving from gulch to gulch for some time, stopped for three years at Greenhorn in Pueblo co., and was sheriff of the co. in 1864 and 1865. Subsequently he removed to Pueblo, where he was in the grocery trade. He settled in the adjoining county of Fremont, and became the owner of 740 acres of land, and herds of horses and cattle.

Alva Adams, born in Wis. in 1850, came to Colorado in 1871, and worked at first on the railroad at common labor. At Colorado Springs he helped to erect the first house, remaining at that place three years, when he removed to south Pueblo and engaged in hardware business for two years, selling out there and establishing a hardware store at Del Norte, Rio Grande co. In 1876 he started a branch business at Alamosa, returning in 1878 to Pueblo, leaving the branch stores in charge of others, and commencing a wholesale business in hardware at this point. He was elected a member of the first state legislature from Rio Grande co., was chosen a member of the first city council of south Pueblo, and later elected governor.

Alfred W. Geist, born in Boston in 1848, graduated from the scientific department of Yale college, and went from there to Mexico, travelling throughout the west, studying ores, smelting them, and looking for a place to locate a smelting establishment. In June 1878 he broke ground at Pueblo, starting with one furnace. The following year two more were erected. The business increased faster than his capital, compelling the formation of a stock company. The works are the largest in the world, requiring 1,000 tons per day to keep all the furnaces at work. They employ 400 men, and the company paid the railway for freight in 1884, $750,000. Ores from every part of the country are purchased, and the product goes to all points from San Francisco to New York.

Henry M. Fosdick, born in Boston in 1822, was educated a civil engineer. He came to Colorado in the spring of 1859, and assisted to lay out the streets of Denver. He was chairman of the vigilance committee in the autumn of that year. In 1861 he purchased a section of land in El Paso county, and laid off the town of Colorado City, but afterward sold the land to A. Z. Sheldon. He was with Chivington in the Sand creek fight, and justifies his course. In 1864 he went to Pueblo, and assisted in laying off that town. In 1866 he purchased 1,000 acres in Pueblo co., and became a farmer and stock-raiser.

James N. Carlile crossed the plains with an ox-team in 1859. After a few days at Denver, he went to South park, where he mined for a few years. He then engaged in freighting between Denver and St Joseph, Denver and Montana, and Denver and Utah. Then in 1868, in partnership with William Moore, he became a railway contractor, and subsequently went to farming and stock-raising, which resulted in the ownership of large ranchos in Pueblo co., stocked with horses and cattle, with a residence in south Pueblo.

mit district is one of the most important in southern Colorado for gold mining. There are several stamp-mills in the district, which have produceb for several years from $200,000 to $400,000 per annum. The mines furnish an excellent market for the farm productions of the fertile San Luis valley.[20]

Routt county in the north-west corner of the state was cut off from Grand in 1877, but made small progress until the removal of the Utes in 1882. The population the following year was 500. It is a grazing and agricultural district, with some placer mines and unworked quartz lodes. The assessed valuation in 1883 was $241,564, principally in stock cattle. Steamboat springs, and half a dozen hamlets, were

I. W. Stanton was born in Pa in 1835. At the age of 20 years he migrated to Pawnee City, Kan., and was there when the first Kansas legislature met, in 1855. The following year he removed to Iowa, remaining there until 1860, when he came to Colorado, driving a team. From Denver he went to Russell gulch, and later to California gulch, returning to Denver in the autumn, where he entered a store as clerk. In the spring of 1861 he walked to Cañon City, but finding nothing to do there returned to Denver, and was employed as clerk in the post-office. He enlisted in the 2d Colorado infantry in 1862, and was ordered to Leavenworth, serving until 1865. When mustered out he went to Washington, where he remained until he obtained the appointment of register in the land-office at Central City in 1868. In 1871 he was transferred to the land-office at Pueblo. In 1881 he was appointed postmaster at Pueblo.

[20] There were in 1883, 30,000 cattle, 40,000 sheep, and 20,000 horses and mules in the county. The population was 3,000, and the assessed valuation $1,013,417. Del Norte, the county seat, was first settled in the winter of 1871–72. The population in 1883 was 800. It is situated at a point where the mountains from the north and south approach so closely to the river as to leave only an elevated bench, a quarter of a mile in width between their rocky cliffs, on the southern margin. The view of the San Luis valley, the tree-fringed river winding below, and the snow-crowned peaks of the Sangre de Cristo range, make the situation delightfully picturesque. Del Norte has a good trade, several fine, large blocks of stores, built of stone, where wholesale and retail merchandising is carried on, good county buildings, schools, a local newspaper, and wide streets, shaded by rows of trees, irrigated after the prevailing custom of the mountain towns. In the suburbs and surrounding country there is a considerable Mexican population, which is domiciled in houses built of adobe. Timber is abundant in the mountains, and there are a number of saw-mills in the county run by water-power, of which there is an abundance.

Twenty-nine miles west of Del Norte is the romantic summer resort of Wagon-wheel gap, where there are hot sulphur springs; altitude 8,459 feet; climate healthful. The name comes from a narrow pass of several miles through a range of mountains, with vertical cliffs from 500 to 1,500 feet in height, of reddish-gray sand stone, with only room between them, as it was supposed, for the river and a wagon-road. Summitville in Summit mining district had in 1886 a population of 400. Jasper, Adams' Springs, La Loma del Norte, Lariat Piedra, and South Fork are small villages.

all the settlements at this time. Hahn's peak is the county seat.

Saguache county was organized in 1866. Its boundaries have been several times altered, its present area comprising 3,200 square miles, the principal part of which is agricultural and grazing land. Notwithstanding its favorable situation in the centre of the state, and embracing the northern portion of the San Luis valley, it is very little developed.[21]

San Juan county, organized in 1876, has been quite fully spoken of in a previous chapter. The discoveries in Lake county, which followed immediately after the San Juan country had taken its first grand start, withdrew a large portion of its population, and diverted capital to Leadville. Its original area has also been curtailed, until it is now one of the smallest counties in the state, and strictly devoted to mining, although lumbering, and every kind of milling might be profitably carried on here, timber and water power being abundant. The bullion output of 1883 was $418,954, a small yield for a county with so many good mines. The assessment valuation, which excludes mining property, was $1,045,597. The population of the county was 5,000. The town of Silverton had 1,750 inhabitants, and Animas Forks 450. Eureka, Min-

[21] This neglect was owing to its being partly covered by a Spanish grant, which was sold to Europeans who had not attempted to make it profitable. According to Wallihan's *Colorado Gazetteer*, 58, Ex-governor Gilpin sold a portion of Saguache county for $2,500,000. It is, however, settling up with farmers, who sold in 1883 $300,000 worth of agricultural products. The cattle and sheep in the county were valued at about $485,000, and other property at $911,931. From the mines in the Kerber creek district $100,000 in bullion was produced. The population of the county was estimated at 6,000. Saguache is the county seat. It has a fine location on the San Luis river. There were 900 inhabitants in 1883. Bonanza, situated in Kerber district, had a population of 500. Carnero, Claytonia, Crestone, Iron Mine, Alder, Marshalltown, Sedgwick, and Shirley were villages of 100 or 150 inhabitants. The list of settlements comprises Bismarck, Blakeville, Bonanza, Bonito, Burnt Gulch, Camp Sanderson, Cebolia River, Cedar Creek Mines, Christione, Cochetopa, Cotton Creek, Cottonwood, Elkhorn Rancho, Exchequer, Franklin, Frisco, Garibaldi, Garner Creek, Gray Siding, Hauman, Jackson, Kerber Creek, Kimbrell, Kerberville, Los Pinos Agency, Marshall Pass, Milton, Oriental, Plaza, Poll Creek Mines, Rito Alto, River Meade, Rock Cliff, Sangre de Cristo. San Isabel, Sargent, Sheep Mount, Silver Hill, Silvery City, Star Branch, Uncomphagre, Venerables, White Earth, Willow Dale.

eral Point, Howardsville, Poughkeepsie Gulch, Congress, Cunningham Gulch, Del Mine, and half a dozen other small villages were all the settlements worth mention.

San Miguel county, set off from Ouray in 1883, comprises all of the former county of Ouray, except that part drained by the Uncompahgre river and its tributaries, which is still known as Ouray. The boundaries are so loosely described in the act establishing these counties that it would be impossible to say how much of the mineral discoveries being already developed went with the county of San Miguel. But it is safe to say that its new name cannot have deprived it of its established character as a mineral region. The name of the county seat, Telluride, is indicative of the resources upon which it depends. The population, at the period of its establishment, was 2,000, and its valuation $449,856. Telluride had 400 inhabitants, and Placerville 125.

Summit county, established in 1861, extended in its earlier form to the boundary of Utah. Its former territory was divided up into Garfield, Routt, and Eagle, leaving only its eastern end, resting on the western slope of the Park range, to sustain its ancient name. In 1882 it ranked fourth among the bullion producing counties, whereas, after the excision of Eagle county, it ranked only as the eleventh.[22]

[22] It contained 73 silver mines, which produced, in 1882, $459,550, and placers which yielded $51,000; but the following year the whole yield of the mines was no more than $350,000. The assessable property of the county was valued at $1,026,352, divided among a population of 5,000. The county seat was temporarily located at Parkville, but removed to Breckenridge. The town, although among those founded in 1860, was not incorporated until 1880, at which time it had 1,628 inhabitants. Breckenridge is situated on Blue river. Like all the Colorado towns, it has churches, schools, an opera-house, theatre, banks, and newspapers. Like all mining towns it has stamp-mills and smelting-works. Robinson has a population of 500, Racine 350, Frisco 250, Montezuma 250, Kokomo, Taylor, and Chihuahua each 200, Lincoln City 125, Swan, Wheeler, and Argentine each 100. Remaining settlements in Summit co.: Adelia, Argentine, Astor, Belden, Blue River, Blue River Valley, Buffalo Flats, Carbonateville, Chihuahua, Cliff Spring, Clinton Gulch, Conger, Cooper, Crocker, Decatur, Defiance City, Delaware City, Delaware Flats, Dillon, Eagle City, Farnham, Fisk's Hotel, Fort McHenry, Genera, Golden City, Golden Gulch, Gold Run, Haywood, Hill's Camp,

Weld county, occupying the north-east corner of the state, was organized in 1861, and named in honor of Secretary Weld. It is exclusively an agricultural and grazing county, although it has for a foundation extensive beds of coal. An account of its great irrigation companies has been given, and of the Greeley colony's acequias. Of a somewhat later date, about 1871, was the South-western, sometimes called the Tennessee colony, although its members were from several western and middle states. This association purchased a large tract of land in the Platte valley, and selected a town site near Fremont's orchard, twenty-five miles below Evans, on the Denver Pacific railway, which they named Green City, after D. S. Green of Denver. A considerable portion of the colony's lands needed no irrigation, being on the Platte bottom; but 8,000 or 10,000 acres had to be brought under cultivation, which was done by means of ditching, as in the former instance. All these improvements have made the western portion of Weld a great grain field, while the sheep and cattle ranges in the eastern half are sufficiently watered for that purpose by the numerous branches of the Platte.[23]

Hugh Flat, Inferno, Intermediate, Junction City, Lake, Loveland, Lower Swan River Valley, Mill Rancho, Monument Toll-gate, Park City, Rexford, St John, Sulphur Spring, Summit City, Surles, Swan, Tariff Mine, Timothy, Warren Camp, Webster Rancho, Wheeler, White River, Williams Fork. This list embraces most of the settlements existing in Eagle, and some in Garfield, or in Summit, previous to the late change of boundary.

A late-comer to this region was H. H. Eddy, who was born in Milwaukee, Oregon, in 1855. He removed to Watertown, N. Y., in 1866, and was educated for the law, being admitted to the bar in Rochester in 1877. He then migrated to Topeka, Kan., and thence to Colorado in 1878. After a few months at Leadville, he removed to Summit co., locating at Chihuahua. He was elected to the state senate in 1880, and again in 1884. He secured mines and lands in the co., where he made his residence.

[23] The wheat crop of 1882 was 370,000 bushels, worth about as many dollars, and all the other crops, including hay and potatoes, were valued at $900,000. The population of the county was 8,000, and the assessed valuation $7,907,145. The county seat was first temporarily located at St Vrain, but was finally established at Greeley, which had, in 1883, 1,500 inhabitants. Evans, Erie, and Sterling had each 400. There are the following minor towns and settlements in Weld co.: Akron, American Rancho, Athol, Baker Coal Bank, Barrie Rancho, Beaver Creek, Beaver Station, Big Bend, Blair, Blakeville, Boulder Valley Coal Bank, Brush, Buffalo, Cap Rock, Carr, Corona, Corona Station, Cottonwood Spring, Crystal Spring, Divide, Eckley, Fleming Rancho, Fort Morgan, Fort Sedgwick, Gard Rancho, Geary, Godfrey's Bluff,

Such is the extent and variety of aspect and resources of Colorado that each division has required a separate history, which, at the best my space allows, remains too brief. To sum up the condition of the state in 1883–6, when it had only fairly entered upon a career of settled industries, we have the following: Wheat produced from 114,000 acres, 2,394,000 bushels; corn produced from 21,287 acres, 532,100 bushels; oats produced from 41,250 acres, 1,209,000 bushels; potatoes, 1,000,000 bushels, and large crops of hay, which with minor productions were not reported, the approximate value of which was about $4,000,000. The value of cattle on the ranges was $37,500,000; of sheep, $10,000,000. The output of coal was nearly $6,000,000. The iron and steel prod-

Hadfield Island, Hall, Hillsborough, Hopkins Coal Bank, Howard Spring, Hudson, Hyde, Iliff, Johnson, Julesburg, Junction House, La Salle, Latham, Lemons, Lone Tree, Manchester, Meadow Island, Mitchell's Coal Bank, Morgan, New Liberty, Old Fort St Vrain, Old Julesburg, Pawnee Creek, Pierce, Platte Valley, Platteville, Pleasant Plains, Pleasant Valley, Riverside, Sarinda, School-house, South Platte, Spring Hill, Sterling, Stewart, Summit, Valley Station, Weld, Weldon Valley, Wild Cat Creek, and Wray.

One of those who freighted across the plains before the railroad era was Jared L. Bacon. He was born in Ohio in 1837, removing to Iowa in 1857, and to Colorado in 1859. After mining two years in Russell's gulch he engaged in the transportation of goods from the Missouri river to Denver until the completion of the Union Pacific. Then he turned to stock raising in Weld co., and had, in company with J. L. Routt, 3,000 acres of land, with an extensive range, and 32,000 head of cattle. He was elected sheriff of Weld co. in 1872, and to the general assembly in 1877, and again in 1879. He was also appointed brig.-gen. of the state militia for 4 years, and was chairman of the board of county commissioners for 6 years.

Samuel Southard, born in Ohio in 1846, enlisted in the army at the age of 15 years, serving through the war. He came to Colorado in 1866, remaining unsettled for several years, but going into mercantile business at Era, in Weld co., in 1872. In 1877 he was elected county treasurer and removed to Greeley, being reëlected in 1879, and chosen county clerk in 1881. Later he became a merchant at Greeley.

Jesse Hawes, born in Me in 1843, migrated to Ill. at the age of 16 years, and enlisted in the army in 1861, serving through the war. He then commenced the study of medicine and graduated from Michigan university in 1868, after which he spent two years in the Long Island hospital, and two years in European hospitals. On returning to the U. S. he came to Colo., settling at once at Greeley. He was surgeon of a railway co., and president of the State Medical Society, as well as of the State Board of Medical Examiners.

Henry B. Jackson, born in N. Y. in 1848, came to Colorado in 1872, locating himself at Greeley, and beginning his money-getting by hewing ties for a railroad company. In 1877 he started a small store, but was burned out in 1883. The same season he built the Jackson Opera house block at a cost of $16,000.

uct was about $3,000,000, The gold, silver, lead, and copper amounted to $26,306,000, as nearly as it could be estimated, an increase of $3,000,000 since 1885, but a slight falling off from 1882. According to census returns in 1880, the capital employed in 599 different manufactories, not including smelting, reducing, and refining works, was $4,311,714. The census returns prepared for publication at each decade are really prepared the previous year, and therefore this estimate gives the amount of capital employed in manufactures in 1879, when they were in their infancy. Without any exact figures to demonstrate the fact, it is evident that in 1883 the amount of money in use in manufactures, of the nature of iron and steel works, brass founderies, machine and car shops, flour and lumber mills, wagon and carriage factories, furniture, clothing, saddle and harness, and boot and shoe factories, breweries, meat packing, brick making, cigar making, printing, and other establishments to the number of over 600, great and small, must have quadrupled the census figures of 1880; besides which there were 175 smelting, stamping and reduction works in operation. The whole product of the entire manufacturing industries of Colorado exceeded $35,000,000.

At the close of 1883 there were eighty-three banking houses in Colorado, of which two were national banks, with a capital of $1,640,000, deposits of $11,171,734, and business to the amount of $16,704,165.90; fourteen state banks and trust companies, with capital of $615,754 and $2,433,417 deposited; and forty-seven private banks, with $774,735 capital and $2,423,305 deposited. The fire insurance companies had policies out on $32,817,015; the life insurance companies on $29,374,019; and accident companies for $1,036,981. The state debt consisted only of state warrants, which there was money in the treasury to meet, and a surplus of $372,961. The constitution prohibits the bonded indebtedness of the state.

The biennial expenditures and receipts very nearly balance each other, and average $558,000. The amount raised by taxation in 1883 was $295,104.44, the assessed valuation being $110,729,756. A poll-tax of fifty cents was levied on 27,700 polls. The state tax was four mills on the dollar. The amount of internal revenue raised in 1880, with less than 200,000 inhabitants, was $168,259.

There were 370 school-houses, valued at $1,235,491, and a school-fund for distribution amounting to $45,000, but which the improvement and leasing of the school lands was rapidly improving. The state supports by a special tax the state university school of mines, agricultural college, mute and blind institute, state industrial school, insane asylum, and penitentiary. The industrial school had 129 inmates, and the state prison 341 convicts. There are a state board of health, a state historical society, a state library, and a historical and natural history society maintained by legislative appropriation. Other state societies, depending on their members for support, are maintained by the medical or other professions to which they belong. These intelligent organizations to which the legislature and the people in their homes give their attention, illustrate the prevailing character of society in Colorado. Not without blemishes or errors, the young commonwealth stands out a shining example of mental, moral, and physical progression rare to find in the first twenty-five years of a nation's political existence. The laws are liberal; public gambling is not prohibited, and drinking saloons are numerous. According to the census of 1880, the whole number of inhabitants was 194,327, with an excess of 65,196 males; 154,537 were native born, 39,790 foreign born, 2,435 were colored, 612 Chinese, 154 Indians. The population is largely drawn from New England, but is thoroughly cosmopolitan. Since the 10th census was taken Mormons have commenced colonizing in this

state, their number amounting to 1,578. The Chinese, though in the main well treated, have been driven out of some of the mining towns. The most remarkable feature of Colorado is the number and size of its corporations; and the question to be solved in the future is how far they are beneficial or detrimental to a state, particularly in the form of money preponderance and monopoly. Possibly they will be crippling to individual enterprise, and enslaving to independent will and thought; in which case the most republican of our young states will have taken a backward step in republican principles, and directors of wealthy organizations be able to dictate to the producing classes as to their bondsman.[24]

[24] For yield of metals, see *Descriptive America*, May 4, 1884; Hall, *Ann. Rept to Chamber of Commerce*, 1883, 147; *Farmer Resources of the Rocky Mts*, 17–10; *Farrell's Colorado as it is*, 1868, 15–46; *Stone's Hist.*, MS.; *The Rocky Mtn Gem, Corbett's Legis. Manual*, 1877, 316; *Hayden's Great West*, 116–27; *Rocky Mtn Herald*, Dec. 18, 1875; *Gunnison Sun*, Jan. 5, 1884; *N. M. Pointers on the Southwest*, p. 46; *S. F. Call*, Jan. 12, 1885; *Rept of State Geologist*, 1881–2, 126–49; *Colorado Condensed*, 1881–82, 39–40; *Id.*, 1883, 25–34; *Burchard's Productions of Colorado*, 1881, 132; *Rept Director of the Mint*, 1882, 14; *N. Mex. Revisita*, 1883, 279, *Elliott & Co.'s Hist. Arizona; Tucson Fronterizo*, Jan. 27, 1882, 2; *N. Mex. Mining World*, Feb. 1, 1884, 93; *The Mines and Miners*, 507, 509–10. On other subjects, see *H. Misc. Doc.*, 47th cong. 2d sess., 98, 100; *Galveston News*, Dec. 1, 1884; *H. Ex. Doc.*, 47th cong. 1st sess., vol. 15, 708–13; *Colo. Sess. Laws*, 1881, 31; *Id.*, 1883, 23–4; *Denver Tribune*, Jan. 13, 1880; *Colo. Gen. Laws*, 1877, 557–9; *Colo. Sess. Laws*, 1883, 23–4; *Denver Hist.*, 240–1; *Transactions of State Medical Soc.*, 1884; *Hawes' Charlatanism in Colorado;* Reprint from Transactions of State Medical Soc. for 1883; *Shinn's Mining Camps*, 280; *Mining Rights in Colo*, by R. S. Morrison; *Mining Code*, by M. B. Carpenter; *Gen. Laws Colo*, 1865, 71–2; *Fowler's Around Colorado*, MS., 8; *Leadville Democrat*, Jan. 1, 1884; *10th Census*, vol. 1, 378–447; *Porter's The West Census*, 1880, 392; *Hall's Ann. Rept Chamber of Commerce*, 1880–3, 128; *Corbett's Directory of Mines*, 1879; *Rept Sec. Int.*, ii. 319, 43d cong. 1st sess. In regard to society, see *Harper's Mag.*, vol. lx. 542–57; *Bird's Lady's Life, etc.*, being the observations of an early traveller in Chicago, 40–296; Bancroft, *Colo Notes*, MS.; *Sac. Record-Union*, April 7, 1884; *S. F. Post*, Nov. 15, 1884; *Denver Tribune*, Oct. 17, 1880. The Chinese were driven from Como in 1879, *Denver Tribune*, Nov. 13, 1879, and from other places at different times, and always by the other foreign populations, led by political demagogues, who, whether right or wrong, were never governed by a regard for the public welfare, but sought rather to make capital for themselves by pandering to the base instincts of our low and ignorant foreign voters, or their sympathizers or dependents.

CHAPTER XIV.

LATER EVENTS.

1886–1888.

ELEMENTS OF GREATNESS—MINING VERSUS AGRICULTURE—LAND AND WATER MONOPOLY—MATERIAL PROGRESS—RAILROADS—DEVELOPMENT OF DENVER—ELECTION CAMPAIGN—LEGISLATION—EXCELLENCE OF STATUTORY, INSTITUTIONAL, AND SOCIAL REGULATIONS—CHARACTER OF PUBLIC MEN—BIOGRAPHICAL.

THE elements of a great commonwealth were in Colorado from the beginning. Like all the mid-continent states, it was misunderstood. From being a desert, according to early explorers whose experience was of heavily timbered countries, it was at length discovered to be a land rich in minerals, but it was not regarded as a farming, or even a grazing, region until accident revealed its capabilities in these directions. After thirty years of settlement, farming was hardly secondary, though the mining and grazing interests overshadowed it. The era of neglect of this industry was attributed to the scarcity of water on the surface, and the dryness of the atmosphere. Then came the water-grabbers, and fenced off the rivers from the common use of the people; or water companies constructed miles of canals, carrying water through immense tracts, which were thereby greatly augmented in price. They condescendingly sold the water which belonged to the people to the farmers along their route, and charged them with a "royalty" upon their land—that is, they exacted a bonus for benefiting the land irrigated in addition to the water rent.[1] Another

[1] The question was mooted in the legislature of 1887 whether the companies should not be denied the right to own water, and be treated simply as com-

abuse was the practice of aliens in taking up large tracts of land in the state for grazing or for speculative purposes. The legislature of Colorado, following the example of congress, passed an anti-alien law, to prevent English capital from fastening upon state lands. Mining property was not guarded in the same manner, but was owned to a considerable extent by aliens. Foreign capitalists, however, had not the same success in securing returns that American owners enjoyed, owing, perhaps, to the fact that they paid large prices for the undeveloped mines, and reserved too little capital with which to work them.

The state of Colorado was never more truly prosperous than after a period of dullness from 1883 to 1885. In 1886 there was considerable immigration, particularly to Weld county, it having been found that crops could be grown there without irrigation. The citizens of that region petitioned the legislature of 1887 to create two new counties out of the eastern portion of Weld.[2] A large number of new towns were founded about this time, and had a surprising growth. Lamar, in Bent county, founded in May 1886, had on its first anniversary twelve hundred inhabitants. Yuma, another town of about the same age, 138 miles east of Denver, on the Burlington & Missouri river railroad, gained five hundred inhabitants its first year. Hyde, another railroad town in Washington county, took its start in 1886, along with many

mon carriers—a prineiple undoubtedly correct, for the water in the streams which they robbed belonged to the people, and they could do no more than convey it to the points where it is required. The legislature passed an anti-royalty bill for the relief of the farmers. At the same time a company from the neighborhood of Boston was planning an acequia to be 175 miles long, and to irrigate a large area east and south-east of Denver. The ditch was to be 10 feet wide and 3 or 4 feet deep.

[2] The county of Arehuleta was also created in 1885 out of the western portion of Conejos, with the county seat at Pagosa Springs. In 1887 the authority of county commissioners (republicans) was defied by the sheriff (democrat), and the house of commissioner Scase burned. The trouble arose from the fact that these officers were not only republicans, but Mexicans. Mesa county was created by the legislature of 1885 out of a portion of Gunnison co. Logan, Washington, and Chilcott counties were created.

others.[3] Real estate advanced rapidly throughout the state,[4] the sales in Denver in 1886 amounting to nearly $11,000,000; the rise in property in other towns being also marked. This advance implies substantial improvements.[5] Among these were a new capitol building,[6] and a federal court-house and post-office, the first costing $1,000,000, and the latter half that sum. The trade of Denver amounted in 1886 to more than $72,000,000, of which the smelters produced $10,000,000. This also indicated a good condition of the mining industry. The total output of 1886 was $27,837,896.[7] This progressive movement

[3] The following is a partial list of new towns of about the same age: Armour in Pueblo co.; Battle Mountain and Clinton in Eagle co.; Rogers and Kingston in Arapahoe co.; La Salle in Weld co.; Orson in Mesa, a new county in west Colorado; Otis and Red Lion in Weld co.; Parkville in Saguache co.; Parma in Rio Grande co.; Rangeley in Garfield co.; Romley in Chaffee co.; San Antonio in Los Animas co.; Sunnyside in Hinsdale co.; Woody and Emma in Pitkin co.; McMillan and Butter City in Bent co.; Prospect in Gunnison co.; Abbott, a farming settlement, in Arapahoe co.

[4] Glenwood Springs was sold in March 1887 to Louis R. Ehrich of New York for a syndicate belonging to the Midland railway. The price paid for about 5 acres was $125,000 cash. The springs were purchased to make popular resort.

[5] A beautiful club-house, a $40,000 methodist church, a $25,000 unity church, and a larger number of substantial brick buildings than ever before erected, mark the local improvement in Denver for 1886. The Denver public library was opened this year. This year also the beautiful academy of music was destroyed by fire. *Id.*, Jan. 1, 1887. The Highland park was projected in 1887, and several additions were made to the city. Early in 1887 General Sheridan visited Colorado to select a site for a permanent military post. It was selected at a point between seven and eight miles from Denver, on Bear creek, and communicating with Denver. The government appropriation of $100,000 sufficed only to commence the improvements of the 640 acres chosen, for which the citizens of Denver paid $31,000. This gave them an interest in the post; and their admiration for Sheridan led them to name a magnificent avenue opened between Denver and Golden, the Sheridan boulevard. In addition the cable road to the military post was set on foot in August of this year. A real estate exchange was organized in June 1887. The art glass works were opened for manufacture at Denver in 1887. Several miles of street railway were projected and partly constructed, and the electric motor road carried over the Platte.

[6] The style is classic, of the Corinthian order. The main pediment will have an allegorical group representing the wealth, progress, and promise of the state. A magnificent rotunda will light the halls and corridors. Its dimensions north and south are 294 feet, or with its projections 383 feet, and it will contain 160 rooms. The building stone used for the front will be sandstone from the Gunnison quarry; for the foundations, Georgetown granite, and other stone for the remainder of the building.

[7] Of this amount $4,446,417 was in gold, $18,209,406 in silver, and $5,182,073 in lead and copper. Iron and coal are not estimated, although large. New prospects were opened in the La Plata and Needle mountains, also in the mountains of the San Miguel, and in those west of Fort Collins. The

continued through 1887 and 1888. The assessed valuation of the state in 1886 was $124,269,710; in 1887 it was $141,269,706.

Railroad progress was quite as marked during 1886-7-8 as other improvements, if, indeed, it did not lead them. At the close of the latter year there were not less than four thousand miles of railways in the state—roads that reached out to the gulf of Mexico and to the Missouri river on one hand, and to the Pacific ocean on the other—and local roads that, clambering among the mountains, sought to bring the remotest mining region into communication with commercial centres.[8] Colorado railroads during one year produced a revenue from freight shipped from the east of $7,600,000, and from competitive passenger traffic $3,000,000, while the traffic of the strictly local roads amounted to $3,000,000 more. The importance of the state, and its geographical position, invited, and must ever invite, the transcontinental roads to make connection with its local roads, if not to send lines direct to its business capitals. Denver is the railroad centre—Denver, "Queen City of the Plains," as her people have been pleased to name her, because she sits at the foot of the mountains, whence she looks

Gunnison country had produced a bonanza in 1887, in the Sylvanite mine at Gothic, yielding 2,000 ounces per ton of metallic and wire silver. There was an increase in the coal output of 1887 over 1886 of 300,000 tons.

[8] The most important mineral district reached in 1887 was that of Aspen in Pitkin co. Both the Rio Grande and Midland railways were extended to this important town, next to Leadville in wealth. The valley of the Roaring Fork thus became opened to settlement. Glenwood springs was another point reached by these roads, and beyond Glenwood the Newcastle coal fields, while the Midland was carried to the coal region of Jerome park. The Missouri Pacific extension into Colorado opened a large grazing and agricultural area from the state line to Pueblo. The Atchison line from Pueblo improved the whole country east of the Sierra Madre range. The Rock Island and the Northwestern also caused rapid settlement in the eastern portion of the state. During the year of 1887 nearly 800 miles of railroad was constructed within the state, as follows: Missouri Pacific 175 miles, Colorado Midland 239 miles, Denver and Rio Grande 157 miles, Santa Fé 147 miles, Denver, Texas, and Fort Worth 65 miles of new track and 96 miles of third rail construction. The cost of these roads and the wealth added to the state by railroad building in one year was $16,000,000, or $2,000,000 more than they received for carrying freight and passengers. The increased value given to property along the lines could not be estimated.

out east over a vast expanse of gently sloping savannas. Behind her rise the majestic heights of the great continental range. All about her are bright landscapes, over her are skies of summer azure. In her lap is wealth, on her brow peace and honor. Let no one dispute her royal right to preside over and receive the homage of her sister municipalities. Young, beautiful, strong, worthy of all praise, let her be called Queen.

The election campaign of 1886 was a hardly contested one, the democratic party throughout the United States having a revival, and the republicans being divided by the "mugwump" faction and the prohibitionists. Three tickets were in the field in Colorado, the prohibitionists drawing their strength mainly from the republicans.[9] However, all the republican candidates for state officers were elected, except the governor, Alva Adams, who from being a hardware merchant of Pueblo came to be elected chief of his noble young state by a plurality of 2,418, his competitors in the race being William H. Myers, formerly lieutenant-governor, and W. H. Fishback, prohibitionist. His predecessor was Benjamin H. Eaton. N. H. Meldrum, formerly secretary of state, was elected lieutenant-governor, succeeding P. W. Breene, elected state treasurer; and James Rice became secretary in place of Melvin Edwards, or,

[9] James A. Dawson died Jan. 16, 1887, at his residence in Denver. He was born in April 1834 near Mumfordville, in Hart co., Ky. He married Mary Connelly, daughter of Dr Connelly of that place. In 1860 he was elected clerk of the county court of Hart co. On the breaking out of the civil war he entered the Union army as a member of the 33d Kentucky vols, and attained the office of adjutant, fighting in the battle of Mumfordville, between the advance guards of Bragg's and Buell's armies. He held several civil offices in Ky, and founded the Louisville *Daily Ledger* in 1870, and came to Colorado in 1880, where he practised law at Denver, and edited the *Col. Law Journal*, being part of the time city attorney, and subsequently superior judge. In 1884 he published *Dawson's Code*, and in 1885 was appointed surveyor-general of Colorado by President Cleveland. Oney Castrophan, of Custer co., came to Colorado from Palmyra, Mo. He had filled the office of prosecuting attorney at Hannibal, and, after his removal to Colo, was mayor of Silver Cliff, after which he was chief clerk in the office of the surveyor-general until he was promoted to fill that place.

more correctly, after Edward R. Hanley, appointed in place of Edwards, resigned. D. P. Kingsley was elected state auditor, and L. S. Cornell state school superintendent. Attorney-general Charles Thomas was succeeded by Alvin Marsh, and George G. Symes was elected congressman, running against Myron Reed democrat, and Murray prohibitionist, beating them by a plurality of 866. On the organization of the legislature, in January 1887, George M. Chilcott was chosen president of the senate, and T. B. Stuart speaker of the lower house. The republican majority in the senate was ten, in the assembly one.[10]

The legislation of Colorado has never been disgraced by violence, by wanton waste of the people's money, or by disrespect of the constituted authorities. If its statutes are not perfect, neither were they for whom they were made, nor the makers themselves.[11] It is enough that an effort at excellence in statutory regulations, as in institutional and social affairs,[12] is a feat-

[10] Mention was made by the president of the senate of the death of two state senators since the last session—Tilford and Elkins; and Gov. Eaton in his farewell message regrets the demise of ex-U. S. Representative Jerome B. Chaffee, and ex-Gov. Frederick W. Pitkin.

[11] There was, in 1887, when the legislature met, some embarrassment from the financial condition of the state. The total amount in the treasury at the close of Gov. Eaton's term of office was, in cash and securities, $834,579.05, out of which to make the various appropriations for the support of state institutions, and to pay salaries to state officers. This deficiency was not the result of bad management, or extravagant outlay, but came from the too common practice of assessing property below its value. For instance, the property of the state was actually worth $400,000,000, yet was assessed at $120,000,000, whereas the railroads alone were selling in the market at a valuation greater than that, although they were assessed at only $23,696,666. The constitution required that the property of the state should be rated for taxation at its true value, and it was manifest that a low tax on a full valuation should be more satisfactory than a high tax on a low estimate. The legislature took up this subject in 1887, and provided for the taxation of mining property, the opinion of the courts having first been obtained as to the constitutionality of the bills offered. All mines producing more than $1,000 per annum in mineral were made assessable, and in case of a mine which was not patented being sold for taxes, the title, under the laws of Colorado, should be good and valid. A list of all the producing mines was to be furnished by the county clerk to the county assessor. An attempt was made to correct railroad abuses and encroachments by statute, and a law was enacted creating a supreme court commission. The persons appointed under the act were Atty-gen. Marsh, Ex-senator Rising of Custer co., and Thomas Macon of Fremont co.

[12] The new county of Archuleta, which had not more than 150 voters, rebelled against the authority of the county commissioners (republican) in

ure of the centennial state. Notable, not notorious, the character of her public men is an example to the younger states,[13] and blends harmoniously with her many charms, material, natural, and inspired by art. Colorado is the flower of a peculiarly western civilization, in which is mingled the best blood of the north and the south, the virile sap of New England and the Carolinas--a truly American state.

July 1887, being led by one E. T. Walker and the sheriff, Height (democrats). The rioters burned the property, and threatened the life of one of the commissioners, Charles D. Scase. The others were intimidated, and forced to resign, and anarchy for a time held sway. The population of this region was Mexican, and two, at least, of the commissioners were Mexican, but were men of wealth and standing. That they should be such appears to have been too much for the democracy to bear, and their ukase was issued as follows: 'If you don't resign, we will kill you and destroy your property.' The legislature sent a committee to inquire into the cause of the terrorism, as it was bound to do, when it appeared that one of the mob which had broken up a meeting of the commissioners had enunciated the doctrine that 'this is a democratic administration, and it shall be run on democratic principles.' Accordingly the ballot-box was stolen, and other democratic practices resorted to, and when the commissioners met to open court they were prevented. The legislature then attached Archuleta co. to La Plata co. for judicial purposes, and the matter was brought before the grand jury; but in the meantime Walker had disappeared. A race war of another sort was the outbreak of the reservation Utes, August 1887, by which some blood was spilled on both sides, ending by the Indians returning to their homes. The trouble arose from the ruling of a new agent that the band must come to the agency to draw their annuities, be counted, and placed on the list. The Utes refused, and went one year without their annuities. The agent then required the sheriff to return them to the reservation; hence the conflict.

[13] Leadville elected a democratic mayor in the spring of 1888, who surprised his constituents by ordering the gambling saloons closed, and closed they were within a month. Colorado had two, if not more, towns where the public sale of intoxicating drinks was prohibited. But to prohibit by agreement from the start is quite different from saying to a whole community of gamblers, 'depart,' and enforcing the command. Mayor Roche of Leadville might have been a martyr in the days of the inquisition, and yet have died profitlessly, like many another martyr.

George Zweck discovered the famous Prussian mine in April 1861, while prospecting alone in the Gold Hill district. He recognized the value of the ore at once, and taking with him A. D. Gifford and David Besler, went to work upon it as equal partners. They carried their provisions a distance of 35 miles strapped on their backs, but the mine paid for the effort, averaging down to the present time $260 per ton. The vein has a general width of 3 feet. Out of it has been taken $375,000, and it would bring $250,000 to sell. It is tunnelled 1,700 feet into the mountain. Zweck has other mining interests, in which Gifford and Besler are partners, and has made more clear money out of cattle than out of his mines. Zweck was born in Germany in 1829, migrated to Iowa in 1854, and to Colorado in 1860. He began with nothing, and has made and saved $300,000.

George W. McCoy born in Pa in 1834, and educated in the common schools of Ohio and Ill. He began life by marrying Rebecca May in Ill. and going to farming in 1853. In 1863 he came to Colorado, where he first

tried mining, but soon returned to an occupation of which he knew something, renting a farm of 160 acres in Jefferson co. He made $2,000 the first year, and the next year removed to Boulder co., renting a farm near Burlington, and keeping the Burlington hotel. He soon purchased 320 acres paying $5 per acre. On this he cleared $1,000 per year for 5 years, and after 1880 made money much more rapidly. He owns 400 acres well stocked and other valuable property, and his family of seven children are also prosperous.

W. J. Kitely came to Greeley, Colorado, in 1871, but after a short stay removed to Longmont, earning a living by pick and shovel. He entered first 80 acres of land, and has now 480 acres in 3 different farms, all well improved, and worth $50 per acre. He deals in graded cattle, and calls Boulder co. the best farming country in the world.

John H. Wells, born in Ill. in 1842, received a common school education supplemented by an academic course, a term or two at Knox college, and some law studies in Galaburg. In 1886 he came to Denver and commenced practise. He held the office of postmaster for a short time, was vice-president of the Colorado Central railway in 1867, and was elected member of the territorial legislature on the independent ticket in 1871. In 1878–81 he built the D. L. M. and N. W. R. R. to Mitchell junction and in 1885 was appointed county judge of Boulder co. His home is at Longmont, with whose interests he is thoroughly identified.

W. H. Dickens came to Colorado in the spring of 1859, and commenced farming in Boulder co., selling his produce to miners. In 1864 he enlisted in the 3d Colo cavalry, and was in the battle of Sand creek. He has succeeded as a farmer and stock-raiser, being worth $50,000 or $60,000.

George L. Beckwith came to Colorado in 1860, settling within a mile of Longmont. At that time there was one house only in the vicinity, that of Dickens and Allen; but several at the mouth of the cañon. Beckwith commenced farming in 1861, and has not failed of a crop any year since. While some suffered by grasshoppers, he trapped them all at the rate of a bushel a day for 20 days. He served with the 3d Colo regt.

L. H. Dickson arrived May 22, 1859, at Denver, and a few days later came to Boulder co. for the purpose of finding mines, going at once into the mountains, and into Middle park, being the pioneer in that region. Proceeding to California gulch he mined there 1 year, when he came the second time to Boulder and took up some farming land 4 miles east from Longmont, where he was living through the Indian troubles of 1863–4. He enlisted in 3d Colo. regt, and was with Chivington through the 100 days campaign. He was a successful farmer until 1869, when he went with his family to Oregon City, Or., where he remained until 1873, and returned to settle at Longmont. He was elected to the legislature in 1880 and again in 1884, and was mayor of Longmont from 1881 to 1883. He owns 700 acres of land worth $35 per acre, a ⅔ interest in a flouring mill, some live stock, and mining interests, all the result of his own industry.

Rienzi Streeter, born in Pa in 1838, received an academic education. In 1860 he was admitted to the practise of law. In 1862 he migrated to Neb. to take the position of U. S. dist clerk, under his brother, Joseph E. Streeter, who had been appointed U. S. justice. He remained in the office until 1867 and in 1868 went to Cheyenne. Afterwards he became president of the Chicago colony in Colorado, held the position several years. In 1879 he was elected to the lower house of legislature and chosen speaker; in 1881 he was elected to the senate, the second term being chosen president. When he first arrived in Colorado he purchased an interest in the land on which Manitou, El Paso co., is located, out of which he made considerable money. He is now asst cashier of the bank of Longmont, and cashier of the Branch bank at Berthoud.

E. J. Coffman, born in Ohio in 1837, and brought up in Ill., was graduated at Rock River seminary in 1853. He went to Iowa, teaching a school near Cedar Rapids. In 1862 he came to Colorado, and engaged in farming

on land in Boulder co., a part of which he gave to the Longmont colony in 1871, which is known as Coffman's Addition to Longmont. He has been an officer of the Colony company from the commencement, and a dealer in real estate; owns mining property in Gold Hill district; named the Tellurium mines and owns stock in them; also in the Lord Byron and Ranchman's Luck.

Carlton C. Calkins came to Longmont as one of the original colonists in 1870, and was not favorably impressed with the agricultural capacities of the county. He entered a small quantity of land, but now owns 400 acres, worth $40 per acre, and a dairy, and raises thoroughbred cattle, mixed husbandry being his business. He prefers Boulder co. to any part of the U. S.

B. Clark Wheeler, born in Pa in 1849, studied at Wellsborough academy and the university of Pa, and afterward read the law with Sherwood & Mitchell of Phila. He joined the army as a drummer boy, but was taken home by his father. In 1864 he went to Iowa, and in 1868 came to Colorado, but again went home, finished his studies, and returned here in 1876, being admitted to the bar in Denver. Soon he went to the Black hills, practising there for two years. His active disposition caused him to make a prospecting tour through Colo, N. M., and Ariz., after which he once more returned to Colorado, and settled permanently at Aspen in Pitkin co., where he followed law, mining, and newspaper publishing. *Pitkin Mining News*, d. & w. From 1879 to 1882 he lectured frequently in different parts of the state upon the mineral wealth of the country, and went as a comm'r to the cotton exposition at Atlanta, to represent the resources of Colo, lecturing before the Bullion club of New York on the same subject during this tour. He labored industriously to attract attention to the region about Aspen, and finally succeeded in getting capital interested in the person of David M. Hyman of Cincinnati. In 1885 there was shipped from Aspen about $4,000,000 worth of ore and bullion. The place has only 1 smelter with a capacity of 60 tons per day. Wheeler surveyed and located the town of Aspen, and named the streets. The present pop. is 5,000.

P. J. Pauly, a native of St Louis, was born in 1854, and received the advantages of the puplic schools, remaining in his native city until 20 years of age. He was apprenticed 3 years to an architectural draughtsman, and on coming to Denver engaged in this calling, but soon returned to St Louis to work for the firm of Pauly & Bro., pail manufacturers. At the end of 3 years he was admitted to a partnership, which interest he still retains, the firm having invested $200,000. In 1882 he came to Colorado for his health, and having married the year previous Sarah Crissy of Mich., determined to settle here. He purchased 3 cattle ranchos in or near Estes park, and entered upon the lucrative business of raising graded stock, being regarded as one of the foremost men in northern Colorado.

Jacob Downing, born at Albany, N. Y., 1830, came to Denver in April 1859. He raised company D of the 1st Colorado regt in 1861, and was mustered out in 1865 as major on Col Chivington's staff. He was elected probate judge of Arapahoe co. in 1867, serving 2 years. In 1866 he purchased a tract of land containing 2,000 acres in Jefferson co., 5 miles from Denver; and subsequently 300 acres 3 miles from Denver court-house, worth in 1886 over $60,000. The value of his lands has steadily advanced year by year, and is still going up, for which reason he thinks real estate in Arapahoe a good investment.

James A. Dawson, born in Hart co., Ky, 1834, and educated there. At the age of 21 years he was elected county clerk, and remained in that office until the commencement of the war of the rebellion, when he enlisted in the union army. After serving out the term of his enlistment he was appointed register of the land-office, holding that position 8 years. In 1871 he was appointed adjutant-general of Ky for 4 years. He came to Colorado in 1880, and opened a law-office. In 1882 he was appointed by the governor judge of the superior court, and served one term, after which he was appointed surveyor-general of Colorado. He is a eulogist of his adopted state.

Henry H. Metcalf, born in Providence, R. I., in 1842, came to Colorado in 1872. He purchased a section of land in Elbert co., and 52 head of cattle, and had $1,200 in cash. He was worth in 1886, $450,000, the result of judicious management of the cattle-raising business in this state. He resides at Denver.

Westbrook S. Decker was born in Seneca, N. Y., in 1839, his father, Albert Decker, being a farmer and a merchant, of Dutch stock, as was also his mother, Gertrude Shoemaker. He worked on his father's farm, and for a short period was clerk in the store. In 1856 he entered Brockport collegiate institute for one year, and this, with whathe had learned at winter sessions of the public schools, constituted his educational training. In 1857 he went to Ill., workiug in a sorghum mill and teaching school until 1861, when he returned home and enlisted in the 12th N. Y. infantry, being captured at Harper's Ferry, paroled and exchanged. He was afterward twice seriously wounded. After Gettysburg he was promoted to the rank of 2d lieut, and later to 1st lieut in the 19th U. S. colored troops, and was assigned to the staff of Gen. Ferrero, as ordnance officer. He was ordnance officer on the staff of Hartsuff at Bermuda Hundreds, Va, and in the district of Nottoway, after the evacuation of Petersburg. Subsequently he was transferred to the command of Gen. Giles A. Smith, and went to Tex., where he served as provost marshal until Aug. 1865, when he returned home. In Oct. of that year he entered the law school of Mich. university, graduating in 1867, and locating at Kankakee, Ill. He was elected city attorney in 1868 and 1869, and elected county judge the same year, which position he held until 1873. The following year he came to Colorado for his health, and remained to practise his profession. He was appointed by President Grant U. S. district attorney in 1877, in which office he was retained several years.

Gilbert De La Martyr, born in 1825 in New York, and educated there, was ordained a minister of the m. e. church in 1848, and preached until 1862, when he was appointed chaplain of the 129th N. Y. infantry, serving until January 1865, when he resigned. He had charge of the Sand street church in Brooklyn from 1865 to 1870, at which time he was transferred to Omaha, remaining there until 1873, when he was sent to Kansas City, Mo., and remained 3 years, after which he went to Indianapolis to take charge of a large church. He was elected to congress from Indianapolis in 1878, serving one term. After that he lectured extensively on labor organizations and political economy, and being in Denver in 1882 was solicited to take charge of the methodist church, which invitation he accepted, with the determination to remain permanently in the healthful climate of Colorado.

Posey S. Wilson was born at Wappato Indian agency in 1845, his father being an army officer, and was educated at St Louis. He came to Colorado in 1863, remaining but a short time when he went to Montana. In 1867 he removed to Cheyenne and engaged in banking until 1879, when he returned to Colorado and purchased a cattle farm in Larimer co. near Fort Collins. While in Wyoming he was a member of the legislature of 1876. He remained on his Larimer co. farm until 1885, when he was appointed by the president, assayer of the Denver mint. He retained his stock interests and is settled permanently in Colorado.

William A. Hover, born in Wis., in 1856, was educated at the university of that state, graduating in 1877, and remaining one year afterwards engaged in the study of chemistry. In 1878 he came to Colorado, opening an assay office in Lake City, removing the same year to Denver, where he purchased part of a retail drug business, completing the purchase of the establishment in 1880. He is settled here permanently.

R. A. Long, born in Ohio in 1851, and brought up on a farm, commenced educating himself at the age of 19, earning the money to pay his tuition. He graduated from the law school of the Mich. university in 1879, coming at once to Denver. In six years he had paid some debts, married, and accumulated $20,000, which may be considered great success in professional life.

L. B. France, born in Washington city in 1833, and educated at George-

town, studied law in Chicago, where he was admitted to the bar in 1858, practising in Ill. and Iowa until 1861, when he came to Denver. In the autumn of the same year he was elected prosecuting attorney of Arapahoe co.—the first pros. atty elected in Colo—for one year. From that time he has steadily labored at his profession, not engaging in politics.

John W. Jenkins, born in Va in 1837, and educated in Ind. In 1874 he was appointed territorial secretary, and Gov. McCook's appointment being contested, became acting gov., serving the greater part of McCook's term. After the expiration of his term of office he commenced the practise of the law, and acquired some important mining interests. He was prosecuting attorney in Lake co. in 1881-2, and held office in the Masonic order, and the Improved Order of Red Men. He is deeply attached to the country and climate of the centennial state.

Frank Church, born in St Lawrence co. N. Y. in 1844, and educated there, came to Denver in 1869, to take charge of a seminary, and in 1871 married in this city. While teaching, he studied law, and in 1872 was admitted to the bar. He was elected county supt. of schools in 1871, holding the office four years. In 1879 he was elected state senator for four years. In 1883 he was elected treasurer of Arapahoe co., and reëlected in 1885. His experience of mining investments leads him to prefer Denver real estate.

Byron A. Wheeler, born in Wis. in 1842, and was educated at Fon-du-lac. In 1863 he enlisted in the 1st Wis. regt, serving until the close of the war, when he entered the Hahnemann Medical college of Chicago, and graduated in 1867. After practising in Wis. and Iowa until 1870, he came to Colorado for health, locating permanently in Denver. He married, in Wis., Frances A. Noyes, and has seven children. He owns considerable real estate in Denver.

William B. Craig, born in Mo. in 1855, and educated at De Kalb and St Joseph High school, studied medicine subsequently, graduating from the St Louis Medical college in 1876, and subsequently from Bellevue hospital, N. Y. Returning to St Joseph he practised there until 1882, when he removed to Denver on account of his mother's failing health, and finding her restoration complete, owing entirely to the climate, determined to remain in Denver.

W. W. Anderson, born at Fergus, Canada, in 1850, and educated there. His diplomas and degrees from the best medical colleges of Montreal and Quebec made him an A. M., M. D., P. H., and M. R. C. S. In 1876 he came to the U. S. as demonstrator of anatomy, and asst surgeon of Mich. university, and in 1878 to Denver, where he has since practised his profession. He was appointed city physician in 1883, and re-appointed in 1885. He became largely interested in mining and real estate, and is located permanently in Denver.

Eli M. Ashley, born in Ohio in 1833, and educated there, engaged in a retail drug business, soon after attaining his majority, at Toledo. In 1861 he came to Colorado as chief clerk to the surveyor general of the territory, which position he retained through the administrations of 5 surv.-genls, a period of 17 years. He began buying real estate in Denver at an early date, owning what is known as Ashley's addition to the city of Denver, which was laid out in 1868. His business since leaving the surv.-gen'ls office has been that of buying and selling real estate. In 1885 he organized the Western Chemical Works co., of which he is pres't. He is permanently located in Denver.

C. C. Gird, born in Ohio in 1836, receiving a common school education, came to Colorado in 1860. For 1 year he worked at his trade of coopering, and then commenced freighting between Denver and Omaha, which business he followed until the Indians forced him to abandon it in 1863, when he settled on a land claim 15 miles from Denver, where he resided, farming and stock-raising, until 1880, when he removed to Denver. He was elected to the terr. council in 1869 for 1 term, and to the state legislature in 1879. He was elected comm'r of Arapahoe co. in 1884, and twice chosen chairman of the board. His property is in live stock and lands.

Hartsville F. Jones, born in Tenn. in 1826, was brought up and educated in Ky. In 1846 he enlisted for the Mexican war. In 1848 he returned home, and engaged in mercantile pursuits at Lexington until 1874, when he removed to Denver, and bought and sold city property. He was elected a member of the city council in 1885, but has not entered into politics. He will remain permanently in Denver.

Thomas S. Clayton, born in Phila in 1838, and educated there, was clerk in his brother's store in that city until he came to Colorado in 1863, to take the same position with his brother, who had opened a general merchandise store in Denver in 1859. In 1866 he went into merchandising for himself, but ultimately ran the business into hats and caps exclusively, and was the pioneer hatter of Denver. In 1877 he was appointed chief of the fire dept, and held the office until 1882. He was supt of the Sunday-school of the episcopal church, and of each of the other churches of Denver. He was married in Phila in 1878, and has erected a residence on Capitol hill in the city of his adoption.

Emile Reithmann, born in Switzerland in 1844, came to the U. S. with his father in 1848, and resided at times in N. Y., Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa before coming to Colorado in 1859. He settled on a rancho within 5 miles of Denver the same year, and started the first dairy in the terr., at which business and stock-raising he has continued ever since. He was married in Denver in 1879, and considers his present home his home for life.

David C. Taylor, born in Madison co., Ohio, in 1832, removed to Mo. in 1858, and to Colorado in 1860, going to the Gold Hill mining district. After a brief experience at mining, he took up some land in St Vrain valley, where he settled permanently. He became possessed of a large amount of land, stock cattle, and was half owner in the Clover Basin Irrigating ditch.

Jacob Sherrer, born in France in 1838, came to the U. S. with his parents in 1846, and to Colorado in 1859. He was engaged in freighting across the plains until the completion of the U. P. R. R. to Cheyenne, when he turned his oxen out to fatten, and also purchased a small herd for breeding purposes. He now owns a large rancho on the s. branch of Republican river, and 6,000 head of stock. He resides in Denver.

Harmon Merchant, born in Courtland co., N. Y., in 1832, came to Colorado in 1859, and engaged in freighting and trading. Becoming alarmed at the attitude of the Indians towards the white settlers, he removed with his family to Or. in 1863, where he remained 2 years, when he removed to Petaluma, Cal., and commenced dealing in cattle. In 1869 he sold out, and for several years thereafter was in the cattle business between Tex. and Neb., finally locating permanently at Denver in 1876.

David J. Lykins, born in Ind. in 1839, and brought up there, began early to roam, visiting Ohio, and from there crossing the continent in 1850, working in the mines of Cal. until 1856, when he returned home by steamer. He spent most of the next two years in travelling over the middle and western states, and drifted in 1859 with the great migration to Colorado. He soon learned the profit there was in cattle, and with those he had driven from the Missouri commenced a business at which he made a handsome fortune, owning 1,000 acres in Arapahoe co., a large farm in Mo., and valuable herds of cattle, and an elegant residence in Denver.

W. B. Rogers was born in Buffalo, N. Y., in 1844, where he received an academic education, and studied medicine and dentistry. In 1867 he came to Colorado to recover lost health, practising his dental art, and investing in mining and city property. He became sound, and made a comfortable fortune.

Edmund Anthony, born in N. Y. in 1828, and educated for the calling of an architect, came to Colorado in 1870, being the first to open an office for architectural drawing in the state, and designing some of the most prominent buildings in Denver and Cheyenne. He came to the mountains for health, which he obtained.

John D. Atkin also came to Colorado in 1873 for relief from asthma, of

which he was completely cured. Returning to Ill. the disease returned, when he sold out, and invested his means in Denver real estate, with the intention of ending his days here. He brought $35,000 to this city, which has increased to $300,000 without the aid of other investments. He prophecies that Denver will be the largest city west of the Mississippi river.

Henry Sness, born in Germany in 1837, migrated to the U. S. in 1854, residing in Mo. until 1879, when he came to Denver as an agent for the Anheuser-Busch Brewing co. of St Louis, and established a branch business here, which was placed under his management. He organized the German Loan and Building association, of which he is president. He was elected to the legislature in 1884.

John W. Collins, M. D., born in Green co., Ala, in 1835, was educated there, studying medicine in New Orleans, and graduating in 1860. In the following year he entered the confederate army as a surgeon, serving through the 4 years of war, and afterwards practised his profession in Miss. and Tenn. until 1879 when he came to Colorado to perform a surgical operation on a friend, and decided to remain. Colorado, he predicts, will be the most famous health resort of the world when it is better known. He is located at Denver in the practice of gynecology.

William Smedley, D. D. S., born in Pa in 1836 of Quaker parentage, studied dental surgery at West Chester, Pa, until 1870, when, being threatened with consumption, he came to Colorado for relief, and his health being restored he has practised his profession ever since. He owns real estate in North Denver, and is much interested in educational matters, being on the school board.

Edward Rollandet, born in Leyden, Holland, in 1852, received a collegiate education, but enlisted in the army at the age of 15 years. After serving 4 years he left the army with the rank of sergeant, and travelled for 2 years, learning smelting, after which, in 1873, came to the U. S., locating in Va, where he was employed in iron works for about a year, going from there to Canada. In 1874 he came to Colorado and engaged with the Maxwell Land co. for 2 years, after which he located in Denver as engineer with a map company, and dealt in real estate. In 1878 he purchased an interest in the Vulture mine of Leadville, and became also chief draughtsman in the surveyor-general's office at Denver. In 1884 he was elected surveyor in a neighboring county. The following year he returned to Denver and opened an engineer's office, but finally united with Worrall & Chisolm in the Denver Lithographing co., in which business he remains.

Ledru R. Rhodes, born in Ohio in 1849, was educated in the public schools and taught when he was 16 years old. In 1865 he went to Iowa where he studied law and was admitted to the bar. He commenced practise in the district court of Fremont co., Neb. In 1872 he came to Colorado, settling in Larimer co. on a farm, but in 1874 opened a law office in Fort Collins where he remained 4 years, and was elected to the state senate from Larimer co. on the republican ticket, and interested himself in the passage of the irrigation law. In 1885 he was elected district attorney of the 2d judicial district, consisting of Arapahoe, Larimer, and Weld counties. He was employed by the Cattle Growers' association on a salary of $2,500, and by the English Irrigation co. He was one of the original members of the Denver Chamber of Commerce.

Frederick Cramer, born in New York in 1833 of Dutch ancestry, was taught the trade of a millwright. At the age of 23 he went to Red river, where he remained until 1864, when he came to Colorado and began business as a builder. He has been identified with mining in Boulder co. for many years. He was elected sheriff of Arapahoe co. in 1865, a member of the board of education in 1868, and a councilman in 1869. He has acquired a comfortable fortune, owning $70,000 worth of real estate in Denver. He married in Brooklyn in 1863, and has 5 children.

J. J. Dunagan, born in Mo. in 1833 and brought up there, went to Iowa at the age of 19, learning the carpenter trade at Glenwood. In 1860 he

came to Boulder co. Colorado, engaging in mining and lumbering until 1867, when he went to Cheyenne to take building contracts, remaining there 3 years, and going from there to Greeley, where he kept a hotel, and from there to Longmont, returning to Denver in 1879, going into the grocery trade, and selling out to go into a drug store. Meanwhile he traded in real estate, and enjoyed the profits of a considerable increase. He was first married in Iowa, and afterwards in Evans, Colorado, and has two daughters.

Amasa C. Bucknum, M. D., born in Oswego co., N. Y., in 1824, and educated at Albany, removed to Mich., where he began the study of medicine in 1845, graduating at Castleton, Vt, in 1849. Returning to Jackson he commenced practice there, remaining until 1880, though a part of the time professor of physiology at Ann Arbor university, and president of the Jackson co. medical society. His health failing he came to Colorado in 1880, where in two months he was able to resume practice. He became a member of the state medical societies, and of the American Medical association. He was twice married, and has 5 children.

William S. Grimes, born in Wheeling, Va, in 1835, was educated in Cincinnati at Woodworth college, and studied medicine in that institution. He entered into a successful practice in 1857, but on the commencement of the civil war enlisted in the 23d Iowa infantry as asst surgeon. After the battle of Pea Ridge, he was appointed surgeon of the 29th Iowa infantry. In 1864 he resigned on account of an accident to his eyes, and removed to Des Moins, where he resumed general practise until 1879, when he came to Colorado on account of asthma and the trouble with his eyes. His health being entirely restored, he adds his to the universal praise of the climate of Denver.

C. C. Worrall, born near Boston in 1855, was educated in England. He came to Colorado with his parents in 1862, and in 1865 went to New York, St Louis, New Orleans and to Europe. Returning to Colorado in a few years he engaged in selling drugs, in which business he remained until 1880, when he abandoned it for lithographing. In 1886 he organized the Denver Lithographing company, in conjunction with E. Rollandet and F. F. Chisolm, the enterprise proving more successful than was anticipated. He married in 1883 Miss Haisington and is permanently settled in Denver.

A. W. Hogle, born in Canada in 1844, removed with his parents to Ill. in 1849, and received a common school education. On the breaking out of the civil war he enlisted in Co. A, 76 Ill. regt, and was mustered out in 1865 as lieutenant of Co. C. Returning home, he attended at the Commercial college of Chicago. In 1869 he was elected treasurer of Iroquois co. though but 25 years of age, giving a bond of $500,000. In 1871 he came to Colorado for the health of his wife, who was entirely restored. He kept books for a large commission house and invested in cattle. In 1880 he sold his cattle and went into commission business, also buying some mining property. In 1885 he was appointed chief of police of Denver, by Mayor J. E. Bates, and was instrumental in quelling the railroad riots of that year. He established the patrol system, the best for conducting fire and police alarms. He married Miss Paul of Ill. in 1865.

Ambrose S. Everett, physician, was born in New York in 1841, studied medicine in Ill. and graduated from the St Louis homeopathic medical college, in which he afterwards held a professorship, with a general city practise. His health failing, he sought restoration in Colorado, and would now 'not try to live anywhere else,' his health and his practise being entirely satisfactory.

Samuel S. Smythe, born at Galena, Ill. in 1838, graduated from the Homœpathic Medical college of Chicago in 1867. He came to Denver in 1880 for the health of his wife who was dying of consumption. The climate completely restored her and he decided to remain. He engaged in the practise of his profession, and also in stock raising.

C. M. Parker, was born in Miss. in 1838, and was educated by a private tutor, with a term in college at N. Y. afterwards. At the commence-

ment of the civil war he enlisted in the 18th Miss. regt as a private, and at the end of the year was appointed surgeon, being sent to Richmond and Savannah to have charge of hospitals. He married Miss S. J. Allen of Va and settled at Darlington, S. C., but removed to Colarado for the benefit of the climate in 1872. He became a member of the State Board of Health, State Med. Soc., prest Denver Med Soc., and prest of State Board of Med. Examiners.

Norman G. Burnham, born in Ohio in 1829, was educated at Norwalk academy, and at the Ohio Wesleyan university, studying medicine in Cincinnati, where he graduated in 1852. He was subsequently associated with Prof. B. S. Hill, one of the founders of the Cleveland Homeopathic college, at which he received an honorary degree in 1865. From 1856 to 1859 he was associated with Prof. H. P. Gotchell, former dean of the above named college, in the practise of medicine at Cin. In 1860 he removed to Indianapolis, where he resided 11 years. He married Mary K. Treat, of Medina, O., in 1861. In 1868–9 he attended a special course of lectures at Boston, visiting the hospitals of New York and Phila. In 1871 he went to St. Louis, practising there eight years, when his health giving way he came to Colorado, where his vigor was restored, and where he renewed the practise of his profession.

Edwin J. Rothwell, a native of Ottawa, Canada, born in 1840, and educated there and at North Perth, migrated to Cal. in 1864, then to Boisé, Id., following mining until 1871, when he began the study of medicine with his brother, W. J. Rothwell. In 1873 he went to Ann Arbor, and took a course in the medical dept of the university, graduating in 1875. He also took a special course on the eye and ear under Prof. Frothingham. He commenced practise in the state of N. Y., where he remained until 1880, being prest of the Tompkins co. Med. soc. In 1881 he came to Denver with his brother, P. D. Rothwell, with whom he engaged in the practise of his profession, and became treas. of the Denver Med. soc. He married in Ann Arbor in 1875, and has two sons and two daughters.

Arnold Sedman was born in Me in 1839, receiving a collegiate education at Colby university. He enlisted in the union army in 1862, with the rank of orderly sergt in the Me infantry, serving one year. In 1863 he commenced the study of medicine, at Newport, Me, graduating from the medical college of Pittsfield, Mass, in 1865. He practised at Dexter until 1870, when he married Miss Brown of Portland, and removed to Denver, where he assisted to form the first med. association of Denver, the same year, and the ter. association in 1871. He was the third president of the Denver asso. and prest of the state asso. in 1878–9; also founder of the med. dept of the Denver university, and prest of the school board for a number of years.

J. Solomon, born in Ky, in 1851, was educated and studied medicine at Shelbyville, and entered the med. dept of Louisville university in 1877, graduating in 1880, when he came to Colo to settle.

Mary Barker Bates, M. D., born in Cayuga co., N. Y., in 1845, was the daughter of a prominent physician, Ezra T. Barker, with whom she removed to Wis. at the age of 14 years. She was sent to Evanstown, Ill., to school, and afterwards to Edmunds college, N. Y., graduating from that institution in 1871, to enter the Woman's Medical college of Pa, from which she graduated in 1873. Her first practise was in Salt Lake City, where she was physician to Brigham Young's family for five years, her practice in Salt Lake being worth not less than $1,000 nor more than $1,700 per month. In 1876 she married George C. Bates; and removed with him to Leadville, Colorado, where she assisted in establishing the Ladies' Relief hospital. Rheumatism compelling a change of climate, she came to Denver in 1881, where she resumed practice. Mr Bates, to whom she was married, died in 1886. He was also a native of Cayuga co., N. Y., born in 1815, a graduate of Herbert college, Geneva, and read law with Stephen A. Douglass, in the office of John C. Spencer. He removed to Detroit in 1834, and was appointed U. S. dist attorney for Mich., holding the office for twelve years. He was a prominent

whig, and made one of the first, if not the first republican speech in Cal., where he was sent as special govt agent in 1852, and where he remained until 1856. He was instrumental in placing Zach. Chandler in the U. S. senate. He was appointed U. S. dist attorney for Utah by Prest Grant. At the time of his death he was engaged in writing a history of the Bench and Bar of the Northwest. He was the youngest member of the Phila convention, which endeavored to nominate Henry Clay for the presidency, and a personal friend of Daniel Webster.

Thomas H. Hawkins, M. D., born in Ky in 1849, removed with his parents to Ind. when a child. He received a collegiate education at Asbury university, Ind., and after graduating from there, studied medicine in the med. dept of Louisville university, and the Bellevue hospital, N. Y., graduating from the latter in 1873. He practised in New York until 1879 when he came to Colorado to restore failing health, and find in the climate what he sought, remained. He was identified with the founding of the Denver Medical college, and the Colorado State Woman's hospital, founded the *Denver Medical Times*, was prest of the County Med. asso., surgeon of St Luke's hospital, and assisted in establishing the Ladies' Relief hospital, of which he had charge during the first year of its existence.

Leonard Atkin, born in Ill. in 1830, resided at Shipping Grove until 1875, when he came to Colorado, purchasing an interest in a rancho and living on it two years, when he settled in Denver, engaging in real estate transactions and having spice mills. In 1880 he sold out, and in 1883 erected one of the handsomest residences in the city at that time, but died soon after, leaving his family a fortune of $200,000.

George J. Hartung, was born in New York in 1854, and educated at the German public schools, and N. Y. college. He graduated from the N. Y. college of dentistry in 1876, practising for three years with his father , the oldest German dentist in New York. In 1883 he came to Colo for his health, travelling among the mining camps until he recovered, when he settled in Denver, being the only German dentist in the state

HISTORY OF WYOMING.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.

BOUNDARIES AND SURFACE—THE HILLS AND PLAINS OF LARAMIE—GEOLOGIC HISTORY—THE RIVER PLATTE—BLACK HILLS—DESERTS WHICH ARE NOT DESERTS—MOUNTAINOUS FORMATIONS AND UPHEAVALS—MINERALS AND METALS—FONTANA, THE LAND OF RIVERS—ROLLING PLAIN OF THE NORTHWEST—FORESTS AND LAKES—FALLS OF THE YELLOWSTONE—SCENES OF BEAUTY AND GRANDEUR—ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC CREEKS, AND TWO-OCEAN AND OTHER PASSES—SPECIMENS OF WORLD FORGINGS AND WELDINGS—GEYSER BASINS—MUD AND WATER VOLCANOES—PAINT POTS—SULPHUR MOUNTAIN—SUBTERRANEAN RUMBLINGS—CLIMATE—ANIMATED NATURE.

IMAGINE an undulating plain extending from the mouth of the Platte river westward over five hundred miles, gaining gradually in altitude until the elevation has reached six thousand feet. Then extend a line, still west, on the forty-first parallel to the thirty-fourth meridian, thence north on that longitude to the forty-fifth parallel, and east to the twenty-seventh meridian, and from there south to the place of beginning. The area enclosed is nearly 100,000 square miles, being 350 miles in length from east to west, and 230 miles in breadth from north to south.

In a general sense this territory, which I have thus enclosed in arbitrary boundaries, is a plateau with a mean elevation of 6,400 feet; its lowest level is 3,534, and its highest altitude 13,858 feet, the first being the channel of a river, and the last the summit of a mountain. Through its western portion runs the

continental divide, but broken into several separate ranges, and having a wide opening toward the Pacific of little more than 1,400 feet above the mean elevation of the territory.

On this roughened plane stand many ridges and groups of various heights. Beginning at the southeast corner, we encounter not far from the boundary a semicircular range, about two thousand feet above the general level, known as the Laramie hills, and west of these the Laramie plains, containing an area of seven thousand square miles, and having an altitude of seven thousand feet. They are bounded on the west and north by the north branch of the Platte, which, coming from the south, sweeps in a long curve around the northern base of the Laramie hills before flowing eastward, and on the south by the Medicine Bow mountains, another low range projecting over the boundary of Colorado, and joining by a line of broken elevations the Sweetwater range, the whole having a northwest trend, and spreading out about twenty-five miles. Crossing this line of hills, we proceed westward over a broken country, much of it with a red and nearly naked soil, to the valley of Green river, a favorite feeding-ground of the buffalo, and which is bounded on the west by the Wasatch range, one of the most beautiful in America, with its sharp outlines, its glistening pinnacles, and diaphanous atmosphere, colored with the tints of the violet and rose.

As I have said, the belt of country passed over is broken, not into rolling hills, as on the great plains to the east, but more abruptly, and dotted here and there with rocky buttes, like barren islands rising out of a sea of mud which had been stiffened by drought, or with here and there sand dunes in long ridges which move with the wind. As to the geologic history of this desert, it may be variously conjectured. Let us say that it is the bottom of a sea, once drained to the east by the Platte river. These sands still flow in

the direction of its ancient waters. South of our route fifty miles we may trace it, moving, moving, ever moving, never two days in the same place, for two hundred miles, or until it reaches the North Platte, whose rapid current bears it down to where it obstructs navigation, and makes this great stream only an irrigating ditch. The width of this river of sand is a mile and a half, its depth two feet over a hard bottom. On the northern shore of the stream stands a mass of black lava five hundred feet high, of a spheroidal form. In its centre is a basin of living water, and at its foot a large spring, fed from the same source, about which is a mound, serving as a curb, rising ten feet above the plain. The depth of the spring is very great, and the water, though cold and pure, has a taste of sulphur. These are some of the indications of the volcanic era in this region.

The absence of any very rugged mountains on the route I have indicated suggests this as a highway laid out by the Great Intelligence in the latitude most favorable at all seasons for that migration to the shore of the Pacific which modern times have witnessed. The absence of water and grass over a great portion of it, and the presence of sand, pushed this migration northward along the bases of the mountains that fence in the Sweetwater pass of the great divide, and it was left to that only less cunning artificer, the man of science and steam, to carry out the design of the creative mind.

Entering the territory from the northeast, we encounter the Black hills, lying across the boundary line, chiefly in Dakota, a group of low, timbered mountains, embraced between the north and south branch of the Cheyenne river. Other ranges, projecting from the headwaters of the Little Missouri and other streams, roughen this northeast region, which is also not without its remarkable features, the most noticeable of which is an immense porphyry upheaval, resembling in shape the tepees of the aboriginal

inhabitants of the plains. The mass, which stands upon a pedestal of milk-white clay, fifteen hundred feet in diameter and five hundred feet high, on the bank of the North fork, is itself nine hundred feet in diameter where it joins the base, and three hundred feet at the summit, which is 1,126 feet above the level of the river. It consists of seventy-six columns, compactly placed, of a gray, porphyrytic rock resembling granite with the mica left out, the columns being the result of crystallization. Standing alone in a plain, several miles from any other elevation, the effect is that of one of the pyramids of Egypt dropped down in this not un-Egyptian landscape.

West of the short ranges, just referred to, lie the valleys of the Powder river and its branches, occupying from 50 to 100 miles in breadth. Still west of those plains rises the magnificent Big Horn range, covering an area 50 by 150 miles in extent, and shooting up a dozen peaks from 9,000 to nearly 14,000 feet. Through an extensive basin of broken country, beyond these mountains, flows the Bighorn river on its way to the Yellowstone, receiving numerous tributaries both from the Bighorn range on the east and the Shoshone range on the west. The southern boundary of the Bighorn basin is Owl Creek range, connecting with the Wind River mountains, a line of needle peaks, which trend northwest from the divide north of the Sweetwater, and join the Shoshone range. Still further west, on the border of Idaho, is the Teton range, with some high and inaccessible peaks, bounded on the south by the upper cañon of Snake river, and between this and the Shoshone range are the lakes which form the sources of the Snake and Yellowstone rivers. South of the Teton range and Snake River cañon is a chaos of mountains, of no great elevation above the surrounding country, in divides or groups, and covering a considerable extent of country. On the tops of some are plateaux from which innumerable streams flow east, west, and south to larger rivers.

One of these principal streams is Green river, which heads in Wind River mountains, and runs south with a slight bend toward the west. In this semicircular valley lies 16,500 square miles of territory, irregularly shaped, bounded on the south by the Uinta range in Utah, and having a general elevation of 7,000 feet. This plateau reaches south-east to that long east-and-west plateau before mentioned as the Pacific highway, and both have been named Red desert, or Colorado desert, from the brick-red color of the soil, and the scarcity of vegetation. I reject this nomenclature as that of ignorance; for the detritus of the mountains about it, which forms its soil, and the substances deposited by the seas and fresh water lakes which once covered all the country between the Missouri and Rocky range and the range itself, is not a barren sand, but contains all the elements of unusual fertility, and lacks only moisture sufficient to quicken it.

Geologically, the mountain masses are of different periods of upheaval. The lower elevations are composed of sedimentary rocks, from the carboniferous limestone to the most recent tertiary beds, jumbled with the oldest formations, which have been thrust up through them. In general, the crests of the higher ranges are of feldspathic granite, syenite and gneiss, while lower down their slopes occur silurian, devonian, carboniferous, triassic, jurassic, and cretaceous rocks, appearing according to the extent of upheaval or the amount of erosive action. The elevated plateaux are mostly cretaceous, overlaid by tertiary sandstone, and with gravel and drift showing the action of water. The story of the creative and destructive forces of the globe is laid open where the narrative is most interesting, showing us at one point on the great highway all the rock formations, from the granite foundations of our world to the latest cretaceous deposits. In the lower valleys dark loams prevail, on the plateaux sandy loams. Beneath the sur-

face lie extensive coal measures, chiefly in the southern portion of the territory, but also in the valleys of the Powder, Bighorn, and Wind rivers, and in the Laramie mountains and plains. Shales, bearing petroleum, are abundant. Iron, limestone, building-stone, beds of soda several feet in thickness, mountains of sulphur, mica, copper, lead, silver, and gold crop-up from plains or project from mountain sides. For the most part the country appears treeless, the timber being confined to the mountains, the principal ranges of which are clothed in pine, spruce, fir, hemlock and cedar.

It is not to be supposed that this high and somewhat bare region is deficient in watercourses. On the contrary few countries have so many. It might be appropriately named Fontana, as its neighbor was Montana, from the great number of rivers and river sources. The Platte has not less than forty small tributaries. The Sweetwater, Green, and Bighorn rivers all rise in the Wind River mountains, every neighboring range sending down feeders. Cheyenne, Powder, and Tongue rivers rise in a divide in the north-east corner of the territory; the Yellowstone and the Snake in the north-west corner.

This north-west portion is a rolling plain, of a mean elevation of 8,000 feet, with short ridges and occasional peaks reaching a height of 10,000 feet. A dense forest covers the greater portion of the land. A little south of the centre is a lake twenty by fifteen miles in area, irregular in form, giving a lengthened shore-line, dotted with wooded islands, bordered by beaches radiant with sparkling pebbles, reflecting in its clear depths pictures of the gray cliffs and green woods which surround it. Out of the north end of the lake flows, very gently for a few miles, the Yellowstone river, which gradually becomes more hurried, forming impetuous rapids, and finally shooting in a sheet of snowy foam over a precipice 140 feet in height, the whole body of water in its haste clearing

the brink and falling fifteen feet beyond the base of the cliffs. The river here enters a cañon from 200 to 400 feet in depth, and for half a mile foams and sparkles, leaps and plunges among the rocks to a second fall of 397 feet perpendicular, where it enters the grand cañon from 1,000 to 2,000 feet in depth, where in darkness, and with sighs and groans unheard at the surface, it rushes through twenty miles of rocky fissure before it again emerges into light and freedom. Lesser cañons and falls occur on tributary streams, but none to rival the Yellowstone cataracts and cañons. Beauty as well as grandeur enters into the effect. The walls of the basin into which the river first plunges are composed of rock and conglomerate, held together with clays dyed in vivid tints of yellow, red, green, and purple, by the percolation of mineralized waters. Fantastic shapes, resulting from the wearing away of friable material, some grand, some mirth-provoking, abound on every hand. Towers, spires, buttresses, and other architectural effects suggest ruins of man's creations, rather than the decay of an older world builded by God himself. Fostered by spray from the cataracts, dainty plants and mosses flourish greenly in their vicinity, decorating as for an eternal festival every lofty archway, mimic hall, and simulated chapel, and floating their emerald streamers from every gaily-painted obelisk and tower.

Yellowstone lake, as I have said, has a lengthened shore line. It is, in fact, a collection of narrow inlets with a common centre, shaped much like an enormous tuber, with projecting knobs on every side. Into the southeast one of these bays flows the upper Yellowstone, which rises in the Shoshone range. It is the only feeder of the lake of any size, and has a small fork to the southwest called Atlantic creek. Heading in the same mountains is a feeder of Snake river known as Pacific creek, and these two creeks, starting from neighboring sources, but taking opposite directions, furnish a pass which is known as Two-ocean

pass, leading from Snake river below Jackson lake to the Yellowstone lake, via the upper Yellowstone river. Pacific creek is not, however, the source of the sinuous Serpent river whose rocky channel through Idaho has been described, Shoshone lake, or as it should be named, De Lacy lake, being the fountain head. Joined to this lake by a wide neck is a second, called Lewis lake, and not far east, at the foot of Mount Sheridan, a third, named Heart lake, which also sends a stream to Snake river. Twenty miles below these headwaters, on the western slope of the continental divide, the Snake forms Jackson lake, which is larger than the former, and has an island of some size in the southern end. A little way south of Jackson are Leigh and Jenny lakes, connected by a creek and tributary to the river. A park-like basin extends along the Snake from the first lake to the upper cañon, named by early trappers Jackson hole. The cañon, a narrow defile twenty miles in length, through which the river foams and tosses frantically, is still passable by following a trail clinging to the precipitous side about a hundred feet above the stream. From these topographical features it will be seen that travel from other parts of the before described territory to this northwest corner should be difficult. Walled away from the remainder by the high Shoshone range, and stopped by cañons from approach by river, it is nearly inaccessible. As to mountain passes, there is the Toowotee, at the head of Wind river, which leads to the head of Black Rock creek, a tributary of the Snake, through Buffalo fork; and south of this, in the Wind river range, Union pass, at the head of Gros Ventre, another branch of Snake river; east of Yellowstone lake is Stinking river pass, at the head of the north fork of that river, itself a tributary of the Bighorn, none of which breaking in the chain of environing mountains is available for ordinary travel. To come to Yellowstone lake we must approach from the north, and by the Madison fork of

the Missouri. Here are revealed some of the least common processes of nature in giving the finishing touches to the work of world-making, not quite completed in this region. Let us approach, then, by the Madison river, passing through an eight-mile labyrinth, not gloomy, or even difficult, but opening out in some parts to the width of half a mile, forming parks adorned with miniature forests, and having grassy glades furnished with frequent springs of ice-cold water, in other parts contracting to a few yards of space, but always beautiful and cheerful, as if gaily conducting us to a glorious spectacle beyond. As we emerge from this seductive path we come into a valley of no great extent, clothed in vegetation, at the upper end of which unite the streams which constitute the headwaters of the Madison river. The name given to this verdant vale by those men of simple and strong speech who, in our time, at least, first invaded its solitude, was Fire hole, and to the principal stream entering it Fire-hole river. Their reason for this appellation was the unmistakable evidences, visible in the soil and rocks, of the agency of fire in giving character to it. Probably at that time, too, these appearances were even more striking than at present, being less concealed by vegetation. Following up Firehole river, which comes leaping joyfully down from the heights in a succession of noisy cascades, we find the banks lined with moisture-loving trees, aspens, cottonwoods, and willows, coming finally to a pine forest, out of which we emerge rather suddenly into a region so suggestive of a lake of fire and brimstone that the discoverers above referred to did not hesitate to call it hell. Having begun to liken things hereabout to the infernal regions, they named one of the most impetuous and noisy of the affluents of the Yellowstone Hellroaring river, which appellation, with all its obloquy, still clings to this stream.

Over a tract of country many miles in extent volcanic forces are still at work. Instead of frightful

eruptions of molten lava, which in the remote ages poured down the sharp ridges of the Shoshone range; instead of mountains being thrust up in one place and sunken in another when their fiery contents had been belched forth, we have now on the site of former spectacles of indescribable grandeur the milder suggestion of this past offered by ten thousand hot springs and geysers, divided between two principal geyser basins. Intermittent in action, and differing in character and power, the display is infinite in variety, and wonderful as varied. Hot steam, which roars and hisses as it escapes, loud rumblings, discharges like parks of artillery from the explosion of gases, and nauseous odors from the minerals held in solution in the vast cauldron whose outlets are these springs, imply a region below which even the souls of Dante and Virgil would have shrunk from exploring.

Yet this region is most attractive. It contains the largest spouting geysers in the world, each with distinctive features. The Mud volcano plays regularly once in six hours; Grand geyser, in Firehole basin, throws a column of clear hot water twenty-five feet in thickness at the base two hundred and fifty feet into the air for twenty minutes at a time; its neighbor, the Fan geyser, discharges in five radiating jets to a height of sixty feet for an hour. In another place the Giant plays, with a diameter of seven and a height of 140 feet, lasting three hours; the Giantess, with a diameter of eighteen and a height of 250 feet, lasting twenty minutes; the Beehive, with a diameter of twenty and a height of 219 feet, lasting twenty minutes; Old Faithful, with a diameter of six and a height of 200 feet, lasting twenty minutes; Grotto, with a diameter of four and a height of sixty feet, lasting thirty minutes; Castle, with a diameter of five and a height of 100 feet, lasting from ten to thirty minutes. Their names have been suggested by the forms of the concretions about them. The geysers, and many of the hot springs, deposit a sediment ac-

cording to the minerals held in solution, which builds up fantastic or beautifully formed and often brilliantly colored basins. Some of the dead geysers have left behind huge paint-pots, the residuum of long periods of activity. Here and there stand quaint forms carved by wind and weather out of decaying volcanic matter. Such are Devil's Hoof and Liberty Cap. White Dome, The Castle, Circe's Boudoir, The Pyramid, and the Punch-bowl are the curious shapes taken by the same material about the still active geysers. In one place is a soda, and in another a sulphur fountain still hot at a depth of two feet from the surface; in another an alum spring, or a chalk vat; and in still another a pitch-stone plateau. At intervals are groves of pines. Springs of pure cold water are frequent, and contain trout, which the angler may drop into a boiling fountain without changing his position, and catch and cook his dinner at once. The air is full of singular sounds, rumblings, roarings, hissings, explosions. Millions of diamonds are thrown off sparkling from the lofty shafts of water constantly shivering into drops; curling clouds of steam float in and out among them, and countless broken rainbows hang on nothing. It is not easy to depict a scene like this; it is too grand, too shifting, too altogether unusual.

Volcanic action is mainly confined to two basins east of the summit of the Rocky mountains, and a little northwest of Yellowstone lake, among the highest feeders of the Madison river. Far east of these, however, on the Stinkingwater fork of Bighorn river, is Colter hell, where similar phenomenon is exhibited on a lesser scale. Immediately about the geyser basins, and to the east, especially east of Yellowstone lake, the forest is nearly continuous, and is the home of a variety of game. The lakes and streams abound in several kinds of fish, while their shores are the nesting-places of numerous water-fowls. The altitude of this region is but little more than that of the remainder of the territory, whose mean elevation

is 6,400. But two peaks in all this vast region of mountainous country equal the height of hundreds south of that elevated, broken plain which we traversed a few pages back. This greater uniformity of level has its effect on the climate, which is also proportionately uniform. The mean temperature of the geyser basins in the extreme northwest differs from that of a point in the extreme southeast but a few degrees, the altitude being 1,325 feet greater in the former, the influences of which elevation and the vicinity of the snow-peaks being overcome by the moderating effect of the geysers. Other local causes produce slight variations from the changes resulting from differences in altitude; but aside from these, the ordinary summer heat is about seventy degrees, and the mean winter temperature above twenty degrees. On the higher ranges the snowfall is heavy, on the plains light. About once each winter there are a few days when a wave of cold sweeps over the whole east slope of the Rocky mountains, and a blinding storm of snow as dry as sand obscures the country for hundreds of miles. Spring comes late and winter early, but the dry atmosphere exhilarates like wine. There is, indeed, on a clear morning, following a still, cold night, a brilliant dawn followed by a mirage, which has the effect to elevate and bring into view large tracts of country not ordinarily visible, being cut off by intervening objects. As the sun rises the refraction ceases, and the distant objects which had been pictured upon the air sink out of sight.

The creator does not seem to have designed this region particularly for the use of those worthy men who cause two blades of grass to grow where he planted but one; yet it has not been left sterile to any disproportionate degree. Wherever the altitude does not exceed seven thousand feet the grains which support life may be grown. Those who handle the plough not being here, the plains, valleys, and even the mountain sides, were set with the richest of grasses

for the fattening of innumerable bison, that the red men might have food, and the mighty beast suffer. Darting across the hunter's path, herds of the lithe gazelle added their grace of movement to the immense panorama. Deer, sheltering in the enclosed vales and glades, fed together in families. In the deep woods bears of several species had their habitat, and found roots for food. Beasts of prey sent their angry cries through the forest, famished by the thirst for blood. Wolves howled like dogs to be fed. Mountain sheep climbed the seemingly inaccessible ridges, and kept their sentinels on the loftiest peaks. Moose peered over the edges of cliffs and elk pastured themselves in the high valleys. Tiny creatures of a hundred form sdarted from woody coverts, or out of subterranean homes, with the busy air of intelligent communities. The cunning beaver labored to impede the rapid mountain torrents with dams that have withstood the freshets of centuries, delighting in this land of numerous watercourses. Game birds and song birds had here their favorite feeding-grounds. Bugs and butterflies made populous the dust and the air. Even the serpent, emblem at once of eternal life and voluntary evil, was not absent, taking up his residence in the underground habitation of the prairie-dog, to escape the blistering heat of the sands, where he sometimes met that strange inmate, the owl, also hiding from the intense sunshine of the plains. So did this region abound with life in ages when the white man, to the knowledge of the red man, was not.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS.

1650–1850.

UNFOUNDED RUMORS OF SPANISH OCCUPATION—PRE-HISTORIC ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS—WESTWARD EXPLORATION—VERENDRYE, LEWIS AND CLARKE, LISA, AND WILLIAMS—MISSOURI FUR COMPANY—HENRY FORT —LONG'S EXPEDITION—ASHLEY ON UTAH LAKE—OTHER TRAPPERS AND TRADERS—FORT BRIDGER—MISSIONARIES OF OREGON—THE GALLANT PATHFINDER—BATTALION OF MOUNTED VOLUNTEERS—FORTS LEAVENWORTH, KEARNY, AND LARAMIE—SCOTT AND HIS BLUFFS—THE PATHWAY OF THE NATIONS.

IT has been claimed by certain Spanish authorities that previous to 1650 their countrymen had penetrated into the territory south of, but not quite to, the Missouri river, where they found gold, and made settlements, opening canals for mining purposes, constructing arastras, and building houses of stone, and where for twenty-five years they carried on mining and fur-hunting, sending richly-laden trains to New Mexico. About 1650 the natives, they say, arose and killed them all. There is nothing true in this statement.[1] Some coloring has been given to the story by the discovery, in 1865, of what appeared to be the stone

[1] The Spaniards had all they could do to hold their own in New Mexico during the 17th century, without venturing 800 miles into the wilderness among the Indians. There were no such expeditions as represented, although in order to secure grants of land or patents of nobility Spanish adventurers related such stories to the king. In the 18th century there were not infrequent expeditions after Indians who made forays into New Mexico. Such were those of Valverdé, in 1719, with 105 Spaniards, 30 pueblo Indians, and a company of Apaches, under Carlana, captain, which went further north than any previous one; and the expedition of Capt. Villazur the same year, on a similar errand. It is doubtful if they went farther north than the Arkansas river. *Valverdé y Coces, Diario y Derrotero*, 1719, by his secretary, Alonzo Ruel de Aguilar,

foundations of houses, and what might pass for an ancient arastra, on the headwaters of Powder river, and about Smet lake.

But if we explore the past critically, we shall find that at some period anterior to the history of the existing aboriginal races in the country, and perhaps contemporaneous with the cliff-dwellers of Colorado, a people to whom the present tribes of red men were as little known as the Caucasian was at a later period to these, had their habitations here. Of their presence the traces are distinct, their relics being found chiefly in the country about the head of the Yellowstone, and in the Bighorn and Wind river valleys. They consist of steatite vessels, bowl-shaped, and neatly finished, stone lance-heads, knives, and scrapers, and sinkers for fishing-lines made of volcanic sandstone, or of a green-veined marble. The workmanship of these articles is different from any found on the Pacific or Atlantic coasts, and unlike any in use among the present native tribes[2] inhabiting Montana and Wyoming. Other remains point to a scarcity of timber in the past in that part of the mountains where timber is now plentiful, the driveways for game being constructed of stone instead of wood, and the occurrence of small, circular enclosures of stone seeming to indicate that, if not the foundations of houses, they were used for covers from which to shoot game. Heaps of bones, tools, ornaments, weapons, burial cairns, and mining shafts are among the proofs of their presence. At what period they disappeared and recent tribes took their place is among the secrets

[2] I find drawings of these articles in the *Fifth Annual Report of P. W. Norris, Superintendent of the Yellowstone National Park*, 1881, pp. 32–8. There is mention of these prehistoric remains in *The Reconnaissance of Northwestern Wyoming*, by W. A. Jones, U. S. engineers, 1875, a scientific report upon the geography, meteorology, geology, thermal waters, botany, and entomology of Wyoming. His remarks occupy pp. 259 to 270. Recent discoveries in the valley of Santa Lucia, N. M., point to a prehistoric race of which the Wyoming stone-workers were perhaps a branch. Metcalf, of Denver, has a collection of their stone axes and hammers, breast-plates, carvings, etc., found in a cavern. Cotton batting and thread were found among the other relics.

which the past refuses to disclose. The débris of ages covers the silent witnesses of their existence, which patient research is only now bringing to light,[3] and to them I should refer the stone ruins credited to Spanish occupation.

Exploration by white men was begun in Wyoming in 1743–4, when Sieur de la Verendrye and his sons, of Canada, visited the Rocky mountains by the way of the great lakes and the Assiniboine, Missouri, Yellowstone, and Bighorn rivers. Passing up Pryor fork to the Stinkingwater, they travelled thence south as far as Wind river, being about a year on this part of their journey, and learning much about the geography of the country and the customs of the Indian tribes. They would have gone still further south had not the Shoshones told them they would be killed if they did so by parties of the Sans Arcs band of Sioux, the hereditary enemies of their nation, who were always watching about the South pass.[4]

This is the first we hear about the celebrated opening, and as far as it goes it is authentic, as is also that which is said about the Indians. Other expeditions would have followed but for the change in the ownership of trading-posts, which after the seven years' war between France and England fell into the hands of the English, who left exploration altogether to the fur companies. The war of the revolt of the colonies followed, at the termination of which many posts which had first been French, and had passed to the English, became a part of the possessions of the United States, which government, as soon as it was

[3] Norris says, in his *Rept National Park*, 1881, p. 30, that the most abundant remains exist outside of the National park to the north, which would bring them into Montana. He traced them from the borders of the park, below the mouth of Gardiner river, through Bottler park, and the Gate of the Mountains, to the open plains, a distance of 60 miles. But Jones, in his *Reconnaissance*, found a stone circle on the right bank of Little Wind river, south of Butte springs, below Camp Brown, three by six feet in dimensions. Several others in the Wind river region are described, and the author favors the inference of religious ceremonials connected with them, but I am of the opinion they were connected with hunting.

[4] See *Hist. Northwest Coast*, this series; also Granville Stuart, in *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, 316.

able, after the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, sent an expedition to explore a path to the Pacific, in 1804–6, which did not reach the country south of the three branches of the Missouri in Montana. The action of the government in sending out Lewis and Clarke still further stimulated private adventure, which had already begun to look toward the Rocky mountains, as I have shown in my *History of Colorado*. Among the first of whom there is any record were two men from Illinois, Hancock and Dickson, who hunted beaver on the Yellowstone in 1804.[5] They remained in the country in 1806, and were joined by John Colter, one of the members of Lewis and Clarke's company, who was discharged on the Missouri, below the mouth of the Yellowstone, and returned up the river, wintering on the headwaters of Pryor's fork. In the spring of 1807 he went through Pryor's gap of the Bighorn mountains to Clarke fork, crossing thence by the Stinkingwater pass[6] to the Yellowstone, which he forded between the lake and the falls, neither of which he saw, as the information furnished to the government, and illustrated in the map published in 1814, goes to show. He came to Shoshone lake, which he called Lake Erastus, and believed it the source of the Yellowstone, no greater error than has been committed at a much more recent period by much more scientific explorers.[7] Then he crossed the

[5] *Lewis and Clarke's Travels*, 638. London ed., 1814.

[6] The map accompanying Lewis and Clarke's narrative of their expedition, among its other faults, makes Colter go through the mountains almost directly west of the confluence of the forks of Clarke river, which is improbable, owing to the nature of the country. The Stinking water offers a pass, although by no means a good one. It would bring him to the Yellowstone, where he crossed it, while the more southern passes would take him far from the geyser region, which he described sufficiently to make it certain that he was not only at Colter hell on the Stinking water, but in the upper geyser basin as well.

[7] Hayden believed it drained into the Madison. Why should not men be just? This lake, when seen by De Lacy, was named after himself, he having discovered that it was the source of Snake river, which properly entitled him to the honor. Hayden changed the name, without any good reason. It might properly be called Colter lake, as he was, without question, the first white man to map this region, and probably his party was the first in

Rocky mountains to the head of Green river, and back again to the head of Wind river, which he mistook for the main Bighorn, and by a northeast course over mountain and valley came again to the Stinking-water,[8] and back to his camp of the previous winter, in the country of the Crows. Who accompanied Colter in this journey is not known. It may have been his two comrades of the year previous, or some other or others, but there is no reason to believe he was alone. He remained many years in the mountains; his death is unrecorded, and he passes out of sight in this history.[9]

Manuel Lisa in 1807 established a trading-post and fort at the mouth of the Bighorn river, and was probably the first to erect a fort in this part of the Rocky mountains. Although in Montana, the district from which he drew his peltries was equally in Wyoming. It is said that even earlier Antonio Matéo, a Portuguese, had a fort on the head of Powder river. There is a tradition among mountain men that this fort was once invested for sixty days by the Sioux, and the appearance of the ruins gives probability to the story.

The first authentic expedition to the region whose history we are following was by a party under Ezekiel

[8] It is a slander to use this non-descriptive name for an inoffensive stream. The early trappers took it from the Indians, who, in their peculiar fashion, called it 'the river that ran by the stinking water,' referring to bad-smelling hot springs on its banks.

[9] Lewis and Clarke say in their narrative, pp. 643–4, that Colter was once near home, but meeting with a hunting party going to the mountains joined it, and returned without seeing his friends. There is current the story of his running the gauntlet among the Blackfoot, and escaping with life, though not without severe wounds and much suffering. Potts, another of Lewis and Clarke's company, who had returned to the mountains, was with him. The men were surprised while trapping. Being wounded, Potts shot an Indian, when he was instantly riddled with arrows. Colter was seized, stripped naked, and given a chance to run for his life. He was pursued by several hundred Indians, the ground that he had to pass over being covered with prickly pear, which lacerated his naked feet. Such exertion did he make that the blood gushed from his mouth and nostrils. Eluding his enemies by the utmost effort, he darted into the river, and concealed himself beneath a raft of driftwood, lodged against an island. Although the Indians were upon the island and the raft during the day, he was not discovered, and escaped in the night. Seven days afterwards he arrived, famished, blistered with the sun's heat, with his feet and legs terribly swollen, at the fort of Manuel Lisa on the Bighorn, near the Yellowstone, where he was hospitably received, and recovered.

Williams, in 1807. This hardy frontiersman had been employed by the government to lead an escort of twenty men to restore to his own people a chief of the Mandans, who, with his family, had been induced to accompany Lewis and Clarke to Washington, in 1806. This duty performed, Williams and party continued on to the Blackfoot country, where they began trapping, dividing their company into two detachments. While on the Yellowstone, near its mouth, one detachment was attacked by one hundred Blackfoot, and five of their number killed, the other five escaping to camp. The company immediately moved southward into the country of the Crows, where one of their number, named Rose, a worthless character who had attached himself to the expedition in St Louis, determined to remain. Williams, with his greatly reduced party, proceeded farther south, designing to go to California via the South pass, of whose existence he seems to have had some information. While upon the headwaters of the North Platte, he was again attacked, this time by Crows, and lost again five men, killing, however, twenty of the enemy. Their horses having been taken before the battle, the remaining ten men were set on foot, and compelled to cache their furs and other property too heavy to be carried. Williams then moved southward again, wandering among the mountains until spring, when he had reached the South Platte, and his connection with this portion of my history ceases.[10] The names of those of Williams' party who survived, besides himself and the renegade Rose, were Workman and Spencer.

In 1808 the Missouri Fur company was formed in St Louis, of which Lisa was a member, as well as William Clark, Pierre Choteau, Sr, Sylvester Laba-

[10] See note 12, ch. ii., of my *History of Colorado* and *History of the Northwest Coast*, vol. xxviii., this series, pp. 127–8; also *The Lost Trappers*, by David H. Coyner.

die, Pierre Menard, and Auguste P. Choteau. They sent Alexander Henry up the Missouri to establish posts, and endeavor to open commerce with the Indians west of the Rocky mountains. Henry was unable to obtain a footing among the Blackfoot, but crossed the divide, and erected a post on the head of that branch of Snake river which bears his name, a day's journey above its confluence with the main stream.

The Missouri Fur company followed its design with varying fortunes, and Fort Henry was abandoned in 1810, the company being dissolved two years later, to be revived a few years afterward[11] by Joshua Pilcher, M. Lisa, Thomas Hempstead, and Mr Perkins. The

J. O. R. STUMP.

operations of this company were carried on chiefly in southern Montana, and along the branches of the Yellowstone which rise in and flow through Wyoming. No record was kept of the wanderings of the men who served in this or any of the fur companies, but that Powder and Bighorn rivers were thoroughly explored by them there can be no doubt. In that extreme northwest corner of the territory where the Yellowstone heads still stands a memento of one of these rovers—a pine tree bearing the inscription here represented.

[11] In 1814 Henry was in charge of a post in the Willamette valley. He was afterward a partner in the Northwest company of Canada and Oregon. *Hist. Northwest Coast*, this series, vol. xxviii. p. 129, note 3.

The first recorded expedition which entered Wyoming from the east was that of Wilson Price Hunt, in 1811, who conducted to Oregon the overland part of the Pacific Fur company, which founded Astoria. Accompanying him were Robert McLellan, Ramsey Crooks, Donald McKenzie, John Day, and fifty-five others, all of whom toiled and suffered much on their rugged march. They left the Missouri at the mouth of the Big Cheyenne, and following the general course of that stream to and along the base of the Black hills, travelled westward across Powder river valley and Bighorn mountains to Wind river, where they turned south to find grass and game, coming to the upper waters of the Colorado, known to trappers as Spanish river, whence they found their way to Snake river. The following year McLellan, Crooks, Robert Stewart, and two Frenchmen, returning to the east, met Joseph Miller, who had been robbed by the natives in the Arapahoe country, presumably in southern Wyoming. They fared no better than Miller, having all their horses stolen, and being compelled to finish their journey to the Missouri on foot.[12] Avoiding their former route over mountains, they followed the Platte from its headwaters to its mouth,[13] being the first to travel that natural highway to the Pacific afterward so generally pursued. In 1820 Major Stephen H. Long, under orders from the government, explored the Platte valley as far west as the junction of the North and South forks, when he took a southerly course, and was therefore not in Wyoming; but the result of his expedition was to attract attention to the central overland route to the mountains, which finally made the Platte, North Platte, and Sweetwater valleys the great thoroughfare of Pacific travel.

In 1822, William H. Ashley, a Virginian by birth, who had migrated to Missouri while it was still called

[12] *Long's Expedition*, 465–6.

[13] *Id.*, 466. Long says the narrative of this journey was published in the *Missouri Gazette*, but does not give the year.

upper Louisiana, where he was the first lieutenant-governor, and brigadier-general of militia,[14] with the assistance of Henry, erected a fort on the Yellowstone. The following year, having formed with Astor the North American Fur company, he started up the Missouri for this post with twenty-eight men, but was attacked by the Rickasas, and driven back, with a loss of fourteen killed and ten wounded.[15] Undaunted, he enlisted three hundred men, and in 1824 again sought the mountains, following the Platte to the South pass, exploring and naming the Sweetwater, and appointing a rendezvous with the Indians on Spanish river, which he named, after a member of his company, Green river. He pushed his explorations to Utah lake, discovered first by Escalante in 1776, but seen by no American before Ashley, who gave it his own name. Here he erected a post, and in two or three years collected $180,000 worth of furs, selling out his establishment in 1826 to the Rocky Mountain Fur company, formed that year in St Louis, with Jedediah S. Smith, William L. Sublette, and David E. Jackson at the head. They had been leaders under the North American company, and were well equipped to succeed to the business, in which they were also successful. To them belongs the distinction of having taken the first wagons from the Missouri to the mountains, ten of which, each drawn by five mules, and two carts, rolled the whole distance from St Louis to Wind river rendezvous, the wagons carrying eighteen hundred pounds each, and travelling from fifteen to twenty-five miles a day. Have I not said that this was the great natural highway across the continent? Some persons have tried to make it

[14] Col A. G. Brackett, in *Trans. Wyom. Acad. Sciences*, etc., 1882, p. 79.

[15] One of those who escaped was Lindsey Applegate, a pioneer of Oregon, who made his home at Ashland in the Rogue river valley.

[16] In Ashley's service was James P. Beckwourth, whose character and career have been more than once referred to in this history. He claimed to have been in the mountains as early as 1817, and to have, in company with Vaquez, discovered and explored the south Platte, but what year is not stated. *Montana Post*, Feb. 23, 1867.

appear extremely difficult, and to steal the glory from the creator and the Rocky Mountain Fur company; but here are the facts. They reported to the government that there was no obstacle to crossing to the west side of the Rocky mountains with wagons, had they desired to do so. The next year they brought out fourteen wagons, and the use of wheeled vehicles became common on this route. In the meantime the Missouri Fur company had been revived, as I have said, under the leadership of Pilcher, Lisa, Hempstead, and Perkins, and had its trappers in the country about the South pass, although its principal territory was among the Sioux, Ricaras, and other Missouri river tribes. About 1830 the Rocky Mountain company was reorganized, with Milton Sublette, James Bridger, and Fitzpatrick at the head, with several other partners. They had, together with the other fur companies, men enough in the mountains about the headwaters of the Platte, Green, and Snake rivers, and on the Yellowstone branches, to constitute a regiment.[17]

In 1832 Captain E. L. Bonneville, an army officer on leave, led a company of 110 trappers to the mountains in search of profit and adventure. He was assisted by I. R. Walker and M. Serré, leaders. They travelled the Platte route, with a caravan of twenty wagons—some drawn by oxen, which were the first "bull teams" on this line—laden with Indian goods, provisions, and ammunition, which were

[17] It would be gratifying to be able to give a list of all the hunters and trappers in Wyoming previous to the period of emigration; but these men had no individual importance in the eyes of their leaders, who recruited their rapidly thinning ranks yearly, with little attention to the personality of the victims of hardship, accident, vice, or Indian hostility, whose bones often received no burial, but bleached under sun and snow until they crumbled to dust. Names that have been preserved of the more prominent, daring, or fortunate explorers of this territory during the great fur-hunting period are comparatively few. Among them are Blackwell, Fontenelle, Frapp, La Jeunesse, Robert Campbell, Kit Carson, Godin, Newell, Meek, Ebberts, Gantt, Gervais, Brown, Craig, Sinclair, Vanderburgh, Dripps, Gale, Hawkins, Liggitt, Anderson, Ward, Wade, Parmalee, Head, Robinson, Rider Larison, Russell, Guthrie, Walker, Doty, Claymore, Legarde, Reese, Nelson, Maloney, Tullock, Harris, Black, Matthieu, Kiplin, Boudeau, Bissonette, Adams, Sabille, Kellogg, Galpin.

all taken through the South pass into Green river, being the first wagons to roll down the western slope of the Rocky mountains. Here he erected a fortified camp, and remained in the mountains hunting furs, fighting Indians, and exploring for three years. He wintered in 1832 in Salmon river, but spent the summer of 1833 east of the Rocky range, on the Bighorn and Powder rivers, on the latter visiting a "burning mountain," where the earth was hot and cracked in many places, emitting smoke and sulphurous vapors, and "abounding with anthracite coal." He also visited Colter hell, which he found a region similar to that on Powder river.[18]

Another adventurer in these parts was Nathaniel J. Wyeth, who, in 1832 brought out a party of twenty-two men, which by desertion and loss was reduced to half that number while he was at Pierre hole on the head of Henry branch of Snake river.[19] In 1834 he returned with fifty men, but had no better fortune than before, competition with the Hudson's Bay company on one hand, and the American company on the other; desertion and the Indians leaving him little or nothing of his investments.[20]

It does not seem that it was the custom of the fur companies to erect forts, except in case of necessity, where the Indians were of a predatory and hostile disposition, which was not the character of those on

[18] *Irving's Bonneville Adven.*, 199. It is remarkable that we hear nothing about the geyser basins from the various fur-hunting adventurers. The only mention of this region, except that which I have given, is in Victor's *River of the West*. Meek heard the whistling and saw the steam from the geysers one cold morning in Nov. 1829, and likened it aptly to the city of Pittsburg on a winter morning.

[19] The names of some of Wyeth's party were John B. Wyeth, Solomon H. Smith, John Ball, Calvin Tibbetts, Abbott, Breck, Burditt, St Clair, Trumbull, and Whittier. On his second visit, besides his hired men, he escorted Nuttall and Townsend, naturalists; Jason and Daniel Lee, missionaries to Oregon; Cyrus Shepard, and C. M. Walker. Two Englishmen, Stewart and Ashworth, also visited the mountains this year with the fur companies, travelling a part of the time with Wyeth. Stewart seems to have been in the mountains even earlier, and to have come and gone year after year. He resided in New Orleans. See *Hist. Oregon* and *Hist. Northwest Coast*, this series.

[20] *Hist. Northwest Coast*, this series, i. 491, 517, 520; ii. 576–8, 585–7.

the west side of the mountains to any serious degree. On account of the Blackfoot and Crow nations, whose habits were more warlike, a number of forts were established on the Missouri and the main Yellowstone, as I have mentioned in my *History of Montana*, but within the territory which now constitutes Wyoming Bonneville erected the first fortification, at the junction of Lead creek with Green river, in 1832 the remains of which may still be seen. The Indians becoming more troublesome as they became better acquainted with white men and the temptations offered by their wealth, the necessity for forts increased. Rivalry in trade was another incentive to building posts.

The first permanent post erected in Wyoming was by William Sublette and Robert Campbell in 1834, and was established with the design of monopolizing the trade of those tribes who roamed over the country, from the Missouri on the northeast to the Sweetwater on the west of the Black hills, namely, Arapahoes, Cheyennes, and Sioux. Being strong and warlike nations, it was necessary, while inviting their commerce to guard against their attacks.

The fort was situated on Laramie fork, an affluent of the Platte, a clear and beautiful stream, winding through meadows where grew the wild currant and gooseberry, and which was dotted here and there with groups of larger trees. It consisted of a palisade eighteen feet high, with bastions in two diagonally opposite corners, and a few small adobe houses inside. It was called Fort William, after Sublette. In 1835 the establishment was sold to Milton Sublette, James Bridger, and three other fur hunters, who had united with the American Fur company, after an active rivalry of several years, during which these two powerful associations, had driven all the other American fur traders out of Wyoming.[21] The fort was rebuilt

[21] These several leaders then put out with detachments of trappers to hunt in every direction—Sublette, Fitzpatrick, Fontenelle, Basil La Jeneusse, W. M. Anderson, Jack Robinso and James Bridger. *Carlin, Hist. Fort Bridger*. MS., 1.

in 1836 by the new owners, at an outlay of $10,000, and was called by a part of the company Fort John, but the name never could be made acceptable to the majority. The clerks in the eastern office settled the difference unintentionally by making out their bills for Fort Laramie, the name of the river on which it was situated,[22] and much more likely to be understood than William or John, which might be anywhere. It continued to be a fort of the American Fur company until 1849, when it was sold to the government. It had many commanders in its time, the last of whom was Bruce Husband.

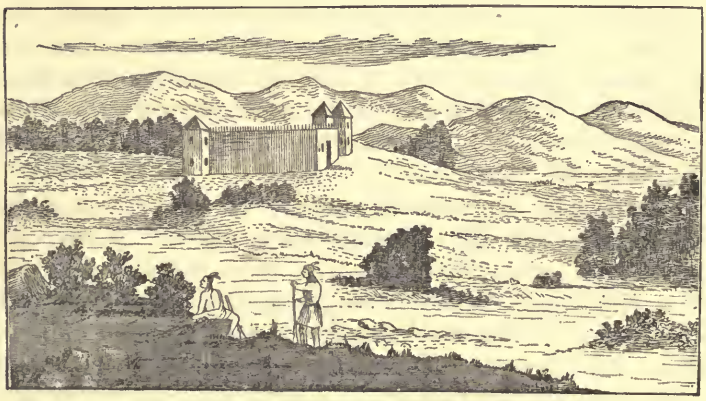
No other permanent establishment was made before 1842, when Fort Bridger was erected on a delta formed by several branches of Black fork of Green river. It was a log fort, or block house, and was occupied by Bridger during the interesting period of the earliest migration of settlers to the Pacific coast. He abandoned it in 1853, being warned by the Mormons, who did not desire a hostile fort in the neighborhood of their settlements.[23] About the same time

[22] Laramie was a French trapper, who in the earliest fur-hunting times was killed by the Arapahoes on this stream. H. S. Schell, *History of Fort Larimie*, MS., 2. This complete account of a famous fort was furnished me by the war department, and contains extracts from military correspondence, and such documents as bear upon the subject. I have another *History of Fort Larimie* by Charles H. Cochran, 1st lieut 7th infantry at that post. It is taken from the files of the post, and enlarged with references to books of travel. Concurrent accounts are found in *Trans. Wyom. Acad. Sciences, etc.*, 81, 84. Carlin (William P., col. 4th inf.) *Experiences in Wyoming*, MS., 5–11, being an account of certain military operations, which I shall refer to in their proper place, written by his own hand. Carlin was at Laramie as early as 1855.

[23] I am aware that in Chamber's *Hist. Fort Bridger*, MS., and also in the *Trans. Wyom. Acad. Sciences*, 81–2, it is said that Bridger sold a Spanish grant to the Mormons, Lewis Robinson being named as the purchaser, and $8,000 as the price. In the *Utah Hand-Book of Reference*, 73, it is recorded that President Young purchased of James Bridger a Mexican grant for thirty square miles of land and some cabins, afterwards known as Fort Bridger. This is a mistake, as there were no Spanish grants in that region. R. B. Marcy, in his *Thirty Years of Army Life*, 401, relates that he fell in with Bridger at Fort Laramie in 1857, as he was returning from Washington, where he had been to lay his case before the authorities. Marcy tells us that Bridger was an illiterate man, 'tall, thin, wiry, with a complexion well bronzed by toil and exposure, with an independent, generous, open cast of countenance, indicative of brave and noble impulses.' I have a letter from P. W. McAdow of Billings, Montana, who knew Bridger well. He says that Bridger was born in Washington in 1807, and joined Ashley's fur

that Fort Bridger was founded, Sabille Adams and company erected Fort Platte on the point of land formed by the junction of Laramie fork with the Platte. It was never completed, having one side open toward the river.

Let us leave fur-hunting and hunters and turn to other enterprises. We cannot quite get away from them after all, for it is in their company that all come who venture to invade this grand and virgin heart of the continent. In 1834, 1835, 1836, 1838 and 1839 parties of missionaries, men and women, crossed the



Old Fort Bridger.

plains and mountains, descending to the shores of the Pacific. Two days' travel from the rendezvous on the Sweetwater, the two pioneer white women of the Pacific coast received such a welcome as the men of the mountains knew how to give, and were escorted to the great camp of that year on Green river. For a week, civilization in their persons, rested in this

company for the mountains in 1826. In his long experience in the mountains he became acquainted with every part of them, and was the most skillful and reliable guide known. While in the east in 1856–7 he purchased a farm near Westport, Mo.; but the change in his habits was unendureble, and he returned to the mountains, and resumed the occupation of guide, which he followed until age compelled him to abandon it, when he went to live upon his farm. He died at his home near Westport in 1881.

meadowy vale, and then passed on with the great English fur company to the Columbia.[24]

Another devotee comes, in 1840, to christianize the same savages which other Christian men are doing their best to heathenize. His enthusiastic faith does not fail him however, and he finds one nation at least which is approachable by spiritual teaching. They receive him joyfully, pleased with the notion of receiving knowledge, for even the savage had perceived that knowledge is power. This is P. J. De-Smet, Jesuit, and man of brains, which even his narrowing religion could not deaden, if it could pervert. Promising to come again prepared to teach, he returned to St Louis with the fur company, redeeming his promise in 1841, when he established a mission west of the Rocky mountains, among the Flatheads, after which, in 1842, he once more returned to St Louis for recruits.

On Smet's homeward journey he was escorted by his Indians through the Hellgate pass of the Rocky mountains, along their eastern slope to the forks of the Missouri, whence he journeyed with a single companion, John de Velder, by way of the Yellowstone to Fort Van Buren at the mouth of the Bighorn, and thence to Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone, where he took passage down the Missouri on one of the American company's boats. On a subsequent expedition—for Smet was an almost constant traveller—he discovered and named Smet lake in the Bighorn country, and detected the presence of gold in the soil and rocks of Wyoming.[25]

[24] The missionary travellers above referred to, were the Lee brothers, Jason and Daniel, in 1834, Samuel Parker and Marcus Whitman in 1835; Mr and Mrs Whitman, Mr and Mrs Spalding, and W. H. Gray, in 1836; Mr and Mrs Walker, Mr and Mrs Eells, Mr and Mrs Smith, 1838; Mr and Mrs Griffin, Mr and Mrs Munger, 1839.

[25] According to Thomas Sun, of Rawlins, Wyoming, De Smet gave some captivating accounts of the precious metals in that Bighorn region. Sun, born in Quebec, was for several years in the service of the American Fur company, during which time he became acquainted with the reverend traveller, who said he had no doubt that this region was the richest gold field in the world, and would be found to be such when the Indian hostilities were

In 1841 passed the forts the first deliberate emigration to Oregon and California of men, women, and children, fifteen in number.[26] The same year passed Bidwell's California company. In 1842 Elijah White's Oregon company of 112 men, women, and children, and a train of eighteen great Pennsylvania wagons, cattle, pack-mules, and horses. Bouideau was in charge of Fort Laramie at that time, and gave the emigrants timely advice and assistance, although they grumbled much at the price of provisions in the mountains. The trappers had done the same before them, and were often half-starved, while their employers rolled in wealth which their toil had accumulated. In 1843 passed the fur company's posts an army of occupation destined for the Columbia river, consisting of 1,000 men, women and children, with draft cattle, herds of cows and horses, farming implements, and household goods. After this, things were never more to be as they were aforetime in the hunting grounds of the Rocky mountains. The beaver were all but exterminated; few trappers remained; the Indians were, if not more hostile, at least better armed and more dangerous; immigration westward increased; the state of Deseret was planted on our border; and in a few years gold was discovered in California, after which the great highway became like a vast human river dividing the continent in twain, and bearing on its bosom what argosies of human hopes, alas! how often wrecked.

If the reader will turn to my *History of Oregon*, he will find there related the long series of political

sufficiently quelled to allow of thorough prospecting. He had seen white men who lived with the Indians, panning rich dirt, and had seen large nuggets in the hands of the Indians. *Strahorn, Wyoming*, etc., 189–90. De Smet's writings also speak of the mineral wealth of the country he travelled over, but less definitely as to locality.

[26] These were Joel P. Walker, wife, sister, three sons and two daughters; Burrows, wife and child; Warfield, wife and child, and one Nichols. Mrs Kelsey was the only woman in the Bidwell party, and arrived in Cal. a little later than Mrs Walker, though the Walker company went by the way of Oregon.

events which led to sending a half military exploring expedition to the South pass in 1842, in charge of Frémont, the ostensible design of which was to look out positions for a line of posts to the mouth of the Columbia river for the protection of the American fur companies from the encroachments of the Hudson's Bay Company, and to encourage American immigration by protecting it from the savages. He was to connect his explorations with those of Wilkes on the Pacific coast, but did nothing further this year than to make a summer jaunt[27] to the South pass, which, being a military officer and not a private citizen, trader, trapper, missionary, immigrant, or what not, he "discovered," naming its altitude, and ascending the highest peak in the Wind River range, 13,570 feet, planted thereon the United States flag. This mountain he named Frémont's peak; and considering that the government paid all the costs, and that he had an experienced mountain man, Kit Carson, for a guide, it must be admitted that the eternal mountains might be put to nobler use than to perpetuate such achievements.[28] He did, however, in his subsequent expeditions actually explore some new territory.

The first United States soldiers in Wyoming were the detachment with Frémont, making with his guide twenty-one men. Events soon led to more. After long and often wearisome discussions in congress, and frequent appeals from the settlers in the north-west, an act was passed, May 19, 1846, for the establishment of military stations on the route to Oregon,[29] appropriating the munificent sum of $3,000 to defray the expense of each such station, and $2,000 each to

[27] *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains*, 151. *Schell, Hist. Fort Laramie*, MS., 3–6.

[28] I find in the report of Silas Reed, the first surveyor-general of Wyoming, the statement that President Tyler sent Frémont on this expedition, 'over the heads of all his superior officers in the engineer corps,' he having just married Jessie Benton, to appease the hostility of the great Missouri senator against his administration. The explanation is plausible, and no doubt true. *U. S. Misc. Doc.*, 40, p. 24, 41st cong., 3d sess.

[29] *Acts of Cong.*, 29, 1st sess., chap. 22, 9 stat. at large, 13.

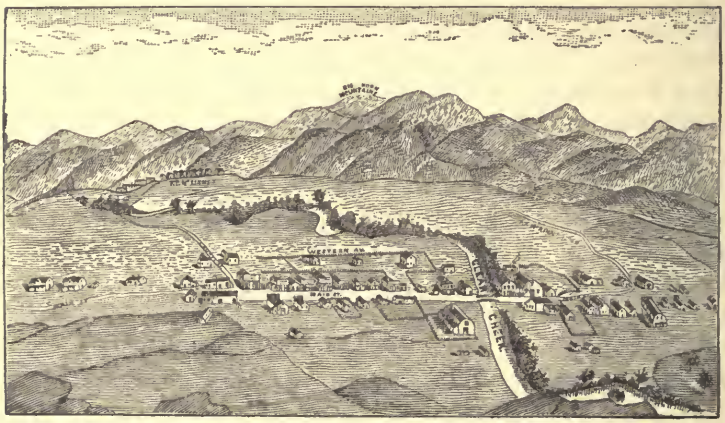
purchase the consent of the Indians to the occupation of the ground.

In order to carry into effect this act, the president made a requisition upon the state of Missouri for a battalion of five companies of mounted volunteers.[30] The Oregon battalion, as it was called, being raised rather late in the summer of 1847, halted about the middle of September at a point on the Missouri known as Table creek, near the present site of Nebraska City, going into camp, and naming the cantonment after General Stephen W. Kearny. A detachment was however sent forward to select and lay out a site for a post to be occupied in the spring. The point selected was on the south bank of Platte, just below the head of Grand island and three-fourths of a mile from the river. This station, which was 300 miles northwest of Fort Leavenworth, and 200 from Camp Kearny, was named Fort Childs, in honor of General Thomas Childs, of Cerro Gordo fame, which name was changed to Kearny, by the department on the abandonment of the former camp.[31] The volunteer battalion encamped at the place designated, without erecting quarters, and when relieved about the first of November by two companies, I and G of the regiment of mounted riflemen first raised for this service, and afterwards diverted to Mexico, returned to Fort Leavenworth. Upon Captain C. T. Ruff, now in command of the suppositious post, devolved the difficult task of building quarters for the garrison, without brick or lumber, in the cold and snows of winter. Sod huts were made to answer the purpose

[30] This was bat. cos A, B, C, D, and E, 454 men. It was commanded by Lieut-col Ludwell E. Powell. The other com. officers were captains D. McCausland, James Craig, Andrew W. Sublette, R. M. Stewart, and W. H. Rodgers. First lieuts, A. Lefairro, Thos L. Mara, F. M. Imprey, and H. Smith. Second lieuts, J. S. Jones, H. Thomas, R. J. Watson, and S. Lingelfelter. Brevet second lieuts, S. Mackett, Thos L. Young, W. Mara, and J. M. Searcy. The adjt of the command was First Lieut T. J. Todd; med. officer, Asst Surg. J. Walker; quar, Capt Stewart Van Vliet, of the regular army; engineer, Daniel P. Woodbury, of the U. S. engineer corps. *Schell, Hist. Fort Laramie*, MS., 8–9.

[31] *Steele, Rifle Regiment*, MS., 2–3.

of houses; the nearest post-office where any news or communications from the department could be received, being at Linden, Atchison county, Missouri, an experienced post-rider was necessary to carry the mail to and from that point, over 200 miles distant; most of the horses of the squadron were sent to Leavenworth to be wintered, forage and shelter being lacking; and altogether the founding of the first fort beyond the Missouri frontier was a rude and distasteful experience. One of the first recommendations of Captain Ruff to the adjutant-general was that he be permitted



Fort Laramie in 1849.

to issue provisions to emigrant parties in distress. Instructions were accordingly given to sell to distressed travellers supplies out of the surplus stores, and henceforward the government rescued many a perishing family whom misfortune had robbed of its outfit in the midst of the wilderness. Fort Kearny thus became a household word in all the Pacific north-west. It was discontinued as a military post in May 1871, and the garrison removed to Omaha barracks.

In the spring of 1849 measures were taken to establish the second and third of the line of forts contem-

plated for the protection of travel across the continent, and Lieutenant Woodbury of the engineer corps was authorized to purchase, should he think best, the fort of the American Fur company at Laramie fork for the second. This was done, Woodbury paying $4,000[32] for the property as it stood, and other buildings being added for men and horses, the first one, afterwards known as "bedlam," being constructed of lumber brought from Fort Leavenworth. It took 123 days for official papers to go to the adjutant-general's office in New York and back to Laramie, which made it necessary that much discretion should be lodged with post commanders.

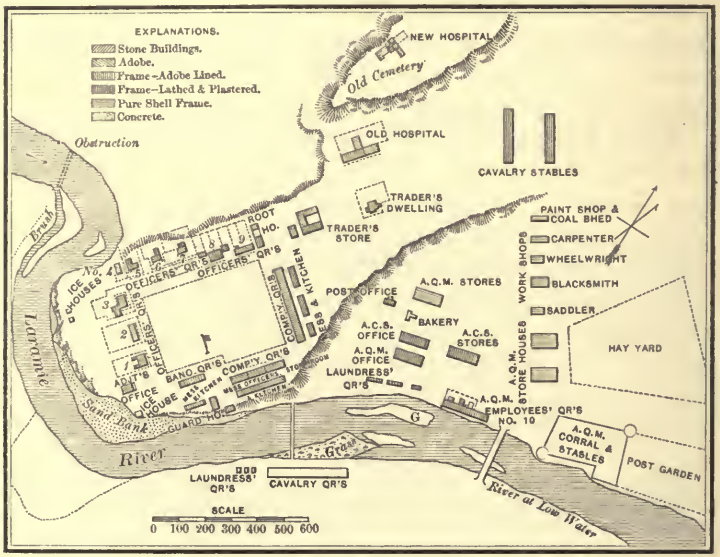
When the regiment of mounted riflemen, being fully recruited and equipped, after its return from Mexico, was started on its march to Oregon in the spring of 1849, under Colonel Loring, it was joined at Fort Kearny by Ruff's squadron, which was replaced by one company of 1st dragoons, and two companies of 6th infantry. On coming to Laramie, Major Winslow F. Sanderson, four officers, and fifty-eight men were detached to garrison this post.[33] In July and August they were reënforced by one company of

[32] Cochran, in his *Hist. Fort Laramie*, 24, says that Woodbury had no authority, there being no appropriation, etc.; but that is a mistake, as congress had appropriated $5,000 in 1846, for each fort, and as the suggestion of purchase came from the adjutant-general, which was all the authority he needed. See letter of Adjt-gen. R. Jones to Maj.-gen. D. E. Twiggs, in *Schell's Hist. Laramie*, MS., 23-7, 37-8.

[33] *Carlin, Experiences in Wyoming*, MS., 5. Major S. P. Moore surgeon, Capt Thomas Duncan comdg co. E, 1st Lieut Daniel P. Woodbury engineer corps, 1st Lieut Thomas G. Rhett, post-adjt quartermaster. On the 26th of July Capt Benjamin S. Roberts, co. C, mounted rifles, 2 officers, and 60 men joined the post. Wash. L. Elliott was 1st lieut. On the 12th of August 2nd Lieut Levi C. Bootes, co. G, 6th infantry, 2 officers, and 33 men were added to the garrison. They had for transportation an ox train and were three months on the road. The 1st sergeant, Leodgar Schnyder, is still at the fort, where he is ordnance sergeant. Steele, in his *Rifle Regiment*, MS., 2-3, says that Roberts was in command, which is an error. Steele was a surgeon in the regiment. In the summer of 1850 the mounted rifles, co. left the post, which was garrisoned for a year by a single co., G, 6th infantry. Rev. Richard Vaux was schoolmaster at Fort Laramie from 1850 to 1861. Duncan served with distinction in the civil war, becoming brevet brig.-gen., and was retired in 1873. Rhett, a South Carolinian, joined the confederate army, as also did Major Moore, where he became surgeon-general. *Cochran, Hist. Fort Laramie*, MS., 27.

mounted rifles, and one of 6th infantry, comprising, together, 115 men. Major Sanderson was relieved in October 1850 by Captain William S. Ketchum of the 6th infantry, who commanded until July 1852.[34]

Ketchum was not happy in his position, and obtained leave of absence, when Lieutenant Garnett of the same regiment took command, retaining it until May 1854, when he was ordered elsewhere, and the



FORT LARAMIE IN 1874.

garrison was reduced from 170 men to a portion of one company and a single officer, 2d Lieutenant Hugh B. Fleming, no reënforcements being sent until November, when B and D companies of the 6th infantry, numbering 111, men arrived under Lieutenant Colonel William Hoffman, who assumed command of the post.

Gradual changes had taken place in the appearance of Fort Laramie; old buildings had been removed and

[34] According to Cochran, Ketchum was always in a quarrel with his subordinates. Sanderson died in 1853.

new ones erected, until 1862, when the present magazine was constructed in part out of the adobes used in the old fort. It has been occupied continuously from 1849 to the present, as a military post, and has been the scene of many notable, and some exciting, events. For many years it was the actual capital of a large extent of territory.[35] The history of the further march of the mounted rifle regiment which founded it is fully given in my *History of Oregon.*

It is not to be supposed that the American Fur company retired from the territory upon the advent of troops. They simply removed to Scott Bluffs, sixty miles distant from their former fort, where they continued to trade with the buffalo hunting Indians for a number of years, and where their presence was influential in the suppression of difficulties between the military and Indians, and in the making of treaties.[36] Dripps was in charge in 1851.

A trading establishment was also maintained in the immediate vicinity of Fort Laramie by Ward and Guerrier. In fact the trading companies remained upon the ground so long as a skin or a robe could be purchased, or until treaties and annuities had rendered hunting less necessary, and the wars between the aboriginal and invading races had caused the removal of the Indians to reservations.

[35] In a communication from Gen. Carlin, col 4th infantry, who was stationed at Fort Laramie when a lieut in the 6th inf. reg., in 1855, I find the names of Bissonette, Baudeau, John Richard, Sr, G. P. Beauvais, Seth E. Ward, post-sutler, and Todd Randall, who lived at or near the fort at that period. *Experiences in Wyoming,* MS., is Gen. Carlin's contribution to my work. He left the Laramie country in 1858, and came to Cal., where he was for some time at Benicia. In 1882 he was again for a short time in Wyoming at Fort A. D. Russell.

[36] Scott Bluffs are a perpetual monument to the tragedy of the death from starvation of a man of that name deserted by his companions on Laramie fork, being too ill to travel, and the whole party without food. He lived to crawl 60 miles, and leave his bones in this place. These bluffs are among the many curious and interesting geological phenomena of the North Platte region, being fantastic shapes in indurated clay and sandstone, having grand architectural effects. Chimey rock and Independence rock, much farther west, have long been famous features in the topography of the country. Independence rock in the Sweetwater valley was thus named from the circumstance of its being ascended by a party who there celebrated the anniversary of American independence, on the 4th of July.

CHAPTER III.

SETTLEMENT AND GOLD-HUNTING.

1847–1863.

PATHWAY TO THE PACIFIC—COMING OF THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS—MILITARY MEN—PROSPECTING FOR GOLD—AN ANGRY ENGLISHMAN—BRIDGER AND HIS FORT—MORMON WAR—THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS ABANDON WYOMING—MOVEMENTS OF ARMY FORCES—GOVERNMENT EXPEDITION—ROADS ORDERED OPENED—PLACER GOLD DISCOVERED—THE MORRISITES—INDIAN HOSTILITIES—MILITARY MEN AND FRONTIERSMEN—LEGENDS OF THE WIND RIVER MOUNTAINS—SWIFT PETRIFACTIONS.

IT is remarkable that a section of country more travelled over than any other between the great plains and the Pacific ocean, should have remained unsettled for nearly half a century, the only white men there being traders and military men. The first who came to spy out the land for settlement were men professing a new religion, which their neighbors did not like, who sought to found an empire in the mountains which, in time, should reach to the shores of the Pacific. Their pioneers, headed by Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, numbered 143 men, with a train of seventy-three wagons, which arrived at Fort Laramie June 1, 1847, while it was yet a trading post. Passing on to Great Salt lake, they selected a spot on its border where a city was to be founded, and on the 23d of July plowed the first ground ever broken for seed in all the regions west of the Platte and east of the Sierra Nevada.[1]

In 1848 passed Brigham Young again with over

[1] It is said in the *Utah Hand-book of Reference*, 65, that Bridger 'considered it impossible to bring a large population into the great basin until it could be ascertained that grain could be raised there. So sanguine was he that it could not be done that he said he would give $1,000 for a bushel of corn produced there.'

1,200 men, women, and children, and 397 wagons; H. C. Kimball with 662 persons and 226 wagons, and W. Richards with 526 persons and 169 wagons. There was a large migration to Oregon also that year, and out of these thousands not one cared to tarry on the North Platte. In 1849 1,400 emigrants for Salt Lake passed Forts Laramie and Bridger, and an unknown great number bound to the gold mines in California.

In this year, also, came Captain H. Stansbury and Lieutenant J. W. Gunnison, who surveyed the valley of Salt lake, by order of the government. And every year thereafter emigration passed beyond, pausing only to purchase supplies. There are indications that at some time, probably after the discovery of gold in California, some persons had turned aside to prospect in the mountain streams, but of their fate nothing definite is known.[2] It is remembered that frequent efforts to discover gold were made by persons passing along the Sweetwater.

The private expedition, in 1854-6, of Sir George Gore, of Sligo, Ireland, from the Missouri river at St Louis to the headwaters of Powder river has been mentioned in my *History of Montana*. The baronet had forty retainers, fourteen dogs, one hundred and

[2] Such a party was one of 300 men from Council Bluffs, led by Capt. Douglas of St Joseph valley, Mich., who in 1852 set out for Cal. At Fort Laramie 30 men left the main company to prospect in the mountains to the north, agreeing to overtake and report to the captain at Humboldt river. Eight of them did overtake the company as promised, reporting that they had found gold upon two streams, which from the description are believed to be Rapid and Spring creeks, in the Black hills, and desiring the company to return to this place. But it was already late in the season, and the Indians along the route were troublesome, which decided the reunited company to push forward to Cal. The 22 men left were never heard from, and were supposed to have perished. *Strahorn, Wyoming, Black Hills, etc.*, 220. In 1876 some prospectors on Battle creek, Black hille region, in an old shaft which they opened, at 20 feet from the surface, under 10 feet of earth, found a shovel and pick, the handles of which were decayed, and the iron much rust-eaten. On the same stream were found a skull, under 3 feet of earth, and near by a pair of silver-bowed spectacles. There were several prospect holes in the vicinity, in some of which trees six inches in diameter were growing. On Whitewood creek a hammer and small poll-pick were found, 15 feet from the surface, and a hatchet in another place, all imbedded in earth and rusting to decay. Whether these were relics of the Council Bluffs party, or some other, will probably never be known.

twelve horses, six wagons, twenty-one carts, and twelve yoke of cattle. He spent the first winter at Fort Laramie, hunting in the vicinity. The following year, procuring James Bridger for a guide, he travelled north, making his headquarters on Powder river for a season, after which he built a fort near the mouth of Tongue river, which he occupied until the autumn of 1856, when he left it to return to St Louis. His only object in seeking the mighty solitudes of the heart of the American continent was the gratification of that savage instinct preserved with so much care by the landed aristocracy of Great Britain, the love of the chase, to secure themselves in the enjoyment of which the land is kept from the homeless poor. Whether he grew more savage under this indulgence I do not know, but he was furious enough at what he considered the extortion of the North American Fur company, with which he had contracted for boats, to burn all his Indian goods, wagons, and supplies in front of Fort Union, guarding the flames from plunder while they were consumed, and even throwing the irons of the wagons into the Missouri river, rather than pay the price asked for boats. His horses and cattle were sold for little to vagabond white men, or given to the Indians, and having thus cut himself off from any possible return to civilization that year, he wintered in the lodge of a Crow chief at Fort Berthold, purchasing fifty beeves at thirty dollars a head, rather than pay fifty dollars a head for six, which was all he needed. That transaction was purely in accordance with the reasoning of his race. He returned to St Louis by steamboat in 1857.

Bridger, before engaging as guide with Gore, had disposed of his post on Green river to the Mormons, who were the first actual settlers, to the number of fifty-five,[3] in what is now a portion of Wyoming, but

[3] According to the *Utah Hand-book of Reference*, 73, John Nebeker, Isaac Bullock, and 53 others were located at Fort Supply, in Green River county,

was then considered to be in Utah. Fort Supply, as they had named the former trading-post, was intended as a station where passing emigrations could be furnished with provisions. It was abandoned on the advent of a command of United States troops in the vicinity, the occupants retiring to Salt lake. The army taking possession consisted of the fifth and tenth regiments of infantry, and Phelps' and Reno's batteries of artillery, under the immediate command of Colonel E. B. Alexander. It marched by the Platte route, and passing Laramie arrived at Henry fork of Green river, thirty miles east of Fort Supply, early in October, where it went into camp.[4] While awaiting orders from Washington, the Mormon militia destroyed five supply trains of twenty-five wagons each, leaving men and animals short of provisions and forage. Soon afterward General A. S. Johnston arrived, and moved camp to Black fork, establishing Camp Scott, two miles south of the present Fort Bridger. In the following spring the Mormon settlers of Green river valley were called in, "except a few men in every settlement to burn everything in case the troops, upon their arrival in the valley, should prove hostile." The government retained possession of the valley, Fort Supply having been as much as possible destroyed, and when Major William Hoffman arrived, in the spring of 1858, with reënforcements and ample supplies, the present military post was erected, the former name restored, and Hoffman placed in command,

in Nov. 1853. These, then, were the first settlers after Bridger, though it is stated by some that Louis Robinson was the first settler. He is called a Mormon, though he is said to have come to the country in 1832 from North Carolina, via Taos, N. M., and had probably never heard of the Latter-day saints before they appeared at Fort Bridger in 1847. 'Uncle Jack Robinson,' a warm personal friend of Bridger, and an old resident, has been confounded with Louis Robinson, who may have been one of the 55 settlers sent by Brigham Young. He kept a ferry on Green river in 1860. *Con. Hist. Soc. Mont.*, 220, 222.

[4] The *Utah Hand-book of Reference*, p. 75, informs us that on the 8th Sept., 'Captain Van Vliet, of Gen. Harney's staff,' visited Salt Lake City, and had an interview with President Young, and after a few days spent in that place proceeded to Washington, 'where he used his influence in favor of the saints.'

while Johnston marched the greater portion of the army from Green river to Salt lake, and established Camp Floyd in that vicinity. This was the end of Mormon occupation in Wyoming.[5]

From about this period frequent government expeditions touched at Laramie, and deflected to whatever

[5] Lieut Joseph H. Taylor, 1st cavalry, was the first post-adjutant at Fort Bridger; Lieut B. F. Smith, 6th inf., the first depot quartermaster. On the 17th of Aug., 1858, Lieut-col E. R. S. Canby, maj. 10th infantry, relieved Major Hoffman, who rejoined the 6th inf., which soon after marched to Cal. Canby was relieved March 7, 1860, by Maj. R. C. Gatlin, 7th inf., and went to N. M. In June Gatlin also was ordered to N. M., and Capt. Alfred Cumming, 10th inf., took command, who was in turn relieved, Aug. 9th, by Capt. Frank Gardner, same regiment. When the civil war broke out, Cumming joined the confederate army. In May 1861 Capt. Jesse A. Gore, 10th inf., was placed in command. When the troops were required at the east during the rebellion, Col Cooke, 2d cav., in command at Camp Floyd, abandoned that post, and repaired to Fort Bridger, where the bulk of the subsistence and quartermasters' stores were sold at auction, and purchased by the Mormons. It was estimated that $4,000,000 worth of goods were sold for $100,000. *Utah Hand-book of Reference*, 78. After this both garrisons were marched to Fort Leavenworth, leaving only a few men, whose terms of service were nearly expired, at Fort Bridger, under Capt. J. C. Clarke, 4th art., who in Dec. 1861 was ordered east, leaving orderly sergt Bogee at the post, with a handful of privates. For about a year, at a critical period, considering the civil war, and the Mormon and Indian hostilities, Bogee remained in charge. The Mormons setting up a claim to the land, on the ground of a conveyance from Bridger, Post-trader W. A. Carter organized a volunteer company of mountain men for the protection of property at the fort. In Dec. 1862, Capt. M. G. Lewis, 3d Cal. inf. vols, arrived at the post and assumed command; and during the war, and until July 1866, it was garrisoned by Cal. and Nev. vols, who performed the hard service of guarding the mails, escorting travellers, and fighting Indians. Bvt maj. A. S. Burt, capt. 18th inf., took command, when the vols were mustered out, the garrison consisting of F and H companies 1st battalion, 18th inf. During the construction of the Union Pacific R. R. a garrison of 5 companies of the 36th inf., under Bvt-col Henry A. Morrow, was stationed at Fort Bridger, and much of the time employed in guarding the engineers, and the overland stage route for 200 miles east of Green river. Maj. J. H. Belcher, post-quartermaster, had many improvements made during that period. From May 1878 to June 1880 the post was abandoned. When reëstablished the garrison consisted of F and H companies, 4th inf. In 1881, post-trader Carter caused a road to be constructed over the mountains from Fort Thornburg in Utah to a mail station 35 miles south of Fort Bridger, to facilitate communication. In 1883, additional barracks and quarters were commenced, and the garrison increased, consisting then of B, C, and G companies of the 9th inf., under command of Lieut-col T. M. Anderson, same regiment. In June of the same year a battalion, consisting of two companies from Fort Bridger, two from Fort Fred Steele, under Maj. I. D. De Russy, 4th infantry, repaired and improved the road to Fort Thornburg. In Aug. 1884, the garrison at Fort Bridger was increased by companies D and H, 21st inf., and Col Anderson was relieved by Lieut-col Alexander Chambers of that regiment, to whose *Hist. Fort Bridger*, MS., I am indebted for most of the above account of its services in the history of Wyoming. *Surg.-gen. Circ.*, 8, 316–24; *U. S. Misc. Doc.*, 40, pp. 29–30, 41st cong., 3d sess.; *U. S. H. Com. Rept*, 520, iii., 43d cong., 1st sess.; *Hayden, Rept*, 1870, p. 55.

course they had been destined for. Captain E. G. Beckwith, third artillery, who took charge of the survey of a railroad route near the forty-first parallel, after the massacre of Captain Gunnison and party in 1853, explored the valley of Green river and the streams issuing from the Uinta mountains. In 1857, Johnson's army encamped in Green river valley, and their supplies being cut off by the Mormons, Captain R. B. Marcy, with forty men, in the month of November, proceeded from Fort Bridger to the foot of the mountains between Green and Grand rivers, up a cañon to the top of the range, to Grand river, near the mouth of the Uncompahgre, up Eagle-tail river to Coschetopes pass, and to Fort Massachusetts, where he obtained what was required, and returned the following June by way of the route east of the mountains, and through the South pass. Captain Marcy's success is a proof both of the courage of the man, and the excellence of the climate which spared his life on so terrible a journey.[6]

In 1857 came William M. Magraw, who had secured a contract from the government to open a road through the South pass, as if that road had not been in constant use by emigrants for fourteen years. But being a government expedition, it was accompanied by naturalists,[7] whose reports were of value to science, and through science to more material objects. In 1858 Captain J. H. Simpson, of the topographical engineers, explored and opened a road from Fort Bridger to Camp Floyd, and thence the following year to Carson, Nevada,[8] eking out the survey of Colonel Steptoe of 1855.

In July 1859 Captain W. F. Reynolds, of the topo-

[6] *Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life*, 224–49.

[7] J. G. Cooper, surgeon of the wagon-road expedition, was naturalist to the previous expedition of I. I. Stevens, via the Missouri river to Puget sound, 1853. C. Drexler was taxidermist in 1857. Cooper returned to Washington the same season, but Magraw and Drexler wintered on Wind river, moving to Camp Scott in March, where the latter made a large collection of birds. *Smithsonian Rept*, 1858, p. 50.

[8] *Simpson Explor. Great Basin*, 7, 24–5.

graphical engineers, under orders from government, led an expedition from Fort Pierre, on the Missouri river, to the Black hills, and having explored the northeastern and northern portion of this range, moved on to Powder river and the Bighorn, exploring the country to the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Missouri,[9] with Bridger for a guide. Reynolds was accompanied by a scientific corps under Hayden, who had previously explored the Platte valley for some

TRAILS IN WYOMING.

distance. They were escorted by a single company of soldiers, under Maynadier and Lee, and made a favorable report on the country.

Men were by this time earnestly looking for gold, and the report went forth that gold had been discovered in the Bighorn mountains by this expedition. But Reynolds, afraid of losing his escort by desertion, forbade the discoverer to reveal the truth to any but himself and Hayden, which reticence caused the local-

[9] *U. S. Jour.*, 300; 37 cong., 3 sess. *Mullan, Military Road Rept*, 27.

ity to be lost; and although there had been before, and have been since, several reputed discoveries in this range, there has never been any mining, for until within recent years the Indians made it such desperate hazard that few would venture, and those who ventured seldom returned to reveal any discoveries they had made, and the country remained practically unexplored.[10]

Colorado was swarming with gold-seekers, and Montana was known to be rich in auriferous deposits; why not this region lying sandwiched between them? This was the question asked by thousands who traversed it, few of whom failed to strike a pick here and there as they passed, or to curiously examine the sands of every stream crossed in their wanderings.

A party of twelve men who left Missouri for Montana in 1863 travelled the route up the Cheyenne river to the Black hills, where they prospected, and took out in three days $180 in placer gold; after which, the season being late, they proceeded to their destination, and finding plenty of the precious stuff in Montana, did not return. In later years the same persons failed to rediscover the spot where they washed out their first gold.[11]

I have referred in my *History of Montana* to an expedition in 1863 which left Bannack City for the purpose of exploring the country drained by the Yellowstone for gold mines and town-sites. The party travelled up the Bighorn river, finding no gold, but losing several of their party by Indian attacks, and traversing the Wind river country, came to the Sweetwater at "Pacific City," a trading-house at the foot

[10] A small party of Canadian Frenchmen in 1862 left the stage station at the crossing of the Sweetwater to go to the Bighorn mountains, having in vain endeavored to induce others to join them. They were never heard of more. They were J. Dubois, J. Patneese, and three brothers. There was no old trapper or guide in the country who did not have a tale of gold discovery to relate, but they could not be induced to reveal them either because they were untrue or that they feared the Indians.

[11] G. T. Lee of Central City, Black hills, was one of the party. *Strahorn, Wyoming, Black Hills*, 86, 222.

of Rocky ridge, where they overtook a train guarded by a few soldiers, who were stationed at South pass. Along the road at intervals of about eighty miles were found small squads of troops for this service. They met here a Mormon who had been to Devil's gate for a cargo of soda, which he was taking to Salt Lake, this being the first recorded export of any mineral from Wyoming. At Rock creek [12] they found a lieutenant and twenty soldiers, a telegraph station, and a few residents. Walter Cook, the telegraph operator; Louis Slivers, who had located at this place with the intention of farming, but had lost all his stock and goods by the Indians, and every growing thing by the grasshoppers; a blacksmith, and a trader constituted the settlement; but the place was populous during the season of travel, and business was at its height when the expedition passed. It visited Fort Bridger, finding on Ham's fork of Green river several wood and stone houses, a good stone corral and barn, with plenty of hay; signs of the advance of civilization which had but little chance to live except under the walls of a fort. At the post the company were entertained by the California minstrels, a soldier troupe, which gave a concert, charging fifty cents admission. They also met there General Conner, who, on hearing of the sufferings which had befallen the exploring party by the Indians, did not show them much sympathy. Conner had at that time many lodges of the natives in the vicinity of the fort, having compelled them to bring in and deliver up stolen horses. As a consequence many white men were there hoping to recover their property, only a moiety of which was restored.[13] From Fort Bridger

[12] James Stuart, in his journal of the expedition, says that he had found gold on this creek three miles above the crossing in 1860. *Con. Hist. Soc., Montana*, 218.

[13] Stuart mentions meeting on the Sweetwater and Green river, Hardesty and Alexander, freighters, with a large train for Salt lake; William McAdow going to Montana; Josh Terry, Peter Myrtle, Granger, Louis Robinson, 'Uncle Jack' Robinson, Monsieur Boivert, Dick Hamilton, John Sharpe, and W. A. Carter, afterward probate judge of Uinta county, besides many others not known to him.

the company returned to Bannack by the immigrant road via Soda springs,[14] Red Rock valley, and Horse prairie, having made a circuit of 1600 miles without finding any diggings, yet not convinced that they did not exist. In the two following years efforts were made to effect a more satisfactory exploration of the Bighorn region by Montana companies, none of which were able to hold their own against the Indians.

The Bighorn country having yielded nothing to the hasty search which alarmed and distressed prospectors had made, rumors were started of rich diggings on Wind river, a feeder of the Bighorn, coming down from Wind river mountains, and four several companies from Idaho took the field in 1866, determined to remain in the country long enough to make a thorough survey of its mineral resources, while another from Montana joined its forces with theirs.[15]

[14] A half mile above Soda springs Stuart found a town laid out by the Morrisites, seceders from the Mormon church. They had about 20 houses built, and were erecting others in expectation of a train of their brethren to arrive in three days. Most of them were Welsh and Danes. They were poor and miserable, even to the point of beggary. The year before, in June, a posse from Salt Lake had besieged for three days a camp of Morrisites on Weber river, and after killing Morris Banks and four others, and having two of the attacking posse killed, carried the remainder of the camp as prisoners to the city. *Utah Hand-Book of Reference*, 79. The presence of a company of Cal. volunteers stationed near the new settlement to protect the immigration prevented violence toward this camp in 1863, and the organization of Idaho in that year was another safeguard.

[15] The Idaho companies were led as follows: Capt. Bledsoe, 45 men; Capt. Jeff. Standifer, 49 men; Capt. D. C. Patterson, 95 men; Capt. Bailey, 53 men. In Patterson's company were Henry Hughes, Jerry Fitzgerald, C. F. Nichols, John Arling, Charlez Merrill, Charles H. Young, George Podgett, R. C. Coombs, George Stonerood, Benjamin White, McCraw, Hawthorne, Thompkins, and others. *Idaho World*, Aug. 18, 1866. The Montanians joined Standifer, who had at one time 115 men in his company, and who kept on in the direction of Wind river, while the former, desiring to go to the Bighorn, where two forts had been erected that year, 75 of the company took that direction. This party had the usual experience of intruders in that region. On the 13th of Sept. Col J. N. Rice of Idaho and J. W. Smith of Helena, Mont., were killed while absent from camp hunting. Their bodies were not discovered for two days. They were at this time 18 miles from Fort Philip Kearny, and one of the party being ill, the explorers turned aside to leave him at this post. Twenty-six of the men engaged at the fort to help guard hay-cutters, who could not work for fighting Indians, who shot among them and burned their hay-stacks. This with other desertions reduced the Bighorn prospecting company to 16, a party too small to safely get out of the country. But a detachment of 26 soldiers being sent to Fort C. F. Smith with the mail, they joined this escort, which was glad of recruits. When within 45 miles of Fort C. F. Smith they were attacked in

They travelled, as Stuart's company had done, about 1600 miles, prospecting Bighorn, Wind river, Medicine lodge, and the streams at the head of the Yellowstone and Snake rivers, finding nothing worthy of attention by miners [16] except at the head of the Stinkingwater, where some of Standifer's party reported finding good prospects, and the following spring returned to that region.[17]

Wind river mountains and valley were from earliest times much talked of by white and red men. Many legends were current concerning the mountains, among which was one that in some places timber, animals, and even men were petrified in the very semblance of life, and these places were shunned by the natives, who feared being turned to stone. This legend probably gave rise to the absurd story told by a Rocky mountain trapper that he had seen a tree petrified with all its branches and leaves perfect, with the birds on it turned to stone in the act of singing. The story was considered tough, even by mountain men ; but does not the account of Lot's wife equal it?

The valley, about eight miles wide, and between 150 and 200 miles in length, was regarded as one of the choicest spots on the eastern slope of the Rocky mountains. The river was rapid and clear, its banks adorned with stately cottonwood trees, while the mountain sides were covered with forests of pine. The soil was dark and rich, the climate mild, and game abundant. Vast herds of buffaloes, antelopes, deer, and elk roamed through it. At the upper end was a

camp by a large number of Indians, and compelled to intrench themselves. The battle lasted for two or three hours, when the Indians were finally driven off. During the fight a soldier was wounded, and a number of horses captured. The following day they were again surrounded, attacked, and forced to fight their way out, which they did with no serious casualties, though compelled to abandon their mining tools and provisions in order to mount all the men. They arrived at Fort C. F. Smith, where they were able to procure from private individuals a supply of food, and whence they returned to Virginia City in company with another small party of freighters. *Virginia Montana Post*, Oct. 27, 1866.

[16] *Owyhee Avalanche*, Oct. 27, 1866.

[17] *Virginia Mont. Post*, March 16, 1867.

hot sulphur spring.[18] It was these attractions which had made it a favorite wintering ground of the natives and the fur companies, and which now made it desirable that a reason should be found for making settlements in it. The Bighorn valley also was found to be an excellent grazing country, which in 1866 was covered with immense herds of buffalo, pointing to uses to which it could be devoted by home-building men. In short, Green river, Sweetwater, Wind river, and Bighorn valleys were beginning to be regarded as desirable for mining and grazing, if not for agriculture, when the usual check was placed upon settlement by the bloody protests of the native population.

[18] *Sweetwater Miner*, Feb. 22, 1868.

CHAPTER IV.

INDIAN WARS.

1841-1868.

EMIGRANT PARTIES—CHEYENNES AND SIOUX—FORCE AT FORT LARAMIE—FLEMING'S ATTACK—GRATTAN'S DEFEAT—A BLOODY WAR—LIFE AT FORT LARAMIE—MOVEMENTS OF THE CHEYENNES AND ARAPAHOES—EFFECT OF COLORADO IMMIGRATION AND CIVIL WAR—CONTINUED DEPREDATIONS—PEACE PROPOSALS—GOLD-HUNTING ON THE BIGHORN—CARRINGTON'S EXPEDITION—FETTERMAN'S DEFEAT—AFFAIRS AT THE FORTS—CONTINUED HOSTILITIES—TREATY COMMISSION.

THE immigration of 1842 would have fared ill but for the presence of Fitzpatrick of the American Fur company, who used his powerful influence and consummate skill to prevent a slaughter. Not that the 112 had done anything to offend the Indians, but that the Cheyennes and Sioux were becoming, with their little and unfortunate knowledge of the white race, their whiskey, their improved weapons, and their wrongs, real or fancied, a foe to all whom they met, red men or white, who were not in alliance with them. More than that, in August 1841, they had fought a party of sixty men, led by Frapp, on the head waters of Snake river, losing ten warriors, though killing Frapp and four trappers. During the following spring the Sioux had cut off two small parties, one in the Black Hills, and another on the Bighorn. Still they were not satisfied, and a party of 350 braves followed the immigrants, overtaking them near Independence rock, but the courage and tact of their guide averted a catastrophe which might have delayed the settlement of Oregon for another decade, and

altered the political history of the northwest territory.[1] This company was permitted to pass, with the assurance, however, that in future the path would be found closed which led through their country. On this account, also, Frémont a little later was compelled to secure the services of a well known guide and interpreter. But the next year what had the doughty Sioux warriors to say? for here came 1,000 white men, women, and children, with hundreds of wagons, and great herds of cattle and horses, such as they had never dreamed of seeing, whom they could neither turn back nor kill. Destiny was too strong for them, and they retreated to their villages to consider what could now be done. A tribe of red men had sometimes been exterminated by persistent and watchful hostility; they would try what could be accomplished toward exterminating these audacious white people. Their efforts in this cause led to the occupation of Fort Laramie as a military post, in order to save the annual immigrations from plunder and massacre. While three companies of troops were at the fort, comparative order was maintained.

In 1851, Kirkpatrick having been appointed Indian agent, a treaty was entered into between the United States government and the Sioux, Arapahoes, and Cheyennes, of the North Platte, by which the territory of these bands should be that contained between the 100th and 107th meridians of longitude, and the 39th and 44th parallels of latitude, embracing 122,500 square miles. They were to receive annuities of the value of $50,000, and to preserve friendly relations with citizens of the government.[2] The number of warriors belonging to the Ogalalah and Brulé Sioux, and the Arapahoes and Cheyennes within this agency, was estimated to be 2,000, while the whole number was computed to be 5,500. To hold in check this hostile force—for despite treaties these savages were

[1] *Fremont Exped. 1842–3–4*, 173–4; *White, Ten Years in Oregon*, 155–57

[2] *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1856, 94; *Id.*, 1859, 137–8; *Id.*, 1862, 229.

never friendly—after the first two years there was but a handful of soldiers, under young, and of course inexperienced officers. As soon as the Indians became aware of the reduction of the garrison, they became extremely insolent, refusing to obey the regulation which expelled them from the limits of the post after "retreat," a hand to hand conflict being necessary to eject them. For this insult to savage dignity they made a demonstration on the fort, which only the promptitnde of the little garrison, and the good officers of Fitzpatrick prevented becoming a bloody affair.[3]

The single company left at Fort Laramie was in 1852 reduced to twenty-five able men. An attempt was made by Lieutenant Fleming with twenty-three men to arrest an Indian who had fired on a sergeant in charge of the ferry over Laramie river.[4] He went to the village of the band, halted his command and sent an interpreter to inform the chief of the nature of his errand, who being absent, the young braves declared for war, sooner than submit to arrest. Flaming advanced with five men, leaving the rest in reserve. Shots were exchanged, four Indians killed, and two captured. This ended the encounter for this occasion.

The following year brought matters to a crisis. A Mormon emigrant complained at the fort that one of the band of Wahsahshe Sioux, who sustained but a bad character, had killed, and caused to be eaten, one of his cows. Fleming sent Lieutenant Grattan, a young Vermonter, late from West Point, to take the offender in charge, an errand of so delicate a nature that only a mature and discreet officer should have been entrusted with it. There had been no attempt

[3] *Cochran, Hist. Fort Laramie*, MS., 34–5.

[4] The first bridge over the Laramie was built in 1849 by private persons who collected toll. It was used only during the season of high water, which lasted three months. In 1850 more than 40,000 head of cattle crossed it. In 1853 it was swept away, and a flatboat ferry substituted for 4 or 5 years. A new bridge was erected in 1857, and removed in 1870 half a mile up stream. This was afterward swept away, . . .

on the part of the Indians to conceal the act, which Bear, the head chief, had himself reported at the post, but apologized for the rascal, saying he had shot the cow in a fit of anger at his lack of success in hunting, and after it was killed it might as well be eaten.

It would not do, however, to establish such a precedent, and Grattan was ordered to take twenty-eight men and two howitzers, the Indians being numerous and well armed, and bring this Indian to the fort. He proceeded to the camp of Bear, nine miles away, and finding strenuous objections offered to the arrest, and that the Indians were attempting with sullen and angry demeanor to surround him, ordered a volley to be fired. The chief fell mortally wounded, and one of his braves was killed. Immediately the Indians returned the fire Grattan ordered the cannon discharged, but being too elevated they inflicted no injury on the enemy. In another moment the command was closely hemmed in by enraged savages, and soon all lay dead and mutilated, except one man, who escaped in a dying condition to the fort, unable to give an intelligent account of the battle.[5]

Thus perished the greater part of the garrison of Fort Laramie in the summer of 1854, which was the commencement of a long and costly war with the Sioux.

Having achieved this victory over the soldiers the Indians proceeded to the trading-houses of James Bordeaux and P. Chateau, Jr, and Co., both of which they robbed, the inmates with difficulty escaping from their fury. On the following day, however, the Indians moved off toward the Black hills, and going east put themselves in communication with the Yanctonnais and other bands of Sioux in that direction, which they stirred up to make war on the white people, it being their openly avowed intention to let no white man escape.

[5] *Carlin, Experiences in Wyoming*, MS., 2–3; *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1854, 88; *Cochran's Hist. Fort Laramie*, MS., 36.

Measures were taken at the war department to punish the participators in the Grattan defeat, but owing to the lateness of the season nothing more was done that year than to strengthen the garrison at Laramie with three companies of the 6th infantry under Major William Hoffman, who assumed the command. In the spring of 1856, it was further reënforced, but there being no cavalry at the post little could be done except to defend certain fixed points. During the spring the Sioux captured all the mules belonging to the quartermaster's department, which the infantry did not and could not recover. At the same time the Sioux were carrying out their threats, murdering mail carriers,[6] and continuing hostilities, and General Harney with 1,500 troops marched up the Platte, striking a village of Brulé Sioux under Little Thunder at Ash Hollow, 100 miles southeast of Laramie, September 3d, killing many women and children and a few warriors.[7] Harney marched to Fort Laramie, and then to Fort Pierre, where in the spring of 1856 he held a peace council with all the Sioux bands, in which various promises were made on both sides, which were afterward forgotten or repudiated. They served only to secure a temporary truce during which the belligerents became somewhat better acquainted with each other. Fort Randall was also established this year by order of General Harney in the Yankton country to watch the movements of the Sioux.

[6] *Cochran's Hist. Fort Laramie*, MS., 41. It became necessary to send escorts with them, who met midway between Kearny and Laramie. In 1856 this guard consisted of an officer and 20 men, who were from 15 to 20 days en route. The mail contractors sometimes failed in the winter to go through from Independence to Salt Lake, and if there was news of any importance a military express carried it. Prices for transportation were so high that army pay could hardly be made to meet expenses. Commissary whisky was among the indispensables. The government limited the amount issued to an officer monthly to 2 gallons. Soldiers suffered with scurvy. An attempt at gardening was made in 1851, which failed through lack of water. A hospital was erected in 1856, which was enlarged in 1868, and served until 1872, when the fort was rebuilt. There was a sawmill at Laramie peak belonging to the post quarter-master in 1856.

[7] *Carlin's Experiences in Wyoming*, MS., 4.

Meantime the Cheyennes were giving employment to the garrisons of the only two posts between the Missouri and the Rocky mountains. They were bad enough, no doubt, before they were furnished with an incentive to worse things by an indiscreet military power. At the upper Platte bridge, 126 miles north of Laramie, was stationed a company of infantry to prevent the natives from burning it. The officer in command, now a brevet major-general, ordered the arrest of three Cheyennes whom he suspected of wrongfully retaining one of four American horses which they had in their possession, three of which had been given up. The Indians attempted to escape, and being shot at by the guard, one was killed, one ran away, and the third remained a prisoner in irons for many months. The second night after a white man was killed near Fort Laramie, and soon the Cheyennes of the North Platte left that agency and joined the southern Cheyennes, who were committing depredations on the travelled routes across the plains.

A residence at Fort Laramie in 1856–7 was the opposite of agreeable. To tramp along the roads in summer, and be cut off from all communication with the world through the winter months in poor quarters was the sum of it. A reward was offered for sharp-shooting which gave the men something to do, and improved the efficiency of the riflemen. The officers discussed the presidential campaign, the result of which was not known to them until April following the election. They read, played cards, and consumed their allowance of liquor. Think of the excitement of receiving the first mail after nearly six months of imprisonment in midcontinent, and thank God and nature for steam and electricity.

In the summer of 1857 an expedition against the Cheyennes was organized partly from Leavenworth and partly from Laramie, under Colonel E. V. Sumner, of the 1st dragoons, who had his camp near old Fort St Vrain on the south Platte. In July he

marched to the Smoky Hill branch of Kansas river, where he met the Cheyennes near a small lake which they deemed enchanted, so that if they dipped their hands in the water they became invulnerable. Under this belief they met the troops with the firmness of faith, advancing steadily and in order, chanting their war song, and looking for divine interposition as much as ever did the heroes of Homer. But when the order was given to the dragoons to charge with sabres, their confidence deserted them, and they fled in the utmost terror. They lost nine of their principal warriors on the field, and a number died of their wounds in flight. Sumner then marched to Bent's fort on the Arkansas, to the relief of Indian-agent Miller, who was at that place with the annuity goods and no protection. He ordered the ammunition destroyed, the arms and goods packed in wagons to be carried out of the Cheyenne country, and the subsistence stores turned over to the commissary, that nothing might be left which could be of use to the enemy. This was accomplished only in time to prevent the killing of the few persons at Fort Bent, and the spoliation of its contents, as the Arapahoes informed the agent would have been effected the night following, but for Sumner's arrival.

The effect of Sumner's expedition was to intimidate the Cheyennes, who did not at once recover from the stroke. Late in September Major Lynde arrived at Fort Laramie with two companies of the seventh infantry en route to Utah, but which, owing to the belief that the troops could not get through the mountain passes before they were closed by snows, went into winter quarters at this post, Hoffman leaving for Leavenworth with three hundred men of the sixth, and Lynde taking the command. In the summer of 1858 he was joined by four companies of his regiment, with headquarters, staff, and band, all leaving Laramie in August for Utah.[8] Different companies were pre-

[8] Major John Sedgwick was in command. The Mormon difficulty had been settled before he reached Pacific springs, where he was turned back to

viously encamped, some at Muddy springs, and some on the South Platte, this display of force being not without its influence in keeping the Indians quiet. The garrison at Laramie was now composed of a portion of the tenth infantry, and two companies of the second dragoons, whose principal duty was to furnish escorts.

The immigration to Colorado which began in 1858 was a new element in the problem of peaceful relations with the Indians. The uneasiness occasioned by this unexpected migration to territory claimed by the Arapahoes and Cheyennes led to the resumption of hostilities on the plains. In 1860 Sedgwick was in the field pursuing these savages, and Bent's fort on the Arkansas was occupied by a garrison of United States troops, as I have already related in my account of the Indian wars of Colorado. When the regular troops were called away to fight in the struggle of the government against disunion, volunteers were sent to garrison forts and protect travel. The first volunteers at Laramie were two troops of the 4th Iowa cavalry, one of the 6th Ohio cavalry, and one of the 8th Kansas infantry. Changes were frequent in garrisons. The 1st Ohio cavalry, independent battalion, commanded by Thomas L. Mackey, the 11th Ohio cavalry, under Colonel Collins, the 7th Iowa, and the 6th Michigan cavalry were at different times stationed at Fort Laramie.

The Indians were not slow to perceive that the government was embarrassed by the civil war, nor loath to take advantage of its temporary disablement; hence the onslaught of 1862 in Minnesota, and the general uprising which followed, extending to the Rocky mountains, and even to the shores of the Columbia. Wyoming being still unsettled suffered only

Fort Riley. This post, located at the junction of the two forks of the Kansas river, in 1852, was first called Camp Centre, from its geographical position, but afterward named in honor of Gen. B. C. Riley.

through its itinerant population, attacks upon travellers, the robbery of supply trains, and occasional murders, the war being chiefly carried on east of the forks of the Platte, where the booty was richest, being government trains, and merchant supplies for Colorado and New Mexico. In 1863 Fort Halleck was established a little west of the Medicine Bow mountains, on the route of the overland mail. The year 1864 was one of the bloodiest of that period. General Alfred Sully had made an expedition into the Sioux country via the Missouri with three thousand troops, having to fight the entire Sioux nation of 15,000 at Deer Stand, where their loss was 585 in one day, Sully's loss being slight. In the Bad lands he had another battle, killing twelve of the Indians at the crossing of the Little Missouri. For three days thereafter he had a marching fight, the Indians engaging him so hotly to prevent his coming on their principal camp, which was in his route. At the end of the three days they disappeared, and went south toward the Black hills, and when Sully came upon their village he found it deserted. He burned it, and pushed on to Fort Union, returning to Sioux City to winter.

Meantime the Arapahoes were doing deadly work in the territory west of Fort Laramie. Surveyor-general Burr of Utah, Peter Dodson, Boswell, and ten others set out in 1864 to explore the Bighorn country, but were driven back, being attacked by the Arapahoes at Medicine Bow. In the battle seven Indians were killed. Their band retreated, but coming upon an immigrant train killed two men by burning them alive, bound to their wagon wheels. On the Platte, above Fort Laramie, they attacked a large train, killing five men, and of every company that passed over the route they took toll in cattle and horses, amounting during a season to many times a congressional appropriation,[9] besides the glory of it.

[9] *Ind. Aff. Rept*, 1864, 252. *Larimer's Capture and Escape*, 39–57, is an

In August of this year Fort Sedgwick was established, at the junction of Lodge Pole creek with the south fork of the Platte.

The Sioux having moved in large numbers into the region of the Black hills and Powder river, were the ready allies of the Cheyennes in their depredations. In January 1865 they advanced upon the new post, which was commanded by Nicholas J. O'Brien, a young officer in the 7th Iowa cavalry, with a company of thirty-seven men. The Sioux were led by Man-afraid-of-his-horses, Spotted Tail, and Two-face, and the Cheyennes by White Antelope. O'Brien charged a division of the savages with a part of his command, while his subordinate officers engaged those on his right and left. The Indians returned the charge four or five hundred strong, and again the troop dashed at them and into their midst, losing in killed and wounded almost half their number. The artillery being finally brought to bear on the besiegers, and a third charge being made, the natives retreated.[10]

On the 2d of February the Indians renewed the attack, and succeeded in burning Julesburg, the junction of the overland mail line with the Denver branch, and the headquarters of the telegraph management for the plains, established in 1861. They destroyed at the same time fifty-five miles of the telegraph line. On the 13th they attacked a detachment of 140 men under Lieutenant-colonel Collins at Rush creek,

account of the battle at Little Box Elder in 1864, with the story as above indicated, of one man's experience.

[10] O'Brien was born in Wexford, Ireland, in 1839, and came to the U. S. in 1848. In 1863 he organized a company of the 7th Iowa cavalry, and was commissioned capt., and reported to Gen. McKane at Omaha, who sent him to Cottonwood springs to build a post (Fort McPherson), and in the following year to Laramie and to Julesburg to build Fort Sedgwick. He was with Conner in his Powder river expedition, as chief of artillery, and established Fort P. E. Conner, afterward Fort Reno. He returned to Iowa and was married in the autumn, reporting at Fort Reno in Dec., being commissioned major, and being mustered out the following year on expiration of service. He took a land claim near Fort Sedgwick. When the railroad reached that point he settled in Julesburg, being one of the first officers of the town, and subsequently mayor; but soon removed to Cheyenne, where he remained. He has held the offices of dept. U. S. marshal, sheriff, city councilman and member of the 8th legislature.

eighty-five miles north of Julesburg, with a force of 2,500. Collins had one twenty-four-pound brass gun, with which, and with constant fighting, he held them off for twenty-two hours, losing but three men killed and eight wounded.[11]

In April they again attacked 125 troops, under Collins, stationed at Mud springs, to the number of 1,500 Sioux and Cheyennes. The troops defended themselves for twenty-four hours, when, reënforcements arriving with artillery, the Indians retreated. They lost a considerable number, and the troops eleven wounded and two killed.

The hostilities of 1864 were repeated in 1865. In four weeks of July and August the Sioux and Cheyennes killed and captured forty-five white persons between Sage creek and Virginia Dale.[12] An expedi-

[11] There was some very brave fighting in this engagement. Acting-lieut Robert F. Patton, with 7 men from his co. B., 11th Ohio cav., and 8 vol from the other companies made a charge to drive a detachment of 50 Indians which had stolen up to within 350 yards of camp. The squad was armed only with revolvers, and charged through all right, but were cut off by 300 Indians. The men in charge of the gun were afraid of using it on the enemy lest they should hit their comrades; but by firing to the right and left, made a diversion which enabled Patton to charge back. The last shot, by George W. Hoover, saved Patton's life. With empty revolvers the little command returned, minus two of their number, who were killed. The incidents of this battle and some others are related in a dictation of Hermann Haas, who participated. Haas was born in Prussia in 1840, emigrating to America in 1849. He served in the union army nearly 4 years as a member of the 1st Ohio, co. B. He arrived at Laramie in 1862, and was discharged at Omaha in 1865. The service was guarding the road and telegraph line from South pass to Julesburg, carrying the weekly mail for the government, and scouting in the Powder river country. He took the brass gun and 40 men from Laramie to Mud Springs station to rcënforce Collins previous to the attack above referred to. In July 1862, while going with a command to Devilgate to remove the stages to a more southern route, via Bridger pass, at Seminole gap, two soldiers were found to be drunk, whereupon the officer in command ordered all the whiskey poured out on the ground, from which incident the pass of these mountains took its name of Whiskey gap. After being mustered out of service Haas located himself at Fort Laramie in charge of the government wagon and blacksmith shops, removing afterwards to Cheyenne and engaging in the same business for himself. He has taken an active part in the history of that city; was elected to the first territorial legislature, and reëlected in 1873, 1875, and 1877. Was delegate at large in 1875.

[12] John H. Finfrock, born in Ohio in 1836, was educated in Richland co., afterwards studied medicine at the university of Mich., Ohio Medical college, and Long Island hospital. He entered the union army as hospital steward, and was afterward captain of Ohio volunteers; also serving as asst surgeon from 1863 to 1865. He was sent to Fort Halleck in the latter capacity in 1863, being one of those who rescued one of the Collett family. He

tion was organized under General P. E. Conner, to go against these Indians in their own country on Powder river. It was hoped that Conner, who had a great reputation amongst the Indians as a fighting general, would be able to clear the road to Montana, via Powder and Bighorn rivers. He had with him parts of the 6th and 7th Michigan cavalry, and 200 Pawnee and Omaha scouts, the ordinance being under Colonel Cole of the 2d Missouri artillery. Proceeding to the head of Tongue river with Bridger and other mountain men for guides, the officers seemed to have forgotten their errand, and to have imagined themselves upon a summer hunt on the plains. Congress had appropriated $20,000 for the purpose of holding peace negotiations with the Sioux and their allies, and General Sully was marching across the northern part of Dakota, anxious to gain the consent of Indians to a treaty looking to the relinquishment of the valley of the Platte, and of all that country where contact with the white people seemed inevitable. But Pope was averse to peace, advocating slaughter.

In October General Wheaton decided to send messengers to the Sioux, to inform them that other tribes were making peace, and should they desire to do so the opportunity would be offered them. Having made this decision he left Laramie for Omaha,[13] leaving Colonel Henry E. Maynadier to carry out his designs. No white man could be found who would undertake to deliver the message, the proposition being finally conveyed to them by friendly Indians, who after three months returned, bringing with them Swift Bear's band. This chief professed pleasure in being able to make peace and to come to the fort for

had a son, William Edwin Finfrock, born at Fort Halleck, Oct. 16, 1865, whom he thinks is the first white person born in Wyoming. He settled at Laramie City in 1868. He was coroner, probate judge, and county physician. He was member of the city council in 1872–3, county supt of public schools in 1880, and was appointed in 1880 one of the board of penitentiary commissioners, of which board he was president for two years.

[13] *Hist. Colorado*, 420, this series.

provisions and clothing for their families, and reported that Red Cloud, chief of the Ogalallas, was also on his way to Laramie. On the 1st of June the commissioners appointed assembled at Fort Laramie, namely E. B. Taylor superintendent, Henry E. Maynadier commandant at Fort Laramie, R. N. McLaren of Minnesota, Thomas Wistar of Philadelphia, and two secretaries, Charles E. Bowles and Frank Lehmer. After the hesitancy and delay always affected by Indians on similar occasions, the Brulé and Ogalalla Sioux collected a majority of their people, although Red Cloud declined to be present, and agreed to the terms of a treaty.

One of the most important of the conditions imposed upon the Sioux was that the route commonly known as the Bozeman road, leading from Platte bridge to Bozeman in Montana, should be secure from hostilities. Into this arrangement the northern Cheyenne and the Arapahoes expressed their willingness to enter. But a loop-hole of escape from responsibility was left open by the defection of Red Cloud, who had a numerous following, and who was still at liberty to commit depredations, while the greater number were clothed and fed as wards of the government.

While the council was in progress the migration to Montana was at its height. Red Cloud had made this a cause of disaffection. Why had they, the commissioners, asked for what they had already taken? Before the commission closed came a military expedition of magnitude—700 troops with over 200 mule-teams, besides ambulances for officers and their families, a band, and everything necessary to a complete establishment in a new country, under Colonel H. B. Carrington, 18th infantry, commander of a new district. This is said to have been the drop too much to Red Cloud, who with 300 warriors sallied forth on the heels of the expedition to prevent the treaty having effect.

Efforts had been made in the early part of the season by the military authorities to keep prospecting parties out of the Bighorn country, and with tolerable success.[14] But immigrant and freight trains could not be turned back, and must be guarded. As Carrington advanced into the Powder River country he began to learn what he had to encounter. At Fort Reno, which was garrisoned by two companies of the 5th United States volunteers only, were found three immigrant trains waiting instructions as to their further advance under the escort of the military expedition. Notwithstanding this large number of people, civil and military, all the horses and mules belonging to the fort settlers were run off in open daylight, and although the troops pursued as quickly as possible for thirty-five miles, not a hoof was recovered. The only reward of their exertion was the capture of an Indian pony so heavily laden with presents received at the late treaty council that it could not keep up with the herd.

Relieving the companies at Fort Reno, where Captain Proctor remained with one company to guard the stores until they could be removed, Carrington proceeded north to select the site of a post in the Bighorn country, which was to be district headquarters, finding on the second day's march, at Rock creek, notices left by trains which had been attacked at this place, within the previous week, losing considerable stock. Arriving at Piney fork the position was taken on that stream and the dimensions of Fort Philip Kearny staked off July 15th.

While on the road Red Cloud's adherents had sent

[14] A company of 116 men was raised in Colorado and Wyoming to prospect the Bighorn mountains for gold, but they were met near Gray Bull creek by troops from Reno who forbade then further progress, when the majority of the company turned back. W. L. Kuykendall, however, who was the leader of the expedition, evaded the troops and with about 20 men pushed on and reached Bozeman. He was the means of rescuing a party which had been robbed of its stock and had two men killed. Uniting their forces they finished their journey without any further serious losses. Herman G. Nickerson, since probate judge of Fremont county, was one of the rescued travellers. I shall have more to say of him by and by.

Carrington a command to leave the country, saying that Fort Reno in that case should not be disturbed, but that no other post should be established in the country. Carrington responded by inviting them to meet him, which the Cheyennes did on the 16th, but no Sioux were present, Red Cloud having already turned back to intercept travel. The Cheyennes accepted some presents of food and clothing and promised to remain at peace, which for a time they appeared to do.

However, on the next morning the herds belonging to Major Hammond's command, which was destined for the upper Yellowstone, in the vicinity of Bozeman, were stampeded, and in the effort to rescue them two soldiers were killed and three wounded. On the return of the detachment they came upon six mutilated bodies of a trading party killed within a few miles of the post, though the wife of a principal trader was a Sioux.[15]

The abandonment of Fort Reno had been contemplated in the establishment of Fort Philip Kearny, as Fort Casper had been erected on the Sweetwater, and a fort was to be built both on the Bighorn and Yellowstone rivers. But the condition of the country was such that Reno must not only not be abandoned, but must be strengthened, and the Yellowstone post was given up, while a company was sent to reënforce Captain Proctor instead. Early in August Lieutenant-colonel N. C. Kinney and Captain Burrows left Fort Philip Kearny with two companies to establish the Bighorn post, Fort C. F. Smith, which reduced the force at Carrington's post to five companies, two-thirds of which was composed of raw recruits. The labor of erecting a strong fort, with sufficient quarters for eight companies, which was expected would be furnished, the material all to be obtained in the forest;

[15] These traders, long known at Fort Laramie, were Louis Gazzons and Henry Arrison. The other four were probably herders. The Sioux wife and half-breed family were allowed to escape.

and of cutting wood and hay in preparation for a long severe winter, was added to the duty of guarding trains, carrying mail, and escorting detachments of soldiers, or parties of citizens, while engaged in unmilitary labor.

Carrington had represented to the commander of the department, General P. St George Cooke, that the status of the Indians in his district was that of war, and had made his situation known to the adjutant-general of the army; but it was December before he was reënforced, and then only by a handful of poorly armed raw recruits. Ammunition was at length wanting for the practice of the recruits, or even for defence, in case of an attack, while at Laramie, where no trouble was apprehended, twelve companies were stationed. In the midst of several thousand hostile Indians was a small garrison of untried men, without the means of making war if forced to it.[16] The condition of the three posts on the Bozeman road was really that of a state of seige from July to January requiring the greatest caution to prevent capture. The history of Fort Philip Kearny during the autumn and winter was one of a careful defence. The attacks on the timber trains, hay-cutters, woodmen, and escorts were unintermitting. Serious as was the loss in cattle and horses to a community so isolated, the frequent loss of life was yet more painful.

By the 10th of October there were not forty horses left with which to mount mail carriers, escorts, and pickets. On the last of the month the garrison flag floated for the first time from the flag-staff of Fort Philip Kearny. The skirmishing on the wood road, of so frequent occurrence that it was no longer in the nature of a surprise, had resulted in no loss of life for some time, when, on December 6th, in defending a

[16] Cochran, in his *Hist. Fort Laramie*, MS., says: As many as 12 companies of cavalry and infantry were stationed at Fort Laramie. The cavalry came late in autumn. One troop, under Lieut Bingham, was ordered on escort duty with a train to Fort C. F. Smith. Bingham was killed while at Fort Philip Kearny. His regt was the 2d cavalry, under Palmer ..

wood train Lieutenant Bingham, of the cavalry, and Sergeant Bowers were killed, and the road had become so dangerous toward Fort C. F. Smith that it had been determined not to attempt sending mails in that direction. Thus the toils tightened around a devoted garrison.

On the forenoon of the 21st of December an alarm was signalled by the pickets on the wood road, and that the train had corralled for safety, waiting for relief. A detail was quickly organized consisting of seventy-eight officers and men, the command being given by his own request to Lieutenant-colonel Fetterman. There was a general disposition to volunteer, both among officers and citizens employed at the post, and a general feeling of exasperation in all minds, which led to the catastrophe which followed. Before the command started a few Indian pickets appeared on Lodge Trail ridge, and a few at the crossing of the Bozeman road below the fort, who were scattered by case shot dropped among them. But the main force was entirely concealed, and a few shot, more or less, would not interfere with the execution of a well-considered plan. A surgeon sent to join the command hastily returned with the report that the train had been relieved and gone on to the woods, but that Fetterman was on the ridge to the north out of view, and surrounded by a large force of Indians. Soon the sound of rapid firing came from the valley of Peno creek beyond the ridge, and then it became evident that Fetterman had been drawn into an unexpected engagement by Indian cunning, aided by the desire to avenge the death of Lieutenant Bingham, or had been in some inconceivable manner entrapped into disobeying orders. A relief party was dispatched with additional officers, surgeons, ambulances, and even the prisoners in the guardhouse were placed on duty to give all the available force for action should further aid be required to repulse the Indians. The wood train was ordered in, and when all was done

there were but 119 men besides those with Fetterman.

Meantime the relief party reached a point of observation just as an ominous silence followed the crackling noise, increasing in intensity for half an hour, of rifle discharges. They beheld the valleys below them filled with 2,000 Indians, yelling and inviting them to descend, but not a soldier was to be seen. Not an officer or man of Fetterman's command remained alive.[17] Tired of their bloody work, with their own dead and wounded, the Indians withdrew at nightfall, and about half the dead soldiers were brought into the fort after dark. On the following day the remainder were found, and a pit fifty feet in length received all of the eighty-one victims, but a few whose families claimed them for burial elsewhere.[18] On the night of the 21st a miner named Philips carried dispatches to Fort Reno,[19] whence the news was dispatched to Fort Laramie, where it arrived in the midst of the festivities of Christmas eve.[20]

Early in January Carrington received orders to remove district headquarters to Fort Casper,[21] and at

[17] *Trans. Wyom. Acad. Sciences*, etc., 1882, 87; *Wyom. Territorial Affairs*, MS., 15–16; *Wyom. Indians and Settlers*, MS., 49–50; *Montana Post*, Feb. 9, 1867; *U. S. Sen. Jour.*, 575–6, 585; 39th cong., 2d sess.; *S. F. Alta Cal.*, Feb. 15, and 28, 1867.

[18] The officers killed in this battle were Col Fetterman, Capt. Brown of Ohio, and Lieut Grummond, making with Bingham and Daniels, five commissioned officers killed while Fort Philip Kearny was building, and over 90 men. William Daly, now a resident of Rawlins, was employed with the quartermaster in erecting Fort Philip Kearney, and was the first carpenter in that section. He was employed by the government at Fort McPherson, Neb., in 1867–8. From there he came to Cheyenne, where he took contracts for putting up railroad buildings in 1869, and was afterward supt of construction of the N. P. R. R., between Cheyenne and Ogden until 1873, when he went into lumber and contracting at Rawlins. It is the opinion of Daly that the Indians might have taken the fort on the 21st of Dec. That they did not pursue their victory further was in consonance with their customary intermittent violence.

[19] Phillips was one of the Standifer party which I have before mentioned as wintering at Fort Phil. Kearny. Two others, Wheatley and Fisher, were with Fetterman's command, and were killed. It required a stout heart to carry dispatches through the Indian country at that time.

[20] *Cochran, Hist. Fort Laramie*, MS.

[21] The 18th infantry regiment built Fort Casper soon after the close of the war. It had been a detached service station to protect the mail. They built, rebuilt, or repaired forts Halleck, Laramie, Sedgwick, Reno, Philip Kearny, Fetterman, and Bridger, several of them mail stations previously, all within the limits of what is now Wyoming, besides Fort C. F. Smith in Montana,

the same time Brigadier-general H. W. Wessels, arrived with two companies of cavalry, and took command at Fort Philip Kearny. The cold was so severe that in the three days' journey to Reno all were in danger of perishing, women, children, officers and men, some of the teamsters suffering amputation of the hands and feet on reaching the fort. After getting to Fort Casper, the orders were to go to Fort McPherson, and again headquarters journeyed through winter weather to within ninety-seven miles of Fort Kearny.

The spring of 1867 opened with a renewal of hostilities. The military authorities near the eastern end of the infested line of road, endeavored to prevent the killing of small parties by ordering all such detained at Fort McPherson, which was near the junction of the North and South Platte, until they were organized into companies of not less than thirty men, and by furnishing escorts if danger seemed to threaten. A large number of troops had been sent into the department, with the design at first of sending an expedition against the Sioux who were in force between Fort Philip Kearny and Fort C. F. Smith,[22] but being chiefly infantry they were unable to pursue

and McPherson in Nebraska. There was also a sub-post of Fort Laramie at Scott Bluffs, called Fort Mitchell. *Abaraka*, 70, 270; *Sturgis, Common Sense View of the Sioux War*, 22–3.

[22] The commander of the department of the Platte in 1867 was Gen. C. C. Augru. Early in the year Gov. I. N. Palmer commanded at Fort Laramie, but later Maj. G. W. Howland. After a number of changes the distribution of troops was as follows:

POSTS.	COMMANDERS	COM'D OFFICERS	SUBALTERNS.	ENLISTED MEN.
Ft Laramie	Major G. W. Howland.	19	7	386
Ft D. H. Russell	Brig.-gen. J. D. Stevenson	17	9	310
Ft Sanders	Maj.-gen. John Gibbons	10	4	168
Ft Reno	Maj. James Van Voast	7	3	251
Ft Phil. Kearny	Maj.-gen. J. E. Smith	12	4	269
Ft C. F. Smith (Mont)	Brig.-gen. L. P. Bradley	10	7	347
Ft Bridger	Col H. R. Mizner	4	2	106
Ft Sedgwick	Brig.-gen. J. H. Potter	15	1	246
Ft Morgan, (Colo)	Maj. W. H. Powell	4	....	98

The troops employed in the department were the 2d cavalry, the 4th, 10th,

well mounted Indian forces, which appeared in the most unexpected places, and were off as soon as their mischief was perpetrated. The damage done to property this year was greater than since 1863–4 when Colorado suffered so severely, and the country was again cut off from communication with the east by telegraph, while overland wagon trains, and even railroad trains were interrupted. In May the stage lines refused to carry passengers, their horses which were not stolen being withdrawn from the road, several of their stations burned, and some of their drivers killed and wounded. The public survey was interrupted, and the whole region in a state of arrested growth.[23] The Montana route, over which the Sioux pretended to be so much excited, was untravelled, no citizen trains venturing upon it. General Augur, commanding the department of the Platte, reported that it was a daily struggle still to keep open the route from forts Laramie to C. F. Smith, for the passage of government trains, without having to guard citizen trains. Thirty wagons owned by J. R. Porter of Plattsmouth, Nebraska, carrying government supplies to Fort Philip Kearny, escorted by Major Powell, Lieutenant Guiness, and forty men, was attacked near that post by a large force of Indians, with whom they fought for three hours, until relief reached them from the fort, in the shape of two full companies and a howitzer. The train was saved, but all the mules and horses captured, and Lieutenant Guiness killed. Thirty thousand dollars' worth of government property was destroyed en route for Fort C. F. Smith; three months having been spent in attempts to get it

13th, 18th, 22d, 27th, 30th, 31st, and 36th infantry. Fort Fetterman was erected this year by the 4th and 18th infantry under Major and brevet Col W. McE. Dye, at the mouth of Sage creek, where the road to Montana left the Platte. It had a garrison of 472 men, and 19 com. officers. Two companies also were encamped near Laramie, under Maj. C. H. Carleton, during summer, which went into garrison late in the autumn. *Rept Sec. War*, i. 438, 440; 40th cong., 2d sess.; *Cochran's Hist. Fort Laramie*, MS., 65; *Mont. Post.*, July 20, 1869.

[23] Communication of Gen. Sherman to the asst adjt-gen. of the army, in *Rept. Sec. War*, i. 65–8.

to its destination from Julesburg.[24] No attempts were for some time afterward made to reach this post with supplies, and its abandonment was suggested as a means of restoring peace.

Early in 1867 congress resorted to the customary commission to settle the Indian question, and General John B. Sanborn, General W. T. Sherman, General W. S. Harney, General C. C. Augur, N. J. Taylor, John B. Henderson and S. F. Tappan were appointed. To subsist friendly Indians $300,000 were appropriated, and half that amonnt for other expenses. After a month spent in endeavors to have a general council, a treaty promising much, and requiring some submission to government, was drawn up, signed by a few of the so-called friendly Indians, April 29th, and given in charge of the military authorities at Laramie, who were to use every means to induce the chiefs of the Sioux, Arapahoes, and Cheyennes to sign it. That they were in no haste the above narrative proves. General Augur reported against abandoning the line of posts erected to guard travel on the Bozeman road, urging the importance to the people, and the loss to the government of the money expended in erecting and maintaining them, to say nothing of the moral effect on the Indians. No understanding was arrived at, while the summer passed in war, and the winter was spent in holding one of the northern posts on the Missouri in a state of siege and annoying others. In the spring of 1868, two years having been spent in a warfare exhausting to the means of the Indians, their courage began to fail them. Now was the time for the peace commissioners to score a triumph. The treaty left at Fort Laramie with instructions to the interpreter to make the meaning clear to every Indian of any consequence who came about the fort, began to get his signatures. In the first place, in May, a band of Ogalallas arrived with two chiefs, who signed

[24] *U. S. Mess. and Doc. Abridg't*, 390, 40th cong., 2d sess.

the treaty. The commanding officer then issued to them an ample supply of provisions, and the Indian agent blankets, cloth, cooking utensils, knives, guns, and ammunition. In a few days they departed, and others came of the Sioux bands, then many Arapahoes. All signed the treaty, and received arms and ammunition in addition to food and clothing. But Red Cloud and Spotted Tail held aloof, waiting to have their will, saying that when the posts on the Bozeman road were abandoned they would sign the treaty. In August the posts were abandoned,[25] the troops from C. F. Smith, Philip Kearny, and Reno being assigned to other stations. Though they may have been glad to leave the wilderness behind them, there were few if any who were not reluctant to quit the country with the Fetterman defeat unavenged. Still Red Cloud did not sign until November, and Spotted Tail not at all.

After being fed, clothed, and supplied with arms, the Sioux and their allies cast about for a provocation to further hostilities, and this they found in the conditions of the treaty. The country set apart for their exclusive use by its terms extended from the east bank of the Missouri river where the 46th parallel crosses it down to the Nebraska line; thence west across the Missouri and along the Nebraska line to the 104th meridian; thence north to the 46th parallel and east to the place of beginning, "together with all existing reservations." Upon this territory none but officers and agents of the government should intrude. It was also stipulated that the country north of the Platte and east of the Bighorn mountains should be held as unceded Indian territory, which no white person should be permitted to occupy without the consent of the Indians. On their part they promised to remain at peace, to relinquish all claim to the lands north of the Platte which was outside of their reser-

[25] *Mont. Post*, May 2d, and July 31, 1868; compiled *Laws of Wyom.*, 1876, lxxii.

vation, except to hunt; not to oppose railroad construction, except on the reserved lands, not to attack any persons travelling or at home, not to steal cattle or horses, not to capture white women or children, and not to kill or scalp white men. Should the government build a road, it would pay for the land taken; and benefits were to be bestowed such as the government bestows upon all treaty tribes.[26]

The offence given was in an order of the president of the peace commission, General Sanborn, that after the signatures of all the chiefs had been obtained, the Sioux and their allies should no longer be permitted to come to Fort Laramie, as it was not within the boundaries of their reservation. But the distance to Fort Randall, where they were directed to go for supplies, was considerable, and the dissatisfaction great in proportion. They were unwilling to submit to the inconvenience so rigorously imposed upon the people of Montana. Depredations continued to be committed upon travellers, and upon the few settlers near the forts, and along the line of the Union Pacific railroad, which was now approaching completion, and for the safety of which Fort Frederick Steele was erected this year, near the present site of Rawlins. Meanwhile Red Cloud and Man-afraid-of-his-horses retired to Powder river from which they could follow the chase, invade the Crow country as they should feel inclined, while the Cheyennes were warring against their own race[27] on the plains. And there, for a space, I will leave them, to turn to the progress of affairs connected with the existence of Wyoming.

[26] *Deer Lodge, Northwest*, Sept. 5, 1874; *Helena, Mont. Post*, May 29, 1868.

[27] In the autumn of 1868, 35 Kaw Indians, being on a buffalo hunt 60 miles southwest from Fort Larned on the Arkansas, they were attacked by 60 Cheyennes, the battle continuing for two hours. The Cheyennes lost heavily, the Kaws being warlike and brave. Returning to the Kaw agency with 45 captured horses, they were again attacked by the Cheyennes, who had been reënforced to 100, who beseiged the agency for 48 hours, killing 9 of the Kaws and capturing all the horses and stock. I have this account from George W. Munkers, of Buffalo, Wyoming, who was present in both battles. Munkers was born in Mo., in 1852, and brought up in Kansas. At the early age of 10 years he was employed as interpreter on the Kaw reser-

vation, and was sent to Fort Sill, and other posts, to negotiate for the restoration of white captives, in which he was successful. He afterward travelled with a party of Indians to exhibit their war-dances, under the management of P. J. Barnum. In 1873 he went to Col., engaging in mining and freighting in the San Juan country. Subsequently he constructed 21 miles of the Denver and New Orleans railroad, and 7 miles of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy railroad. His next enterprise was in town-building, having acted as manager in the affairs of Robert Foote, in starting the growth of Buffalo in the Powder river country. His wife is a daughter of J. P. Mather, a pioneer, who erected the first grist-mill in Johnson co. He was elected town trustee in 1883, and was always an influential member of the commonwealth.

CHAPTER V.

POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND MATERIAL AFFAIRS.

1867–1888.

GOLD DISCOVERY — SOUTH PASS CITY ORGANIZED — ORGANIZATION OF COUNTIES — FOUNDING OF CHEYENNE — ADVANCE IN TOWN LOTS — BAD ELEMENT — VIGILANCE COMMITTEES — NEWSPAPERS ESTABLISHED — A MAGIC CITY — THE NAME WYOMING — TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION — FEMALE SUFFRAGE — JUDICIAL DISTRICTS — COUNTY SEATS AND COUNTY OFFICERS — ELECTIONS — LAW MAKING — MILITARY POSTS — ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR CAMPBELL — THAYER, HOYT, AND HALE — MASSACRE OF CHINESE — LEGISLATION.

HITHERTO the territory which was the scene of so many adventures, and so much activity of an itinerant character, had no permanent population, no political organization, and no name. It was spoken of as the North Platte, with the sub-titles of the Sweetwater, the Wind River Valley, the Bighorn Country, or the Black Hills. Really it was a part of Dakota,[1] but had never been districted, and possessed no local machinery of government. Originally it was a part of the Louisiana purchase,[2] confirmed by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1846. I have referred in a previous chapter to the fruitless attempts to discover the precious metals, which from time to time were put forth in this region, while Colorado and Montana, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada were pouring their millions of treasure into the lap of a luxurious civilization. Notwithstanding the repeated failures, it was no surprise when in the summer of 1867, upon the sources of the Sweetwater, gold was found in paying quantities by prospectors, among

[1] *Zabriskie, Land Laws*, 848, 777; *Slaughter, Life in Colo and Wyom.*, MS., 6.

[2] *U S. H. Misc. Doc.*, 45, pt 4, vol. 2. 105, 47th cong., 2d sess.

whom were Henry Ridell, Frank Marshall, Harry Hubbell, Richard Grace, and Noyes Baldwin, who discovered the Cariso lode and made the first locations at South pass. When the news reached Salt Lake, a company of about thirty men repaired to South pass prepared to winter there while they prospected. Their camp was surprised by a band of hostile Arapahoes, looking for plunder. In the first onset they killed Lawrence, the captain of the party, and drove the prospectors to the Sweetwater, where, after killing another man, they abandoned the pursuit, it was supposed because they feared to meet the Shoshones in whose country they were. The miners being on foot, could not overtake them if they would; nevertheless there were soon 700 persons on Willow Creek, constituting the municipality of South Pass City, which was laid out in October. From the Cariso $15,000 was taken out by crushing in hand mortars before winter set in. The Atlantic ledge, six miles northeast of Cariso, was considered a very important mine. Miners' Delight, two miles northeast of the Atlantic, was even more promising, while the Summit, King Solomon, Northern Light, Scott and Eddy, Lone Star State, Hoosier Boy, Copperopolis, Mahomet, California, Elmira, Colonel Mann, and Jim Crow were regarded as valuable discoveries. Late in the autumn placer mines were also found, which yielded flatteringly. They were in gulches running into Willow Creek, which was a branch of the Sweetwater heading in Wind River mountains, and flowing south. The Dakota was the first gulch discovered, after which followed half a dozen others. A ditch five miles in length was partly constructed, before cold weather set in, which was to carry water to Dakota gulch. A sawmill was also in operation before the winter. Besides the population at South Pass City, there were several mining districts each with its hundred or more inhabitants. Such is the magic progress which gold inspires.

In January the county of Carter was organized,[3] with Hubbell as recorder, and John Murphy as sheriff. By the middle of February, although the snow was deep and drifted, parties from Salt Lake struggled through in order to be on the ground with the opening of spring.[4] In April another town of 300 miners had sprung up four miles northeast of South Pass City, in the midst of a quartz district situated on Rock Creek; and soon a third town called Hamilton was started four miles north of that. Game of many kinds was plenty, and water power convenient, but the first settlers pronounced against the prospect of raising farm products in that section. Business was good if the merchants could get their goods upon the ground, which was difficult.[5]

The Indians continued to infest the roads, making travel dangerous; and notwithstanding detachments of troops were stationed at intervals, who patrolled the highway or pursued depredating parties, a number of persons were killed in the summer of 1868, and again in 1869. A newspaper called the *Sweetwater Miner* was started at Fort Briger in Feburary 1868, by Warren and Hastings, which was active in promoting immigration to this region. The existence of a mother lode was

[3] Named after W. A. Carter of Fort Bridger.

[4] J. F. Staples, John Able, John M. Neil, William F. Berry, John Holbrook, James Leffingwell, Frank McGovern, John Eaves, Peter Brade, Louis Brade, Alexander and bro., H. A. Thompson, Jeff. Standifer, Kit Castle, George Hirst, W. Matheney, Chris. Weaver, and Moses Sturman passed Fort Bridger in February, and Col Morrow, in command, was forced to publish a special order, warning citizens not to expect to obtain supplies from that post. *Wyoming Scraps*, 13.

[5] Worden Noble was the first merchant in these parts. He was born at Sackett's Harbor in 1847, and came to Fort Laramie in 1866, taking a situation as book-keeper for E. Coffee & Caney. He went to South pass in the spring of 1868, when he was attacked by Indians. He remained here merchandizing one year, when he commenced contracting for Camp Stambaugh, afterward a permanent post, and continued in this business for 7 years, after which he engaged in stock-raising near Lander, being a pioneer in this business. In 1880, he removed to the Shoshone agency. In 1880, he erected a quartz-mill at Atlantic City, doing custom work as well as reducing his own ores. He organized the Nevada Clover Valley Land and Cattle co. at Golconda, Nev., with a capital of $500,000, and 60,000 acres of land, of which he became president, and also engaged in sheep raising in 1882. In 1877 he was elected to the upper house of the Wyoming legislature from Sweetwater co., and was county commissioner from 1871 to 1877.

questioned, and various opinions exist among the best informed miners regarding the value of the quartz in the Sweetwater country. The country rock is slate, and the gold where found is free milling; but the rock is what miners designate as spotted, or pockety, and consequently not altogether profitable[6] to work, although considerable metal has been taken out of this region.

Contemporaneously with the first mining on the summit of the Rocky mountains in Dakota, the progress of railroad construction had brought to the North Platte country a working and a vagabond pop-

Railroad Builders' Fort.

ulation, one to prey upon the other, and together they formed several communities on the line of the road, the most important of which was Cheyenne, situated at the base of the Laramie range, in the vicinity of several military posts, at the point nearest Denver and its banking facilities, and where the railroad company placed its shops, which alone gave it a valuable business from the start.[7]

At this point in July 1867 the land agent of the Union Pacific railroad erected a rude structure, which had for company several canvas houses. Lots sold

[6] The Bullion mine, discovered at Lewiston, on the Sweetwater, by H. G. Nickerson, in 1868, was considered a good mine. The Buckeye, discovered in 1869, on the north Sweetwater, yielded in 1871, $25,000 in a 10-stamp mill. Louis P. Vidal located the Buckeye Extension. John D. Woodruff located a claim in 1870, which he abandoned, out of which another locator took $27,000.

[7] *Rept Sec. Int.*, in *U. S. Mess. & Doc. Abridg't*, 655, 1867–8; *Byers' Centennial State*, MS., 36–7.

at a good figure at this early period,[8] and the population rapidly increased. A city government was formed in the autumn of 1867, with a good police system and a determination on the part of the permanent inhabitants to prevent, if possible, the disorders which had attended the early development of cities in the surrounding mining territories. That it was found impossible without resorting to the vigilant system was not the fault of the founders. Cheyenne received many settlers from Colorado.[9]

The first actual settler at Cheyenne was J. R. Whitehead, followed the same day by Thomas E. McLeland, Robert M. Beers, and three others, with their families. The railroad company sold lots for $150, one third cash, and the same lots sold one month later for $1,000, increasing in price at the rate of $1,000 per month during the summer. In August the city government was formed, H. M. Hook being chosen

[8] One of the first permanent settlers in Cheyenne was Morton E. Post, who located himself in the Platte valley, 75 miles below Denver, removing to Cheyenne in 1867. Purchasing two lots of the land agent, he was returning to Denver to make arrangements for building, when he fell in with a man at Willow springs, who had made a coal discovery, and was afraid to return to it on account of Indians in the vicinity, but being very anxious about it, persuaded Post to return with him. He found the coal mine 16 miles from Cheyenne, and staked off claims. In August he erected a store at the corner of 17th and Ferguson streets, selling the fractional parts of his two lots, which cost him $600, for $5,600. In 1877, he purchased a gold mine in Deadwood, and erected the first quartz-mill in that section, making the first shipment of gold bullion from the Black hills. In 1878, he opened a banking-house, under the style of Stebbins, Post & Co., in the Deadwood country. He was elected a commissioner for Laramie county in 1872, together with T. Dyer and J. H. Nichols. The county was at this time $40,000 in debt, its warrants worth 40 cents on the dollar, and it owned no property except a worthless old safe. At the expiration of their second term the old county debt was paid, and a jail and court-house costing $40,000 erected; the county warrants were at par, with a bonded indebtedness of $30,000. Substantial school buildings had also been built, and a surplus remained in the treasury. In 1878 Post was elected to the territorial council, doing good service, and securing, against strong opposition, the repeal of the law licensing lotteries. In 1880 he was elected delegate to congress, reëlected in 1882, and nominated again in 1884, when he declined. *Poore's Cong. Direct'y*, 48th cong., 1st sess., p. 79; *House Jour.*, 1884–5, 923.

[9] Nathaniel Robertson, born in Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1841, migrated with his parents to the U. S. in 1846, and to Colo in 1865, locating himself at Denver, and opening the first carriage-making establishment in that place. When Cheyenne was laid off he removed his business to that point, and merged it into a company called the Cheyenne Carriage company, with F. E. Warren prest, Thomas Swan vice-prest, Morton E. Post treas., J. K. Jeffrey sec'y, and Robertson general manager and supt.

mayor; R. E. Tapley, W. H. Harlow, S. M. Preshaw, J. G. Willis, and G. B. Thompson, councilmen; J. R. Whitehead, city attorney; H. N. Meldrum, treasurer; Thomas E. McLeland, clerk; and E. Melanger, marshal.[10]

On the 19th of September N. A. Baker commenced the publication of the *Cheyenne Evening Leader* newspaper, which later became a morning daily. On the 25th of October the *Daily Argus* began publication under the management of L. L. Bedell. Telegraphic communication with the east and Denver was completed the same day. On the 13th of November the railroad reached the town limits, the first passenger trains through from Omaha arriving with a special party on board, which was enthusiastically welcomed. A month later the track was laid to Fort Russell, and on the 8th of December a third newspaper, the *Rocky Mountain Star*, issued its first number, edited by O. T. B. Williams. Wonderful development of a

[10]The first house erected on the south side of Crow creek on the site of Cheyenne was built by a mountain man named Larimer. It was followed in July by a two-story frame house, erected by Whitehead, which is still standing on the west side of Eddy street. Lumber was brought from Colorado, and the first houses were roofed with boards lapped; but in Aug. Thomas Murrin had a shingle roof on his house on 17th street. Headquarters saloon built about this time was 36 by 100 feet, and stood on 16th street, where Hellman's brick block now stands. Adjoining it was a two-story hotel, owned by Ford and Durkee, the same Ford who built the fine hotel on the corner of Hill and 16th streets. Opposite the Ford and Durkee hotel was the Rollins house, owned by J. Q. A. Rollins, now a wealthy mine owner, and the founder of Rollinsville, Colo. The post-office was a 10 by 15 frame building on 16th street, but soon proving inadequate to its purpose, the postmaster, Thomas E. McLeland, erected a building on the s. c. corner of Ferguson and 17th streets, where later was placed the banking house of Stebbins, Post & Co., of about double that size. It is stated that E. P. Snow and W. N. Monroe arrived in Cheyenne Aug. 15th as managers of the business of M. S. Hall, and in 48 hours had erected a building 55 by 25 feet. It stood on a part of the ground later occupied by the furniture establishment of F. E. Warren & Co. A large warehouse was opened in Sept. by Cornforth & Bro. on the corner of Eddy and 19th streets. On the 25th the first bank was opened in Cornforth & Bro.'s store by J. H. Rogers, who soon after erected a building on Eddy and 16th streets. Two other banks were established soon after by Kauntze Bros & Co. and J. A. Ware & Co. In Oct. Gen. Stevenson caused to be erected the stone warehouse on the corner of Eddy and 15th streets, costing $20,000. The same month the mammoth corral, known as the Great Western, was completed by Hook & Moore on the corner of O'Neil and 20th streets. Charles McDonald began the erection of a block of houses 88 by 90 feet, in Oct., which he used as a general merchandising establishment.

six-months-old town in the midst of uninhabited plains! No wonder it was named the Magic City.[11] Such progress did not fail to invite that pest of new towns, the squatter. Town lots were seized, and the city police being too few to eject them, a call was made upon the commandant at Fort Russell, who sent a battalion to escort the invaders outside the city limits.[12]

On the 27th of September a mass meeting was held[13] for the purpose of organizing a county. Three commissioners were appointed to district the county into three election precincts; the county to be called Laramie, and its boundaries to be "the same as those established by the act of the legislative assembly of Dakota."[14] The commissioners chosen by the meeting were W. L. Kuykendall, L. L. Bedell, and Thomas J. Street. It was resolved that the county-seat should be located by vote at an election to be held October 8th, when a delegate to congress and county officers should be chosen; and that all United States

[11] *Slaughter's Life in Colo and Wyom.*, MS., 2–3; *Wyom. Tribune*, Oct. 8, 1870; *Wyom. Misc.*, MS., 53–5; *Hayden's Great West*, 89; *Beadle's Undeveloped West*, 134; *Strahorn's Wyoming, Black Hills, etc.*, 142; *Goddard's Where to Emigrate and Why*, 176; *Williams' Pacific Tourist*, 64.

[12] This question of squatters's rights and title to public lands claimed for town-sites was not understood by every one. Cheyenne, like every other such town, had its clouds on title to overcome. Lots were purchased from the U. P. railroad co. When the government surveys were in progress it was discovered in 1869 that no plot of the town had ever been filed in the office of the land commissioner, or in any office, or any official notice given of such a town-site on the public lands. It appeared to be the intention of the company to allow the government surveys to cut it up into sections, and then to claim the odd numbered sections. Other parties could preëmpt—no filing having been made—the other sections, and thus the town-site be dismembered, and titles be brought into dispute.

[13] This meeting was held at the city hall, which was on 16th street between Eddy and Thomas, north side. H. M. Hook was chairman, and J. R. Whitehead sec. *Johnson and Tuthill, Cheyenne Dir.*, 1883, 11; *Mont. Post*, Oct. 26, 1867.

[14] This refers to an act of the legislature of Dakota of Jan. 9, 1867, by which the county of Laramie was organized, and bounded east by the 104th meridian, comprehending all the territory west of it, or all of what became Wyoming. It was reorganized Jan. 3, 1868, and the western boundary placed at the 107th meridian. All the first counties of Wyoming extended from the northern to the southern boundaries.

citizens who had been in the territory for ten days previous to the election should be eligible voters.[15]

The election resulted in choosing J. S. Casement, formerly of Painesville, Ohio, delegate to congress; J. R. Whitehead representative to the Dakota legislature; C. L. Howell, M. H. Hissman and W. L. Hopkins county commissioners; W. L. Kuykendall probate judge; Thomas J. Street district attorney; D. J. Sweeney sheriff; J. H. Creighton register of deeds; L. L. Bedell treasurer; James Irwin coroner; J. H. Gildersleeve superintendent of schools; and F. Landberg surveyor. Cheyenne was made the county seat. The total number of votes cast was 1,900.

Whitehead returned from Yancton in January, having succeeded in his mission. The bill reorganizing Laramie county made new appointments, the commissioners being Benjamin Ellinger, P. McDonald, and Beals; sheriff, J. L. Laird; recorder, William L. Morris; coroner, Johnson; school superintendent, J. H. Gildersleeve; justice of the peace, A. B. Moore and A. W. Brown; constable, S. Masterson. Kuykendall was retained as probate judge; S. H. Winsor was appointed county surveyor. Bills organizing a district court for this part of Dakota, and an act of incorporation of the City of Cheyenne were also passed. Laramie county was added to the second judicial district, to which the chief justice of Dakota, Asa Bartlett, was assigned; and E. P. Johnson was appointed district attorney. The first term of court was ordered for the first Monday in March. Bartlett held two terms of court, and was a good judge. But the first courts in this new metropolis, like those in the first towns in Idaho, Montana, and Colorado were the people's courts.[16]

[15] *Corlett, Founding of Cheyenne*, MS., 4–7; *Carey, Politics and People*, MS., 5–6.

[16] Corlett says, in his *Founding of Cheyenne*, MS., 5, that the courts used the statutes of Colorado, with which most of the residents were familiar, so far as they were applicable in the cases tried. He performed the duties of

Shootings were frequent, and every manner of vice abounded. Finding that Cheyenne was to be the terminus of the railroad for that winter, all the scum of society which had drifted along with the pay car of the railroad company as far as Julesburg took up a temporary residence here. Six thousand people wintered in Cheyenne, the accommodations for the shelter of a large part of them being tents and sod houses, or "dug-outs." A canvas saloon would answer as well as another for gambling, drinking, and the practices of the dives. Various men and women made the place intolerable. Tne city authorities were powerless. Robberies and assaults with deadly weapons were of daily and nightly occurrence. Then the patience of the people failed, and the vigilance committee came to the front. Its first act was on the 11th of January, when it seized three men who had been arrested for robbery and placed under bonds to appear before the court on the 14th. These men were bound together abreast, and a large canvas attached to them bearing this legend: "$900 stole; $500 returned; thieves, F. St Clair, W. Grier, E. D. Brownville. City authorities please not interfere until 10 o'clock A. M. Next case goes up a tree. Beware of vigilance committee." During the next six months a dozen men were hanged and shot by the vigilants, after which law became operative in Cheyenne, and the plague passed on westward to Laramie City and other towns which defended themselves in a similar manner.[17]

the city attorney during a part of Whitehead's term. This was before the irruption of the criminal class, which came with the railroad, and with whom the provisional government could not deal. There was no prison, and fines were readily paid when imposed. *Boettcher, Flush Times in Colorado*, MS., 1.

[17] The first hanging in Cheyenne occurred on the night of the 20th of March, when Charles Martin and Charles Morgan were executed by the vigilance committee. Martin had killed Andrew Harris in a quarrel. He was from Lexington, Mo., and respectably connected. For some time he was wagon-master for Russell, Majors, and Waddell, but finally became reckless, and consorted with gamblers and vile associates, becoming a desperado in his habits. He had, without provocation, shot at Capt. O'Brien at Julesburg, and was regarded as a dangerous person. Morgan was hanged for horse-stealing. The gallows on which Martin died stood where I. C. Whipple's house was built, the other behind the Elephant corral. *Cheyenne Argus*,

Laramie City was laid off by the railroad company in April, 1868, when the early history of Cheyenne was repeated. During the first week 400 lots were sold. In a fortnight 500 dwellings and business houses of all kinds had been erected, mostly of a very transient character. The road was completed to that point in May, where the town was quickly over-run with desperadoes and lewd women, as its predecessor had been; and as forbearance ceased to be a virtue they were visited by those unrecognized ministers of justice the vigilants, and Laramie became a well ordered as it was a thriving town. This year also the counties of Albany and Carbon were organized by the Dakota legislature. Laramie county having elected Charles D. Bradley, brother of Judge Bradley of the supreme court of the United States, representatives who procured the passage of bills for their establishment.

As early as 1865 a bill had been introduced in congress, by Ashley of Ohio, to provide a temporary government "for the territory of Wyoming."[18] Who it was first suggested this beautiful but misplaced name does not appear. The bill was referred to the committee on territories, where it rested. When the delegate chosen[19] on the 8th of October 1867, pre-

March 22, 1868; *S. F. Alta*, Ap. 10, 1868; *Corlett, Founding of Cheyenne*, MS., 7. Not long after a party of desperate men went carousing down Eddy street, and coming opposite a saloon kept by Tim Dyer, later the proprietor of Dyer's hotel, and a member of the city council, fired several shots into it, fortunately killing no one. They left town immediately, fearing the vigilants, but were followed and overtaken at Dale City and hanged, three of them, Keefe, Hays, and a very tall man nicknamed Shorty. Two men were killed and a woman wounded in a house of ill-fame, but no clue could be obtained to the murderer, although the shots were distinctly heard by many persons. The mystery engendered fear. After the committee had performed the service of ridding the community of its worst element, it was condemned and superseded by legalized justice, but only to be revived in later times, when a new set of desperate men as highwaymen made even railroad travel dangerous. See *Popular Tribunals*, this series.

[18] *Gong. Globe*, 1864–5, 116; *U. S. House Jour.*, 78, 256, 38 cong. 2 sess.

[19] The regularly elected delegate for Dakota in 1868 was S. L. Spink, who had his friends and funds in this section. He ran on the republican ticket against Burley and Todd, in the eastern part, and Dennis J. Toohey, afterwards editor of the *Salt Lake Tribune*, in the western part of the territory. *Carlett, Founding of Cheyenne*, MS., 18; *Foster's Outlines of History*, 38.

sented himself at the door of congress, he was not permitted a seat, but he nevertheless was able to refresh the memories of the territorial committee. A memorial introduced in the Dakota legislature by W. W. Brooking, asking congress to organize a new territory in the southwest to be called Lincoln was also presented;[20] and in the spring a petition for a territorial organization was addressed to the house of representatives, signed by "H. Latham, agent for the people of Wyoming." When the bill before congress had reached the senate considerable discussion took place upon the subject of the proper nomenclature to be adopted, and Wyoming was preferred by a majority, although Cheyenne came very near being the name chosen.[21]

Without opposition or prolonged discussion the organization took place, the act being approved July 25, 1868,[22] the boundaries of the new territory being the 27th and 34th meridians of longitude, and the 41st and 45th parallels of north latitude, embracing 100,284 square miles, or 64,181,700 acres.[23] The western boundary took in the Green River valley, which had previously formed the northeast corner of Utah, but which since the occupation of Fort Bridger by the government, had been abandoned by the Mormons, and also a portion of Idaho north of this section.

[20] *Mont. T. W. Post*, Jan. 23, 1868.

[21] A question arising as to the orthography of Cheyenne, the librarian of congress was appealed to, who quoted Schoolcraft as the highest authority, who says the meaning of the word is not known, and the orthography differs. The *Montana Post*, July 3, 1868, gives the true pronunciation Shai-en-na, 'with a prolonged breathing accent on the second syllable.' This, in fact, is the manner of pronouncing all Indian names of three syllables among the western Indians, which being condensed into two syllables or rapidly spoken lose their beauty, as no doubt their meaning. Cheyenne divided into three parts, and ending in *a* is as beautiful a word as Wyoming, and should have been the name adopted.

[22] *Corbett, Founding of Cheyenne*, MS., 8, 18–20; *Wyom. Miscellany*, MS., 4; *Zabriskie, Land Laws*, 848–857; *H. Ex. Doc.*, xxv. no. 47, pt 4, p. 457, 46 cong. 3 sess.; *Wyom. Gen. Laws*, 1st sess., 18–24; *Porter, The West Census of 1880*, p. 419; *U. S. H. Jour.*, 246, 40 cong. 2 sess.; *Rept Sec. Inter.*, i. 124, 41 cong. 3 sess.

[23] *Mess. Gov. Hale*, 1884, 137. Zabriskie makes it 97,883 square miles in extent. That portion of the boundary common to Nebraska was surveyed in 1870–71; the southern and western boundaries in 1874 by Alonzo V. Richards; the northern boundary in 1882–83 by Rollin J. Reeves.

The territorial officers were not appointed until April 1869, when John A. Campbell, of Cleveland, Ohio, was commissioned governor. According to his contempories, he was possessed of sufficient ability, not brilliant but industrious and conscientious, and respected most by those who knew him best.[24] Edward M. Lee, was appointed secretary, who was an active politician if no more; Church Howe, United States marshal, another politician; J. M. Carey,[25] United States attorney; John M. Howe, of Illinois, chief justice;[26] W. S. Jones,[27] and J. W. King-

[24] Campbell had been an editor on the *Cleveland Leader*. In 1861 he entered the Union army as 2d lieut being from time to time promoted until he became adj.-gen. on Schofield's staff. He was in many battles, among which were Rich Mountain, Pittsburg Landing, Perryville, and all of the Atlantic campaign. He was brevetted brig.-gen. in 1864; and during the reconstruction of the south was with Scofield in Virginia, and called upon to apportion the state into senatorial and representative districts, prescribing the time and manner in which elections should be held. He performed the duties of asst sec. of war from May 1868 to March 1869. He was subsequently, under Hayes' administration, 3d asst secretary of state. His health soon gave way, and he died of softening of the brain in 1879 at Washington. *Corlett's Founding of Cheyenne*, MS., 23; *Wyom. Ter. Affairs*, MS., 1–2.

[25] Carey was born in Sussex co., Delaware, in 1845, and educated at Fort Edwards collegiate institute and Union college, N. Y. He studied law in Philadelphia, graduating from the law dept of the university of Pa, emigrating to Wyoming on his appointment in 1869. In 1872 he was commissioned associate U. S. justice, serving 4 years, after which he went into the business of cattle raising, and became president of the Stock Growers' association, whose property came to represent $100,000,000. He was three times mayor of Cheyenne, and enjoyed other honors which will appear in the progress of the history. A dictation from him, *Politics and People*, MS., is among my valued original authorities. He has ever been one of Wyoming's most prominent and public spirited men.

[26] Howe, like Campbell, had served in the civil war, and risen to be a general. He was an able lawyer, and after the war was chosen circuit judge. *Chicago Legal News*, in *Wyom. Misc.*, MS., 28. He was born at Riga, in Monroe co., N. Y., removing when a youth to Kingsville, Ohio, where he received a liberal education, and studied law, practising in the courts of that state for several years, after which he removed to Kewanee, Ill., in 1854. He was elected judge of the 6th judicial district of Ill., holding the office some years. Formerly a whig, he became a republican, and was efficient in politics. Corlett calls him 'peevish and fretful, although a man of pretty good ability. He was undoubtedly out of health, dyspeptic in his stomach, and in his nature, too.' *Founding of Cheyenne*, MS., 19–20. After serving two years he resigned, and accepted a position as secretary to a commission appointed to settle some affairs between the U. S. and Mexico, and died while holding that office, of consumption, aged about 50 years. He was a politician, and a polished speaker. Corlett accuses him of taking advantage of the inexperience of the members of the bar. *Dict. of Posey S. Wilson*, MS., 3.

[27] Corlett says of Jones, who was a young man, not more than 28 years of

man,[28] associate justices; Silas Reed, of St Louis, surveyor general;[29] and Frank Walcott, of Kentucky, receiver of public means.

On the 19th of May the judges having qualified, and the organization of the territory being completed, Governor Campbell issued a proclamation assigning them to their districts; the county of Laramie constituting the 1st, to which the chief justice was assigned, the counties of Albany and Carbon the 2d to which Judge Jones was assigned; and the 3d the county of Carter, to which Judge Kingman was assigned; designating the times and places of holding courts therein, and subsequently attaching the Green River region to Carter county and the 3d judicial district. The first term of court was held at Cheyenne, September 7th, 1869. The census returns, owing to the sparseness of the population, and the difficulty of finding deputies willing to travel over the country, much of which was unsafe on account of Indian raids, were not all in before the last of July. On the 2d of August a proclamation was issued call-

age, that he was entirely cool and impartial on the bench, and for that reason was approved by the bar and people. He was of intemperate habits, but such was his popularity that he was elected delegate to congress from the territory before his term was ended. He was born in Ind. in 1842, and educated at Miami university, Ohio, afterwards studying law at Corydon, Ind. When the civil war broke out he volunteered in the 17th Indiana regt. He distinguished himself in all the campaigns in which he served, rising to the rank of major for gallant and meritorious conduct.

[28] 'Kingman,' says Corlett, 'was regarded as a very interesting man, but I cannot say he was successful as a judge. He was a man of very strong prejudices, and was in the habit of allowing himself to be informed about the case, and was apt to espouse one side or the other.'

[29] According to *Johnson & Tuthill's Direc. of Cheyenne*, 1883, C. D. Ruyer was nominated, but if so, he must have declined immediately, as Reed was nominated in April 1869. Congress, however, had passed no law establishing the office of surveyor-general, and although an appropriation was made, and bills introduced establishing the surveying and local land offices, they did not pass before the adjournment of congress. This neglect caused the postponement of a surveying office in Wyoming until the summer of 1870, when surveys began along the line of the railway. They commenced at the intersection of the 3d standard parallel with the guide meridian at the termination of the Colorado surveys. The delay in surveying was injurious and irritating to settlers on public lands and town-site companies. Rept of sur-gen., in *U. S. H. Misc. Doc.*, 40, p. 2, 41st cong., 3d sess.; *Wyom. Council Jour.*, 1869, 18–19. Wolcott served in the union army, and reached the rank of major. He was U. S. marshal of Wyoming in 1871–2, and became a wealthy cattle-dealer.

ing for an election on the 2d of September, for choosing a delegate to congress, and members of the first territorial legislature, which by the organic act was limited to nine councilmen and thirteen representatives, which might be afterward increased to thirteen and twenty-seven respectively.[30]

The candidates for the congressional delegateship were S. F. Nuckolls and W. W. Corlett, Nuckolls, democrat, being elected by a majority of 1,368 in a total vote of 5,266. He was of the family some members of which are settled in Colorado, where he also came in an early period, being known as a business man rather than a politician, but his sympathies were with the slave-holding south during the war. He was not renominated, and died a few years afterward.

The legislature in a sixty days' session perfected and adopted a code of laws which, with the example of the several new territories adjacent to guide them, was an admirable foundation in which to construct a perfect state in the future. Had no omissions been made, there need have been no more legislatures[31]

[30] The council consisted of T. D. Murrin, J. R. Whitehead, and T. W. Poole of Laramie co.; W. H. Bright, W. S. Rockwell, and George Wardmen of Carter co.; Frederick Laycock and James W. Brady of Albany co.; and George Wilson of Carbon co. Bright was chosen president, T. S. Poole chaplain, Edward Orpen sec., Mark Parish asst sec., Charles H. Moxley sergt-at-arms, Peter Lemmon messenger, Henry Arnesfeld fireman. The house of representatives consisted of Posey S. Wilson, J. C. Abney, Herman Haas, Howard Sebree, Louis Miller, J. N. Douglas, William Herrick, Benjamin Shecks, James Menafee, J. C. Strong, John Holbrook, J. M. Freeman, and S. M. Curran, speaker. L. L. Bedell was chosen chief clerk, W. C. Stanley asst clerk, William Baker sergt-at-arms.

[31] The *Wyoming Tribune* commented upon the neglect to pass a militia law, which the governor had recommended; to provide for a commission of statistics, and a bureau of immigration; and to exempt certain kinds of personal property from seizure and sale on execution. *Wyom. Misc.*, MS., 9. Instead of the militia law, the legislature memorialized congress to order paid to the governor of Wyoming all the internal revenue collections not already appropriated for other territorial objects, for the purpose of paying volunteer troops who might be called into the field to serve against hostile Indians. *Wyom. Laws*, 1869, 721–2. The legislature of 1871 passed an act authorizing the formation of volunteer militia companies, but it was not put in execution. An act was passed for the same purpose in 1882. *Sess. Laws*, 1882, 155. The presence of a number of U. S. posts has a tendency to cause neglect of militia organizations. Congress was still further memorialized on the Indian troubles, and asked to reëstablish the forts on the Powder river route to

The laws of Dakota were repealed December 10th, the act to take effect on the 1st of January, and not to impair any rights acquired under Dakota laws, nor to interfere with the course of actions at law already commenced.

A county was established in the Green River country called Uinta, with the county seat temporarily at Merrill, near Fort Bridger. The name of Carter county was changed to Sweetwater, and the county seat located at South Pass City.[32] The judicial districts were altered, making Laramie and Albany counties compose the 1st, Carbon and Uinta the 2d, and Sweetwater the 3d, Judge Kingman was assigned to the 2d, and Jones to the 3d. The official year was made to terminate on the last day of October. The seal

Montana. Increased salaries were asked for the judges and legislators. An appropriation was made by the legislature of $1,500 additional to be paid to the chief justice, and $1,000 to the associate judges. Better mail facilities were petitioned for.

[32] The officers appointed for Sweetwater co. were W. C. Erwin, James A. Brennan, and John Dugdale, commissioners; T. Quinn, probate judge; John McGlinchy, sheriff; Tim. McCarty, co. clerk; P. L. Williams, prosecuting atty; Henry Smith, assessor; Frank Gilman, supt of schools; William Smith, co. sur.; John Morris, coroner; James W. Stillman and Presley J. Talbert, justices of the peace in South Pass precinct; James Smith, constable; Edward Lawn, justice of the peace in Atlantic City precinct, and W. Hogan, constable; William Grinnell, justice of the peace in Bryan precinct. No appointments were made for Point of Rocks, although such a precinct was named.

The officers appointed for Carbon co. were A. B. Donnelly, E. V. Upton, and Robert Foot, commissioners; George Doyle, sheriff; Robert Foot, justice of the peace of Fort Halleck precinct; Hinton, justice of the peace of Carbon precinct; probate judge and ex-officio justice of the peace, William R. Hunter, of Rawlins Springs; Thomas J. Williams, clerk and registrar of deeds, H. C. Hall, supt of public instruction. The county seat of Carbon co. was located at Rawlins Springs.

The county seat of Albany co. was located at Laramie City; officers, H. Wagner, Joseph Mackle, and S. C. Leach, commissioners; J. W. Connor, sheriff; L. D. Pease, probate judge; Charles Hilliker, assessor; George Van Dyke, justice of the peace; R. S. Kinney, clerk; John Barton, D. Shanks, William Carr, and George Young, constables; Foose, coroner; James Vine, surveyor; S. W. Downey, prosecuting attorney.

The county seat of Laramie co. was located at Cheyenne. Officers: L. Murrin, H. J. Rogers, and George D. Foglesong, commissioners; T. Jeff. Carr, sheriff; William L. Kuykendall, probate judge; John T. Chaffin, clerk and registrar of deeds; C. C. Turley, coroner; S. H. Winsor, surveyor; H. Garbanati, county atty; Rev. H. P. Peek, supt of public schools; D. C. Tracy, justice of the peace at Pine Bluffs; William Baker, justice of the peace at Cheyenne; Frank Gates, justice of the peace at Fort Laramie; William Rowland, constable at Pine Bluffs; A. J. Mead, constable at Cheyenne; and Gibson Clark, constable at Fort Laramie.

designed for the territory had on its face a Norman shield, on the upper half of which was emblazoned mountains, with a railroad train, the appearing above the horizon, and the figures "1868" below the middle point of the shield. On the first quarter below, on a white ground, a plough, pick, and shovel, and a shepherd's crook. On the second quarter on a red ground was an arm upholding a drawn sword. The motto "Cedant arma toga" surmounted the shield and the whole was encircled by the words "Territory of Wyoming, great seal."

The code adopted allowed gambling,[33] and taxed every kind of property, except United States and public property, which included scientific and all school or benevolent institutions, with the money and credits belonging exclusively to them, and the kitchen, furniture, bedding, and clothing of every person, and provisions for a family amounting to the value of $100. The school tax was fixed at two mills on a dollar of the assessed value of all taxable property. Jails were required to be erected and kept in every county, the sheriff to be responsible for the manner in which they were maintained. The territorial penitentiary was located at the town of Laramie, Albany county, and congress was memorialized that the territory had been deprived of the use of that part of the internal revenue set aside by law for penitentiaries in the territories, for a large portion of the year 1867, the whole of 1868, and the greater part of 1869, during which time the internal revenue of Wyoming had gone to the credit of Dakota, for which loss the legislature asked to be reimbursed. A second memorial declared that in and about the Sweetwater mining region, and on the border of the Shoshone reservation set apart by Sherman and his co-commissioners in 1868, were congregated many of

[33] Says one of my authorities: 'J. M. Pattee bought up the legislature, and ran the Wyoming lottery. In 1876 it collapsed, but Pattee had drawn prizes enough to become rich.'

the criminal class, who constantly committed theft, robbery, and murder, there being sometimes twenty persons held for trial at the same time in that county, which had no prison. The military posts of Fort Bridger, and the camp on the Popo Agie had kept in the guard-houses a number of criminals, to aid the officers of the law, but refused longer to make these places serve as jails for this class of offenders. The expenses of holding prisoners, under the circumstances was a heavy tax on the county, and it was asked the secretary of war should aid the people by providing a prison at one of the military posts in which prisoners held for trial could be confined and subsisted until the people were able to meet the difficulty. Convicts were taken, at great cost, to Detroit, where they were imprisoned in the house of correction.[34]

The seat of government of the territory was established at Cheyenne, and an appropriation asked for the erection of a capital.[35] All this was legislation

[34] *Wyom. Gen. Laws*, 1st sess., pp. 32. The penitentiary was completed in 1872, and in less than a year was destroyed by fire. *Laramie Sentinel*, Aug. 27, 1873. It was partially rebuilt, soon after which the government, by act of congress, transferred the prisoners from the charge of the U. S. marshal to the control of the territory. A commission was appointed, consisting of Herman Haas, James France, W. H. Halliday, and Gov. Thayer, to investigate the cost of keeping prisoners at Laramie, and at other prisons in the neighboring states, the result of which was that the penitentiary of Nebraska was declared, by act of legislature of 1879, to be the territorial prison of Wyoming. *Wyom. Sess. Laws*, 1879, 142. As late as 1884, a penitentiary commission for selecting prisons existed.

[35] *U. S. H. Miscel.*, iii., No. 60, 41st cong., 2d sess. Cheyenne was reincorporated at this session. W. W. Slaughter was mayor in 1869; Edward Orpen, city clerk; John Burrows, city marshal; George Raymond, fire warden; J. R. Whitehead, N. J. O'Brien, Henry E. Eisfelder, Dayton, and T. W. Poole, aldermen. *Wyom. Misc.*, MS., 2. Cheyenne sustained the loss of $250,000 by fire on Jan. 11, 1869. *Wyom. W. Tribune*, Jan. 15, 1869. The commerce of Cheyenne was immense for a frontier town during 1868–9, it being the entrepôt of the vast region lying north, west, and south, until the railroad was completed, when of course the trade was divided between the many points along the line. But in this brief period fortunes were made and lost. Prices were fabulous, and business partook of the recklessness of gambling. It was never disputed that this town exceeded in vice and unwholesome excitement any of the many new cities in the west. Yet that it was not wholly composed of the transient classes, some facts go to show. In 1869 it had a population of over 4,000, sometimes nearer 6,000. In the autumn of 1870 it had 1,600. It had at this period a public school, with 2 departments, accommodating about 100 pupils, and two select schools, each with about 30 in attendance. These were under the management of the catholic and episcopal societies. It had 5 well built and well furnished

to the point. But what attracted most attention, at home and abroad, was an act passed and approved December 10th, giving women the right to vote and hold office, and was cordially approved by the government. The law was immediately put in practice by the summoning of women on juries, and the appointment of women justices of the peace, the first being by the commissioners of Sweetwater county who chose to that position Esther Morris, the wife of John Morris.

The judges of Wyoming were no more happy than had been those of the other territories. Aside from the firm support given the rights of women under the suffrage act, there was the usual opposition to imported officers, and demand for home appointments. Howe, who was probably annoyed by this clamor, resigned at the end of two years. Jones being nominated delegate to congress to succeed Nuckolls, there were two vacancies on the bench, which was filled by the appointment of J. W. Fisher chief-justice, and J. M. Casey, the United States district attorney, associate justice, who held the office four years. Fisher remained chief justice until about 1879, when he was succeeded by J. B. Sener, who held the office for six years, and was succeeded by John C. Perry. The associates of Fisher, after Kingman and Carey, were

churches, occupied by the episcopal, methodist, congregational, presbyterian, and catholic congregations. The masons, knights templar, odd fellows, and good templars had lodges in a flourishing condition. Some business houses would compare favorably with those of cities of ten times the age and population. The furniture and crockery house of A. R. Converse carried from $30,000 to $50,000. Joslyn & Park, manufacturers of native jewelry, had a business of $75,000 per year. The dry goods houses of C. D. Foglesong, S. F. Nuckolls, Marks, Myers & Co., carried each from $25,000 to $40,000 in stock, besides which there was another dry goods store. There were 2 banks, 3 wholesale and retail tobacconists, 3 hardware houses, 2 boot and shoe establishments, 3 clothing houses, 2 book and stationery stores, 3 drug stores, 1 confectionery, 2 bakeries, 1 livery stable, 2 first-class hotels and several inferior ones, 1 daily and 2 weekly newspapers, a well organized fire department, with 1 steam fire-engine and a hook-and-ladder company. A company had nearly completed an acequia for bringing water a distance of 7 miles to run through the principal streets. And better than all, it was at this time a well governed and orderly town.

E. A. Thomas, followed by Jacob B. Blair, and William Ware Beck. The latter failed to give satisfaction to the people of his district, who caused the legislature in 1877 to memorialize the president for his removal. The petition was not heeded. In 1879 the president was memorialized that W. W. Corlett would be acceptable as a successor to Chief-justice Fisher, which prayer was also disregarded, efforts to shake off non-resident officials being nearly always futile.[36] Peck was succeeded by Samuel C. Parks. The successor of district attorney Carey was Edward P. Johnson,[37] who remained in office over seven years, and was suceeeded by C. H. Layman, followed by M. C. Brown, and J. A. Riner, W. T. Sweesy, and Gustav Schnitger succeeded to the marshal's office.

The legislature of 1869 fixed the time of elections on the first Tuesday of September in each year. At the election of 1870 there was to be chosen a delegate to congress, and on every succeeding alternate year a delegate. Members of the legislature and county officers were to be elected in 1871, and every two years thereafter, and the legislature was to meet on the first Tuesday in November after election. By the organic act the length of the sessions was fixed at forty days, except the first, which was permitted to be sixty. There was none of that turbulence or effort to evade obligations which disgraced some of the territorial legislatures during their infancy; no needless increase in the number of legislators, no wholesale thieving or reckless plunging of the territory in debt, and congress found little to disapprove.[38]

[36] *Wyom. Session Laws*, 1877, 142; *Id.*, 1879, 156.

[37] Johnson was born in Greenbush, Ohio, Aug. 21, 1842. He entered the union army, and served 3 years in the 93d Ohio regt. In 1867 he graduated from the university of Mich., removing soon after to Denver, where he stopped a short time before casting in his fortunes with Cheyenne. He was prosecuting attorney for Laramie co. in 1869–70. His appointment as U. S. dist. attorney was one of the few instances of domestic material being chosen to fill government offices. He resigned after 7 years to accept again the office of prosecuting attorney for the county. He was chosen to the council of the territorial legislature in 1879, but died Oct. 3, before it was convened.

[38] *U. S. Sen. Jour.*, 1175, 1546; 41 cong. 2 sess.; *Id.*, 548, 3 sess.; *U. S. H. Jour.*, 1359; 42 cong., 2 sess.

The subsequent act of congress providing that representatives and delegates to congress should be elected on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November 1876, and every second year thereafter, caused a change in the law of Wyoming, which was made to conform to this act, and the biennial election of the legislative and county and territorial officers to occur upon the same day. The council and house of representatives were increased to the full number allowed by the organic act in 1875. No session was held from November 1879 to January 1882, from which period the biennial sessions subsequently dated.

The republicans in convention, in August 1870, nominated Jones, and the democrats John Wanless. Jones' majority was 227 in a total vote of 3,202. In 1872 Jones was again nominated, but was beaten by William R. Steele, democrat, by a majority of 271 in 3,213. In 1874 the republicans nominated J. M. Carey, who was beaten by Steele, nominated to succeed himself. In 1876 the republicans again nominated W. W. Corlett, their choice in 1869, whose majority over Steele was 1,104, in a total vote of 6,626.[39] Again in 1878 the republicans elected their

[39] Corlett was born in Concord, Ohio, in 1842. His parents were from the Isle of Man, but migrating to the U. S. their son was educated in American institutions, spending three years in Willoughby collegiate institute, near Cleveland, where he was employed as tutor for one year. In 1862 he enlisted in the 87th Ohio regt as 2d lieut. He was captured at Harper's Ferry, paroled, and sent home. After teaching another year he exchanged as a prisoner, and again entered the army, joining the 25th Ohio battery in the south-west, where he remained until the close of the war, after which he returned home, and began the study of the law, graduating in 1866. His health failing, he went to Denver, and thence to Cheyenne, where he was one of half a dozen republicans who effected an organization of the party in Wyoming called the Grant club. He was defeated, as already known, on the congressional ticket in 1869, but was appointed postmaster of Cheyenne the following year, which office he held for three years. He held the office of prosecuting attorney for Laramie county from 1870 to 1876, when he was elected delegate to congress, declining a renomination in 1878. *Daily Sun*, Sept. 21, 1876; *Id.*, Oct. 15, 1876. For 8 or 10 years he was a member of the school board, and never relinquished the practice of the law except when absent in Washington. In 1885 he was chairman of the commission to complete and revise the laws of Wyoming. His life helps to make history a study worthy to be pursued. Mr Corlett has furnished to my collection of manuscripts *The Founding of Cheyenne*, which is a complete synopsis of the

candidate, Stephen W. Downey, by about the same majority over E. L. Pese, democrat. In 1880 the choice lay between A. H. Swan, republican,[40] and Morton E. Post, democrat, who received a majority of 147 in 7,667 votes. But in 1882 Post had a majority of 1,111 over the republican candidate J. M. Meldrum. In 1884 his party again nominated Joseph M. Carey, who was elected in opposition to William H. Holliday.

The administration of Governor Campbell, which lasted until 1875, was attended by no disorders, nor was it embittered by political feuds. The utmost harmony existed between him and the legislature, which three times left to him the apportionment of the territory into legislative districts. He found it without funds to carry on the government; he left it out of debt, and with nearly $20,000 in the treasury. He found the territory with a small fixed population, its improvements of the most transitory character; he left it with permanent towns, comfortable homes, and substantial business establishments. The unsettled valleys had become settled with thrifty stock-raisers and agriculturalists. The vigilants of Wyoming performed no more the functions of courts and executioners after his first proclamation, and where the wildest orgies had once been witnessed order and decorum prevailed. He was not superseded, but called to Washington to fill a higher if not a more useful office.[41]

To Campbell succeeded John M. Thayer of

establishment, not of Cheyenne, but of the provisional and territorial governments.

[40] A. H. Swan was born in Greene co., Pa, in 1831, of Scotch and Welsh progenitors, long settled in that state. He was one of 8 boys, and received an academic education. He removed to Iowa in early manhood, engaging in stock-raising, which he followed for 14 years before coming to Wyoming, where he very much extended his operations, and became an associate in the great cattle companies that represent millions. His name in Wyoming is synonymous with ability, enterprise, and honor. *Wyom. Rept Gov.*, 1883, 57; *Carey, Politics and People*, MS., 2.

[41] *Cheyenne News*, Feb. 15, 1875; *Bristol, Newspaper Press*, MS., 2.

Nebraska,[42] who held the office four years. During his administration occurred the Bighorn expedition, and the failure of a commission appointed by the president to treat with the Indians for the extinguishment of their title to the Black hills region where gold was believed to exist. A scheme was proposed about this time of annexing a portion of Wyoming to Colorado, by settlers on both sides of the boundary line, which had no foundation in reason, and came to nothing.[43] Another proposition was more seriously entertained in 1877, of forming a new territory out of the Black hills, a portion of northern Wyoming, and parts of Montana and Dakota.[44] Thayer was opposed to the scheme of another territory, but favored the project of severing the Black hills from Dakota and attaching them to Wyoming, which as they lay half in the latter territory, and had intimate relations with Cheyenne, seemed a proper connection. The legislature was advised to and did memorialize congress against a division of the territory.[45]

The successor of Thayer in the executive office was John W. Hoyt, a popular man and able officer.[46] He

[42] *Wyom. Territorial Affairs*, MS., 4. The territorial officers during Thayer's administration were: Sec., George W. French; marshal, W. F. Sweesy; dist atty, E. P. Johnson; surv.-gen., E. C. David; treas., A. R. Converse; auditor, S. W. Downey; collector, E. P. Snow; supt of schools, John Slaughter; justices supreme court, J. W. Fisher, W. W. Peck, J. B. Blair; U. S. commiss'r, J. W. Bruner; register U. S. land-office, G. R. Thomas; receiver public moneys, I. C. Whipple; librarian, John Slaughter. *Wyom. Sess. Laws*, 1877, iv. John Slaughter, who filled several offices in the early days of the terrritory, and who in 1884 was still librarian, was born in Va in 1809, removing to Ohio in infancy. He came to Cheyenne in 1867 from Denver, with the founders of the Wyoming capital, and for want of something else to do, kept a restaurant, and then went into lumber dealing, buying his stock in Denver. He was city marshal and magistrate under the provisional government, *Corlett's Founding of Cheyenne*, MS., 4, and was appointed justice of the peace by Gov. Campbell until there was an election, and held the office until 1880, less one or two years. His *Life in Colo and Wyoming*, MS., refers briefly to early society, business, prices, etc. in Cheyenne.

[43] *Byers' Centennial State*, MS., 34.

[44] *Wyom. House Jour.*, 1877, 19; *Mess. Gov. Hayes*, 1877, 13.

[45] *Wyom. Sess. Laws*, 1877, 138–9.

[46] The other territorial officers were: A. Worth Spates, secretary; J. B. Lewer, chief justice; J. B. Blair and William Ware Peck, associate justices; C. H. Layman, U. S. dist atty; Gustave Schnitger, U. S. marshal; E. C. David, surv.-gen.; E. P. Snow, U. S. collector; I. C. Whipple, receiver of public money; E. W. Mann, register of land-office; S. W. Downey, delegate

travelled over the territory to inform himself of its resources, and wrote a report for the interior department, which was printed by congress for circulation. He also advocated the construction of a wagon road to the Yellowstone park. The survey of the boundary of Wyoming was begun during the first half of his term, having been authorized by the 45th congress in compliance with a joint appeal from delegate Corlett and the delegate from Montana.[47] The reappointment of Hoyt was desired, and asked for by a joint resolution of the legislature of 1882.[48] He was succeeded however at the end of four years by William Hale, who appointed him to the congenial work of commissioner to bring the resources of Wyoming before the Denver expositions of 1882 and 1883, which was so executed as to surprise all beholders.[49] Hale proved a popular

to congress; J. S. Nason, auditor; F. E. Warren, treas.; J. Slaughter, librarian and supt public instruc'n; E. Nagle, J. H. Finbrock, Thos. Lanktree, penitentiary commissioners; H. B. Rumsey, fish commissioner. *Session Laws Wyoming*, 1879.

[47] *U. S. H. Ex. Doc.*, no. 1, pt 5, p. 52, vol. iii., 42 cong., 2 sess.; *Porter's The West Census of 1880*, 419.

[48] *Wyom. Sess. Laws*, 1882, 221. The territorial officers during Hoyt's term were: Sec., E. S. N. Morgan; auditor, Jesse Knight; treas., F. E. Warren; surv.-gen., E. C. David; U. S. collector, E. P. Snow; receivers of public moneys, William M. Garvy and E. S. Crocker; registers of land-offices, E. W. Mann and Charles H. Priest; justices of supreme court, James B. Sener, J. B. Blair, and S. C. Parks; U. S. dist atty, M. C. Brown.

[49] From Albany were 3,000 pounds of black magnetic iron ore from Iron mountain; graphite from Sybille creek; sulphate of magnesia from Rock creek; kaolin from near Laramie City; blocks of soda from Laramie plains, which formed a monument 12 feet high; copper, gold, and silver ores from Cummins City, Douglas Creek, Centennial, Spring Cañon, Laramie Peak, Blue Grass, Tie Siding, and Diamond Peak; building stones from several localities; timber from the Laramie range and the forests beyond Cummins; and specimen iron rail and merchant iron from the rolling-mills of the railway company at Laramie.

Carbon co. sent coal, iron, asbestos, copper, gold, and silver ores from Seminoe and Ferris mountains, soda, petroleum, and a bushel of moss agates from the Sweetwater section; iron and iron paint from Rawlins; building stones from the hills near Rawlins; coal from Carbon mines; copper and silver ores from Grand Encampment and other creeks heading in the mountains west of the Platte; native quicklime from Platte valley; mineral waters from the Warm springs and Sulphur springs near Rawlins; and bundles of grain and grasses from the valley of the upper Platte.

Crook co. sent coal, petroleum, and salt from the section about Jenny Stockade and Inyan Kora.

Laramie co. sent a four-horse load of copper ores from Running Water mines, Rawhide Buttes, Muskrat Cañon, Hartville, and Copperopolis; copper and gold ores from the Laramie range back of Cheyenne, mica, micaceous iron paint, and plumbago from near Whalen cañon; building stone from Crow

executive, being devoted to the promotion of the material interests of the territory,[50] of which he wrote an excellent report to the secretary of the interior.[51] His death occurred in January 1885, and he was succeeded in 1885 by F. E. Warren, a pioneer legislator and successful business man of Wyoming, and consequently an executive acceptable to the people who were assured of a sympathizing administration.[52]

creek and the Laramie range; coal from the Shawnee; and numerous birds and fur-bearing animals from Cheyenne collections.

Sweetwater and Uinta counties were partially represented only by some small lots of fine ores, a huge block of coal from Rock Springs, curious fossils from the same place, bundles of grain and grasses from the ranchos in Lander valley being sent by the former; and sulphur ore, manufactured sulphur, petroleum, coal, charcoal, rare fossils from Fossil forest, scientific collections from Fort Bridger, samples of Angora wool and skins, bundles of alfalfa, and other agricultural products being furnished by the latter. From Yellowstone park were sent sulphur, obsidian, amethysts, agates, and other precious stones. Owing to want of railroad trsnsportation, and to the limited time and means at command, the exhibit, fine as it was for so young a territory, fell far short of what it would have been with more time, and county appropriations for the purpose, *Mess. Gov. Hale*, 1884, 158–60.

One of the most interesting exhibits was of the native grasses, over 100 varieties being classified and shown in parcels. In *Stone's General View of Colorado*, MS., 9, he refers to this exhibit, and gives some interesting facts. The buffalo grass grows on the plains; next to the mountains the gramma grass, which has a small seed on it, with the head growing at right angles to the stalk. It grows no more than 6 inches high where it is not irrigated, but when water is furnished it, will grow to a height of two feet. It fattens animals like grain, and is superior to blue grass on account of the seed. On the mountains grows the bunch grass, of which I have made frequent mention. Between these three principal species are many varieties, as stated by Mr Stow, all except the bunch grass bearing a seed on the side, and all very nutritious. Thus is Wyoming made the great cattle pasture of the United States, if not the world.

[50] *Wyom. Sess. Laws*, 1884, 187. The territorial officers during Hale's administration were: Sec., E. S. N. Morgan; auditor, P. L. Smith; dept; auditor, C. W. Stewart; treas., F. E. Warren; sur.-gen., E. C. David; receiver of public moneys, W. S. Hurlburt and E. S. Crocker; registers of land office, E. W. Mann, and Charles H. Priest; U. S, collector, James S. Wolfe; dept. collectors, H. S. Oliver, and J. W. Dykins; judges of supreme court, John C. Perry, J. B. Blair, and Samuel C. Parks; U. S. district attorney, J. A. Riner; U. S. marshal, Gustave Schnitger; superintendent of public instruction, and territorial librarian, John Slaughter; penitentiary commrs, Luke Marrin, Frank M. Foote and James M. Tisdel; fish commr, Otto Gramm; stenographer, Robert C. Morris; commrs to revise and arrange the statutes of Wyoming territory, W. W. Corlett, Isaac P. Caldwell, and Clarence D. Clark.

[51] *Rept Gov. Wyom.*, 1883. Contains geographical, mineral, topographical, meteorological, live stock, agricultural, questions of public polity, and miscellaneous information.

[52] The prompt action of Gov. Warren on the occasion of the Rock Springs riot is worthy of all praise, though at the time his measures were freely criticised by political demagogues. The following is a brief account of the affair. In August 1885, the officers of the Union Pacific railroad imported a large number of Chinese laborers, to be employed in the company's coal

The successor of Governor Warren was Thomas Moonlight,[53] an appointee of President Cleveland, who

mines at Evanston, Rock Springs, Carbon, and other points on the road, the object being to have at hand laborers enough, in case of a strike among the miners. Soon the European miners evinced a jealous hatred of the Asiatics, accusing them of usurping places in the mines which gave them an advantage in the matter of wages; but there seems to have been no real ground for the charge, race prejudice and jealousy being the cause of the animosity. The former demanded that the Chinese should be sent away, to which demand the railroad company returned a refusal. They then organized to drive out the Chinese. On the 2d of Sept., 200 men at Rock Springs attacked them with firearms, driving them into the hills, killing and wounding about 50, and destroying all their property. Of 400 Chinamen not one was permitted to remain. The sick and the wounded who fell amidst the shanties were consumed in a conflagration, which was started by the infuriated mob, the wives of the miners assisting in the fiendish massacre. Fifty houses belonging to the railroad company were destroyed along with the Chinese dwellings. On being notified of what had taken place, Gov. Warren at once telegraphed to Gen. Howard, in command of the department of the Platte, asking for military protection, and riding over to Fort Russell secured the promise of a sufficient force pending the general's answer. As more serious reports reached him he proceeded by special train to Rock Springs, and telegraphed to the secretary of war, and finally to the president. After much delay the troops arrived, barely in time to prevent a repetition of the massacre, and thus by his urgent appeals and at his own personal risk the governor prevented further destruction of life and property.

Francis Emroy Warren is a native of Hinsdale, Mass, where he was born on the 20th of June, 1844, his ancestry being traced in direct line to the Warrens who landed in that state soon after the advent of the pilgrim fathers. After serving during the civil war in the 49th Mass volunteers, being present at Plains Store, Donaldsonville, and Port Hudson, in 1868 Mr. Warren settled at Cheyenne, where he took charge of the house-furnishing store of A. R. Converse. An excellent salesman, hard-working, economical, and thoroughly reliable, he was soon afterward admitted into partnership, and in 1877 purchased the entire concern, which a few years later was incorporated in the F. E. Warren Mercantile company. In 1873 he first engaged in stock-raising, and is now the principal owner in the Warren Live-stock company, by far the larg st corporation of the kind in Wyoming. Its property includes from 70,000 to 80,000 sheep, and about 3,000 head of cattle, with nearly as many horses, and more than 250,000 acres of land, extending in one unbroken range on either side of the Union Pacific. Elsewhere, not only in Wyoming, but in all the adjoining states and territories, he is largely interested in lands and live-stock. By him were erected some of the most substantial buildings in Cheyenne, and at a time when the future of the city was by no means assured. He is also the guiding spirit in several of her leading enterprises, and in a word there is no man who has contributed more to the prosperity of Wyoming, and especially of Wyoming's metropolis.

[53] The secretary of the territory under Moonlight's administration was Samuel D. Shannon; chief justice, William L. Maginnis; associate justices, Jacob B. Blair and Samuel F. Corn; U. S. atty, Anthony C. Campbell; U. S. marshal, Thomas J. Carr; sur.-gen., John C. Thompson, U. S. revenue col., James F. Benedict; dept do., Mr Stitzer; regr of Cheyenne land office, Edgar S. Wilson; do, of Evanston office, Edwin D. Steele; receiver of public moneys at Cheyenne, William M. Garrard; do, at Evanston, William T. Shaffer; special agent of land office, Henry B. Fry and E. N. Bonfils. The officers elected by the people and appointed by the governor were: Delegate to congress, Joseph M. Carey; atty-gen., Hugo Donzelmann; auditor, Mortimer N. Grant; dept do, Charles W. Stewart; treasr, William P. Gannett; dept do, Jacob D. Freeborn; insurance commr, Joseph B. Adams; librarian and supt public instruction, John Slaughter; fish commr, Otto

was sworn into office January 24, 1887, and who made several suggestions to the legislature which met in January 1888 touching the election law,[54] the grand jury system,[55] salaries and taxation. That taxes should increase with the erection of the public buildings required by the territory was unavoidable, and the bonded debt of Wyoming in 1888 amounted to $230,000, of which $200,000 had twenty-five years to run, and $30,000 thirty-five years, all at six per cent. There was a balance in the treasury in December 1887 of over $51,000.[56] Whatever tendency to extravagance the ambition of the young commonwealth might lead to was likely to be checked by the congressional act of 1886 prohibiting the passage of

Gramm; coal mine inspector, P. J. Quealy; geologist and mining engineer, Louis D. Ricketts; veterinarian, James D. Hopkins; stenographer, Robert C. Morris, private sec. to the gov., Nellie E. Moonlight; penitentiary commissioners, Luke Murrin, Frank M. Foote, John C. Dyer; pharmacy commrs, E. D. Woodruff, A. Richard Troxell, Fred P. Shannon; revised statutes commrs, Isaac P. Caldwell, J. W. Black, Willis Van Devanter; university land commr, F. O. Sawin.

[54] The legislature at its 6th biennial session in 1879, changed the time of holding the general election to Tuesday next after the first Monday in Nov 1880, and every two years thereafter. All county officers entered upon the duties of their office on the first Monday in January next following their election; but the time of convening the legislature was on the second Tuesday in Jan. 1882, and every second year thereafter. This arrangement brought the election of members of the legislature 14 months before the meeting of that body, was inconvenient, and was altered by recommendation of Gov. Moonlight.

[55] The difference between federal and territorial salaries was slight, but county officers had opportunities by reason of additional fees to greatly augment their salaries above what the federal and territorial officers received. This state of affairs furnished the temptation, and also the means, to the incumbent of an important place to keep himself in office by corruption. *Mess. Gov. Moonlight*, 1888.

[56] Among the funds in the treasury was the 'stock indemnity fund,' of $11,124.24. This might puzzle the reader not conversant with the interests of a cattle growing region. A veterinarian is reckoned as a public officer in Wyoming, and so are pharmacy commissioners. The spread of pleuro-pneumonia and other diseases among the cattle on the ranges requires the utmost care at times to prevent, and when other remedies fail the infected cattle are killed to prevent the further spread of the contagion. In this contingency the territory pays a certain amount of indemnity to the owners of the slaughtered cattle. The law providing compensation for cattle and horses destroyed, was enacted in 1882. In six years from 1882 to 1887 inclusive, the horses and mules condemned numbered 248, valued at $22,021.92, for which the territory paid $15,200.13, or two-thirds their value. All the cattle driven into the territory had to be inspected. The salary paid the veterinarian was $2,500, to which the Stock Growers' association added as much more. *Gov. Mess.*, 1888, 15.

special laws in the territories, and limiting their indebtedness.

The political history of Wyoming, fortunately for its happiness, is unmarked by any striking events. It has cost the general government little except for military service, the appropriations for the government not exceeding $34,000 annually, including the legislative expenses. Its county affairs, in some instances in its earlier period, were not well managed by the commissioners, but the evil was removed by the election of competent men who soon brought about a prosperous condition, aided by wise legislation.[57] Indeed, of all the younger commonwealths.

[57] The legislature of 1871 was composed of councilmen John Fosher, F. H. Harrison, W. R. Steele, S. F. Nuckolls, W. W. Corlett, Norman Potter, J. E. Gates, S. W. Downey, and E. W. Bennett, 9; Nuckolls president; representatives, C. E. Castle, H. G. Nickerson, Gibson Clark, Ben Sheeks, E. L. Pease, T. J. Dayton, Ora Haley, Duncan Blair, William L. Kuykendall, M. C. Brown, C. C. Wilson, John C. Friend, and John Talbot, 13; Sheeks, speaker.

The legislature of 1873 was composed of councilmen S. W. Downey, J. H. Ellis, A. Eurgens, J. C. Friend, P. McKay, E. L. Pease, T. W. Quinn, F. E. Warren, I. C. Whipple, 9; Warren, president; representatives, N. L, Andrews, H. Conley, A. E. Farley, J. E. Ferris, H. Haas, W. H. Holliday, J. Joslin, V. R. King, C. A. Phipps, G. W. Ritter, C. L. Tisdale, F. S. Whitney, and S. H. Wilkerson, 13; Wilkerson speaker.

The legislature of 1875 was composed of councilmen L. R. Bresnahen, W. L. Kuykendall, G. A. Learight, H. B. Kelly, Herman Haas, W. H. Holliday, S. L. Mills, C. W. Bramel, James Frances, James Calhoun, W. A. Johnson, O. North, and E. L. Pease, 13; Pease president; representatives, Charles M. Scribner, F. M. Foote, John E. Davis, John Nealon, A. H. Reel, N. Weeks, C. M. White, William Evans, J. K. Watson, Herman Kimme, N. L. Andrews, Thomas Green, Leonard Coates, L. Abrams, Michael Murphy, C. E. Castle, William McDonald, Thomas E. McLelland, Robert Smith, M. H. Murphy, A. E. Bradbury, Peter Hamma, George W. Ritter, A. S. Williams, C. A. Pieronnett, and W. M. Ward, 26; Andrews speaker.

The legislature of 1877 was composed of councilmen Herman Haas, Tim Dyer, J. N. Keller, A. H. Swan, G. A. Draper, W. H. Holliday, L. D. Pease, S. W. Downey, Lawrence Hays, Homer Merrill, F. F. Chiney, E. L. Pease, and Frederick Mertsheimer; E. L. Pease president. The following were the representatives: R. H. Homer, John Congdon, I. P. Caldwell, N. L. Andrews, N. F. Spicer, Charles Klingerman, George Ferris, James Ross, D. V. Whitney, John E. Davis, Peter Hamma, A. Ryan, D. C. Tracy, P. McKay, R. F. Glover, J. F. Coad, H. H. Helphenstine, G. D. Foglesong, H. J. Gurney, B. F. Lowe, T. Kinney, J. McGlinchey, Charles Stone, R. H. Carter, M. Ferrell, J. H. Hoy, and J. M. Tisdal, 26; Andrews speaker.

The legislature of 1879 was composed of councilmen R. Homer, W. H. Holliday, P. L. Smith, R. M. Galbraith, Thomas Swan, H. Glafecke, A. H. Reel, M. E. Post, W. P. Noble, H. Garbonetti, L. G. Christie, 12; representatives, H. G. Balch, Edwin Brazier, M. C. Johnson, H. L. Myrick, W. S. Phillips, N. G. Spicer, J. F. Crawford, George Ginnis, L. Johnson, J. Y. Skiles, Charles Couray, J. E. Davis, B. F. Deitrick, W. J. Harding, W. H.

none have conducted their public affairs more carefully or with better results. The levy for 1887, for territorial purposes, including the several building and bond-tax funds, was only $3\frac{2}{100}$ mills.[58] A law taxing railroad lands[59] was enacted in 1886, and the first levy made in 1887. The valuation for assess-

Hilbard, W. C. Irvine, E. W. Mann, S. K. Sharpless, J. S. Taylor, P. P. Dickinson, A. C. Lathrop, Charles Rice, Charles McGhee, W. J. Hays, W. A. Harker, John McManus, Mark Murphy, 27.

The legislature of 1882 was composed of councilmen, Robert Galbraith, Ora Haley, I. P. Caldwell, Perry L. Smith, A. F. Harer, T. W. Quinn, W. W. Corlett, Thomas Sturgis, W. C. Irvine, A. H. Reel, W. A. Hocker, and H. A. Man, 12; Caldwell president; representatives, J. D. Fraser, W. C. Lane, C. W. Riner, H. Oelrichs, I. S. Bartlett, H. E. Beuchner, A. Gilchrist, W. J. Hardin, Morris Davis, James Adams, W. W. Alexander, George D. Deane, H. Thayer, J. S. Jones, E. W. Bennett, J. H. Kelly, E. N. Snyder, T. A. McCoy, F. H. Jones, P. J. Hines, A. E. Heald, A. G. Rex, P. J. Dawes, and L. C. Briggs, 24; Lane speaker.

The legislature of 1884 was composed of councilmen W. H. Holladay, Robert Homer, John W. Gray, E. W. Bennett, William Daley, A. T. Babitt, Philip Dater, F. E. Warren, W. C. Irvine, P. J. Hines, A. V. Quinn, E. S. Whittier, 12; Holliday president; representatives, O. D. Downey, L. D. Kennedy, C. H. Bussard, H. V. S. Grossbeck, Leroy Grant, L. Quealy, Hiram Allen, D. F. Dudley, W. H. Weaver, N. N. Craig, John F. Coad, Thomas Cahill, D. Miller, F. W. Schwartze, H. E. Teschemacher, J. H. Ford, A. Jackson, H. G. Nickerson, F. H. Joncs, O. C. Smith, R. B. Seaton, and Charles Delaney, 22; Jones speaker.

The legislature of 1886 was composed of councilmen H. E. Teschemacher, Joseph Gaingcr, J. H. Ford, Leroy Grant, C. W. Wright, J. W. Blake, A. S. Peabody, William Daley, Joseph E. Cashin, Charles Delaney, A. T. Chalice, John McCormick, 12; Blake president; representatives, Addison Turrill, D. B. Dole, N. M. Knight, S. W. Downey, John A. Matthews, Frank Williams, E. W. Genter, J. S. Kerr, James Kime, A. D. Kelley, C. A. Guernsey, N. J. O'Brien, W. A. Robbins, Frank A. Miller, J. M. Tompkins, M. P. Keefe, Isaiah Whitehouse, R. B. Seaton, John L. Russell, William Summers, M. M. Jerome, George Mitchell, C. H. Bussey, J. M. Lobban, 24; Kerr speaker.

The legislature of 1888 was composed of councilmen C. P. Organ, John A. Riner, James W. Hammond, Charles A. Guernsey, W. H. Holliday, John H. Symons, P. L. Smith, Frank A. Hadsell, J. D. Loucks, Robert Smith, L. C. Bliss, G. W. Carleton, 12; Riner president; representatives, Willis Van Devanter, John Roberts, W. S. Weaver, Thomas B. Adams, Edward T. Duffy, F. W. Lafrentz, J. A. Johnston, Thomas Hooper, Leroy Grant, Howard Clugston, A. L. Sutherland, W. C. Sampson, L. D. Pease, Charles E. Blydenburgh, John M. Kuykendall, W. D. Carrier, Nat. Huntington, J. C. Rummel, E. S. Murray, James I. Patton, J. B. Cummock, William Summers, O. E. Snyder, 24; Huntington speaker.

[58] The assessed valuation of the several counties in 1887 was: Albany, $3,911,155.40; Carbon, $3,250,334.60; Crook, $1,811,357.50; Frémont. $1,993,000.00; Johnson, $3,348,421.29; Laramie, $9,040,008.38; Sweetwater, $1,511,666.03; Uinta, $1,386,294.70, equal to $26,252,238.70. *Rept of Gov. Moonlight to Sec. Int.*

[59] A law was enacted in 1879 taxing the road-bed, superstructure, right of way, rolling stock, telegraph lines, etc., but not the land. *Sess. Laws*, 179, p. 13.

ment placed upon 668 miles of road was $5,741,715.46, or less than $9,000 per mile; and upon 1,226 miles of telegrap lines a valuation of $95,660.76, or $78 per mile. The total assessed value of territorial property, including railroad property, was $32,089,613.

The legislature of 1888, acting upon the advice of the governor, reduced the salaries of county officers and changed the time of the election of members of the council and house of representatives. It also defined the powers of foreign railroads doing business in the territory. It provided for the erection of a normal school building at Sun Dance, and an agricultural college at Sheridan. That a municipality consisting of less than 100,000 inhabitants should take upon itself the support of all needful institutions, discharging its obligations with ease, is evidence of great resources.[60]

Three new counties were authorized by legislative act in 1888; Converse, taken off the north of Laramie and Albany; Sheridan off the north of Johnson; and Natrona off the north of Carbon. The first was named by the legislature of Wyoming in memory of the late A. R. Converse,[60] formerly territorial treasurer, and one of the leading citizens of Cheyenne.

The penitentiary not yet being completed in 1888, the 98 convicts belonging to the territory were still confined in Joliet and other eastern prisons. Among the trials, for all new countries must have some form of hardship, was the irruption into the territory about 1877 of organized bands of road agents, who for a number of years infested the highways, and attempted

[60] A. R. Converse, born in Mass in 1842, arrived in Cheyenne Nov. 14, 1867, and established the first house-furnishing business here, taking F. E. Warren for a partner in 1873, and selling out to him in 1878. In 1875 he engaged in stock-raising on the Chugwater, and later organized the National Cattle co., but sold his interest in 1884. He also organized the Converse Cattle co., with a range on Lance creek, 180 miles n. of Cheyenne; capital stock $1,000,000. He was one of the first county commissioners elected after the organization of the territory, and from 1876 to 1880 was territorial treasurer. He was one of the most public-spirited citizens of Wyoming, and assisted materially in building up Cheyenne.

the wrecking of railway trains for plunder. They were after a struggle brought under control by the courage and skill of the sheriffs.[61]

[61] What the struggle was will appear from the following: Ervin F. Cheney, while deputy sheriff of Atlantic City, succeded in arresting three who had escaped from prison. He was assisted by McCabe, a well known scout, and another person. All three of the criminals were resentenced to prison for long terms. Bill Bivens was one of these robbers. Scott Davis was thanked by a joint resolution of the legislature of 1877 for the capture of Blackburn and Wall, two notorious desperadoes. *Wyom. Sess. Laws*, 1877, 144–5. Coaches in those days were iron-clad to ward off bullets. In 1878 the coach from Cheyenne to Deadwood was attacked by 6 masked men, and robbed. Meeting the coach from Deadwood at Lightning creek, the driver gave a description of the spot, and warned the south-bound driver to look out for it, as the robbers were no doubt waiting for his coach to repeat the assault. There were three passengers inside, one a woman, the express messenger, Capt. Eugene Smith, on horseback, and the driver, John Flaherty, on the box to defend the coach. Smith rode about 400 yards ahead of the stage. At the scene of the robbery he picked up some certificates of registered letters left on the ground, but saw nothing of the robbers until 1½ miles below Cheyenne river station, where a dry creek offered a favorable ambush. In this ravine Smith was seen by the driver beckoning to him to come on. He had a revolver in his left hand and a rifle in his right. 'I have got them here, and I must get them out,' he shouted; 'you drive on.' He rode alone up and down the creek for some distance, and finally fired a shot, which caused one of the concealed road agents to fire, and reveal their hiding place, which, seeing that they were sought, and judging by Smith's coolness that he had assistance at hand, they were anxious to conceal. They soon discovered that he alone was opposed to them, and shots were freely exchanged. Smith's horse was mortally wounded. In the skirmish he fired 4 shots with his pistol and 17 with his rifle, and had 50 shots fired at him, none of which touched him. The robbers, who had concealed their horses, mounted and rode off, thinking, no doubt, that Smith was endeavoring to drive them into a net prepared for them. He then mounted the coach, which proceeded safely to its destination. The Rocky Mountain Detective association, at the head of which was Gen. D. J. Cook of Colorado, had its members among the sheriffs and their deputies in Wyoming, who did some courageous work. Nathaniel K. Boswell of Laramie City was one of the most efficient. In the winter of 1878 he took 13 deputies and followed up until he arrested this gang of 6 stage robbers, whose names were Irwin, Marriner, Harrington, Congdon, and two others, all desperate men. They were surrounded 7 miles east of Rock creek station, and taken without resistance. He arrested Jesse James in Nebraska for one of the gang, without knowing that he was the notorious man of that name. James was lodged in jail at Laramie City; but the prisoner escaped through want of evidence. Afterward when he saw a photograph of Jesse James, he knew he had had the famous robber in his power. Jack Watkins, a much dreaded desperado, was arrested by Boswell when no one else would attempt it. He followed Miller and Oaks, horse thieves, 400 miles, alone, and getting ahead on their trail, made them throw up their hands and dismount, as they had compelled many an honest man to do, and making them put the handcuffs on each other, brought them back to Wyoming. He was appointed chief of the detective bureau of the stock-growers' association in 1883, and had from 30 to 50 subordinates.

In the autumn of 1878, in the vicinity of Laramie, an extra locomotive preceded railway trains, which were run slowly for fear of wrecking, and which carried a guard of soldiers. Such a state of affairs suggested, if it did not justify, the revival of the vigilance committe. In Nov. a coach from the north for Laramie, having on board two captured robbers, Mansfield and

The advancement of Wyoming from 1884 to 1888, if not as rapid as in some portions of the inter-montane territories was steady and permanent. The legislature of 1886 had authorized the issue of $230,000 in bonds to be divided between the capital building fund, the university building fund, and a hospital for the insane. These bonds were payable in 15 and 35 years, and found a ready sale at five cents premium. An act has also been passed to create an institute for the education of deaf mutes; and $100,000 was appropriated in 1888 for the construction of a penitentiary.[62]

McLaughlin, was stopped at Platte river ford by masked men, their guard disarmed, and the prisoners taken out and hanged. *S. F. Bulletin*, Nov. 4, 1878. Donovan was hanged for murder in Frémont county. Several valuable lives were lost in the effort to thwart the operations of organized bands of outlaws. By the combined action of the local authorities, the departments at Washington, and the railroad and stage companies, a check was put upon their operations. *Mess. Gov. Hoyt*, 1879, 28–9. They were not exterminated, and in a year or two began their depradations once more. Bignose George, Dutch Charley, and others attempted to wreck a railroad train. Several were captured. Bignose George contrived to get off his shackles, and attacked his jailer, Robert Rankin, whom he injured seriously. He was taken from confinement the night following and hanged by vigilants, who also executed some of his associates, Jim Lacey and Opium Bob. In 1884 ten solid men of Cheyenne took from jail one Mozier and hanged him. His crime was that of killing one of two men who had kindly offered to carry him in their wagon from near Laramie to Fort A. D. Russell. Some soldiers coming in sight, the other intended victim escaped, and the murderer was captured. Two conditions seem to accompany robber-gangs—the prosperity of the producing class whom they prey upon, and an unsettled country at hand in which to make their rendezvous. These conditions have existed in the Rocky mountain territories. In *Hands Up!! or Twenty Years of Detective Life on the Plains*, by D. J. Cook, a book of nearly 300 pages, is contained the narrative of many of the most celebrated crimes and arrests occurring in his department. Cook was born in Ind. in 1840; reared on a farm, and received a common school education. He went to Colo in 1859, and mined in Gilpin co. Two years afterward he returned to Kansas and purchased a farm, but soon engaged in freighting for the government. He learned a good deal of the villainy practised in his calling, when employés of the quartermaster's department stole the horses and stock belonging to a train, and sometimes the whole train, taking advantage of the bad reputation of the Indians, whom they emulated, *Cochran's Hist. Fort Laramie*, MS., 66–7; and his natural quickness of observation became sharpened. He was transferred to the ordnance department of the army of the frontier in 1863, and on returning to Colo established the association of which he was for more than 20 years chief. He is mentioned in my *Hist. Colo*, 467, as major-general of the militia of that state.

[62] The capital, located at Cheyenne, was designed by D. W. Gibbs, of Toledo, Ohio. Its outline is classic, and it is built of Rawlins sandstone, which has a pleasing greenish gray tint. The size is 216x112 feet, and the height to the final point of the dome 153 feet. This imposing structure,

Wyoming experienced the same hardships which has always embarrassed the efforts of the territories to establish a school system. During the period of sparse settlement, when aid is most required, no revenue is derived from the school lands, which are either unoccupied, or ranged over by the herds of cattle companies who are at liberty to graze their animals upon them year after year, while the schools must wait for state government to give them any right to benefit by them. Congress should have authorized the territories to lease the 16th and 36th sections, in order that a revenue, however small, might be gathered, which would lighten the burden.[63] Wyoming was granted in 1881 the customary 72 sections for university purposes, and set about selecting them in 1886, a task not without difficulty, owing to the railroad grants, Indian and militia reservation lands, and Yellowstone park reserve. The same necessity for

which cost $150,000, stands on a gentle elevation facing Capitol avenue. *Board of Trade Rept*, 1888, p. 13.

The university, located at Laramie, cost $50,000. The corner stone was laid Sept. 27, 1886, and the building was completed in the following Sept. It occupies the city park, the grounds comprising 4 blocks donated by the city council and the U. P. R. R., and 10 acres besides added by the commissioners, making about 20 acres in the heart of the city. The plan of the edifice is elegant in style, the material being Laramie sandstone, with ornaments of Rawlins stone. It is 157x71 feet. The university is non-sectarian, and open to all. The first board of regents consisted of M. C. Brown, J. H. Finfrock, W. H. Holliday, Edward Ivinson, J. H. Hayford, John W. Hoyt, and Samuel Aughey. Hoyt was made prest of the university. He was assisted by Charles D. Conley, W. Smith, and A. Nelson. Hoyt had long been connected with educational matters, domestic and international, and was three times prest of international juries on learning, for which services he was knighted by Emperor Francis Joseph at Vienna. Conley had filled different chairs at Blackburn university, Ill. Smith was a graduate of Dartmouth college, and a son of Chief-justice Smith of N. H. Nelson was a graduate of the state normal school of Mo. *Laramie W. Boomerang*, Aug. 18, 1887.

The insane asylum was located at Evanston, and completed in 1887. The commissioners were A. C. Beckwith, C. D. Clark, and William Hinton. *Rept of Gov. Moonlight to the Sec. of Interior*, 1887, p. 46.

[63] Notwithstanding that no aid was expected or received, the territorial legislature provided for a school system of a high order. The librarian of the territory is supt of public instruction. The law provides for a teachers' institute, which holds annual sessions of from 6 to 10 days. The public school-houses in five counties cost $173,471, of which the amount raised by tax was $39,826, the remainder by voluntary subscription. In three other counties $16,550 was raised in 1886 for this purpose. The average cost of tuition per pupil per month varied from $2 to $9, according to the number of students. *Id.*, 39–41.

leave to utilize the university land existed that was urged on account of the public school lands. The college so courageously founded by the public spirit of the inhabitants should have enjoyed the rental of the lands appropriated by congress, and not a railroad or a cattle company, and the more so that tuition was free to all those nominated by the commissioners of the several counties, and nearly free to all students from any quarter.

The land laws of the United States, although the most liberal in the world, and made to suit the necessities and encourage the enterprise of the people, have always been subject to criticism, and have been many times amended to adjust them to the different conditions of new communities. The irruption into the mid-continental portion of the United States of English and other foreign capitalists, who purchased mines of which they knew little and spent money lavishly in an attempt to make money out of them—an attempt which often proved abortive—was welcomed by the pioneer, because it at least brought into the country means which could be used in other forms of development; but when foreign capital was applied to the purchase, at the minimum price, of millions of acres of the best land, including the banks of rivers, preventing small farming and nullifying the purpose of the land law, which was to benefit the poor man, congress was appealed to with a request to enact a law against alien land holding. Accordingly on March 3, 1887, such an act was passed. No sooner was this done than a cry was raised that the act worked injury to the territories, preventing mining men from securing loans on mining property and other classes of real estate, a complaint which proceeded rather from eastern operators in western mines, than from the actual settlers and residents of the territories. Wyoming encouraged, and derived much benefit from the investment of English capital in manufacturing and

other enterprises; but the sentiment of the majority was that instead of one man with 100,000 cattle occupying 1,000,000 acres of the public land and making $500,000 per annum, it was better to have 1,000 men with 100 head and 640 acres making a profit of $500 yearly.

In 1889, after the election of President Harrison had again brought the republicans into power, F. E. Warren was reappointed to the governership, a choice all the more welcome to the people on account of his liberal land policy, and his efforts in securing from the general land department a large number of patents for years wrongfully withheld from the smaller settlers.[64]

[64] Especially during his former administration, his resignation being largely due to differences with U. S. commr Sparks. In his *Report* for 1889 the governor states that the U. S. land laws were originally framed with a view to the prairie sections, and when applied to the mountain regions worked great hardship and injustice. In the Mississippi valley, for instance, 160 acres selected almost anywhere would be sufficient for a farm, but in Wyoming, except for a few choice locations, such an area would not support half a dozen full-grown domestic animals. Still the people of that territory have been held to the same rulings, and compelled to pay the same prices, as in the western states. In other respects this report is a most able document, furnishing the most complete account of the resources of Wyoming, its industrial, social, commercial, financial, and political position, that has ever come to my notice.

CHAPTER VI.

MILITARY AND INDIAN AFFAIRS.

1849–1886.

STANSBURY'S OBSERVATIONS—BELIEF IN THE PRESENCE OF GOLD—INDIAN TREATIES—ATTITUDE OF THE SAVAGES—SMITH'S EXPLOITS—MILITARY MASSACRE OF INDIANS—INDIAN CHIEFS AT WASHINGTON CITY—DIVERS MILITARY EXPEDITIONS—GOLD APPEARING—INEVITABLE DESTINY OF THE RED RACE—BROKEN PLEDGES—THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES BROUGHT OUT—LONG, CONTINUOUS, AND BLOODY FIGHTING—FINAL TRIUMPH OF CIVILIZATION—SLAVERY AND SAVAGISM EXTERMINATED.

THE earlier explorations of Wyoming by the government were for the purpose of ascertaining the best wagon and railroad routes. Captain Howard Stansbury, who was ordered to explore the Great Salt lake and its valley in 1849, after performing this duty, made a reconnaissance of a railroad route from Salt Lake City to Fort Bridger, and from Fort Bridger to the Platte valley east of Fort Laramie. An almost straight line, he found, could be extended from Bridger to Laramie, forming a chord to the arc of the North Platte route in use, a line which was subsequently adopted by the Union Pacific railroad, except that he advocated going through the Cheyenne pass,[1]

[1]This term is deceptive. It is applied to a valley about 4 miles wide and 45 miles long, lying between the Laramie hills on the west and the elevated plains on the east, and between Crow creek on the south and Chugwater on the north. It appears, says Stansbury, 'to have been cut out by the violent action of an immense body of water flowing in a northern direction.' *Stansbury's Expedition to Utah*, 260. Chugwater on the north is said to have been so called by the Indians, who meant by it 'the place where the buffalos throw themselves away,' the hunters chasing the animals until they plunged over the cliffs formed by the table-land into the river. Water not being an Indian word, it seems more probable that white hunters named it, from the circumstance referred to, or that they put the meaning of some Indian words into this one.

whereas the road passes over the southern end of the Laramie range. Stansbury's report did not mention any mineral discoveries except coal. In September 1857, Lieutenant G. K. Warren of the topographical engineers, who had been exploring on the upper Missouri for a year or two, made an exploration from Fort Laramie north to Inyan Kara mountain, on the west slope of the Black hills, from which point he was turned back by the Sioux.

Among other interesting observations, he found the composition of these hills to be, 1st, metamorphosed azoic rock, including granite; 2d, lower silurian (potsdam sandstone); 3d, devonian; 4th, carboniferous; 5th, permian; 6th, jurassic; 7th, cretaceous. The highest peaks were granite. He found between the elevations small, rich valleys, covered with fine grass for hay, and susceptible of cultivation by means of irrigation; fine timber for fuel and lumber, limestone and good building stone, many common and useful minerals; but that which was of greater interest at that period was his assertion that gold has been found in places in "valuable quantities."[2]

In July 1859 Captain W. F. Raynolds of the same corps, under orders from the war department, penetrated from Fort Pierre on the Missouri river to the Black hills, which he explored on the northeast and north, after which he proceeded to Powder river, Bighorn, and Yellowstone valleys, wintering near the Platte bridge. In his report he alleged that very decided evidences of gold were discovered in the Bighorn mountains, and also in the Black hills. He dared not make known to the men in his command, which was largely composed of irresponsible adventurers, what he believed to be true, lest they should disband and leave him in the wilderness.[3] F. V.

[2] *Cheyenne Leader*, Oct. 24, 1874.

[3] *Raynolds' Rept*, in *U. S. Sen. Ex. Doc.*, No. 77, p. 14, vol. ii., 40th cong., 2d sess. Raynolds was accompanied by Lieutenant H. E. Maynadier, J. D. Hutton topographer and artist, J. H. Snowden topographer, H. C. Fillebrown meteorologist and astronomer, Antoine Schonbarn meteorologist and

Hayden, geologist, who accompanied Raynolds, as he had Warren, was placed under a pledge of secrecy until the expedition was out of the mountains. Their reports to the government were supplemented by the statements of many persons that the Indians had exhibited gold nuggets at Fort Pierre and Fort Laramie, and by the assurance of De Smet that he had discovered rich gold mines in these regions, although with jesuitical slyness he refused to reveal the locality, out of consideration for his "dear Indians," whom in his writings he describes in colors not very different from those on frontiersmen's palette.

I have already related how strong was the impression in the public mind that gold existed in the Bighorn and Black hills countries when the treaty was made with the Sioux and Arapahoes in 1868, excluding white men from all that region extending from the Missouri river to the 104th meridian west, and between the 43d and 46th parallels; and also from the country north of the North Platte river and east of the summits of the Bighorn mountains, permitting no settlements of white men, no forts, and no roads in all that territory. Of this impression the commissioners were well aware, and equally cognizant of the fact that where gold is known or believed to exist men will go, at any risk to themselves, and in opposition to any laws. In the face of this knowledge, the commissioners pledged the government to keep white men out of this entire region, and to close up the road to Montana.[4]

artist, F. E. Hayden naturalist and surgeon, M. C. Hines asst, George Wallon time-keeper, and several unprofessional gentlemen. The escort was commanded by John Mullan.

[4] The wording of the treaty seems to imply a reservation of the country lying north of Nebraska, but simply to regard as 'unceded Indian territory' that portion afterward included in Wyoming. *Wyom. Compiled Laws*, 1876, lxx. It gave, while excluding white men from Indian territory, the right to the Indians to hunt outside their reserved lands on the Republican fork of the Smoky Hill river, and 'on any lands north of North Platte.' On their part, the Indians agreed to preserve peace, to make no opposition to railroad construction, to attack no travellers, kill no white men, and take no captives. The treaty was confirmed Feb. 16, 1869.

On the 3d of July following the treaty with the Sioux, the same commissioners concluded a treaty with the Shoshones and Bannacks, at Fort Bridger, and set apart as a reservation for the former tribe all that country lying south of the Owl creek mountains, and north of the divide between the Sweetwater and Popo Agie rivers, and between the Wind river mountains on the west and Bighorn river on the east,[5] leaving north of the Sweetwater mountains only a single narrow strip of country between the east shore of the Bighorn river and the west flank of the Bighorn mountains which white men might traverse, and on which the Indians were permitted to hunt so long as unoccupied, or game could be found upon them.

At the moment these treaties were being negotiated, the Union Pacific railroad company was already beyond Laramie City with its track, and towns and population were drifting with it rapidly westward. Congress had established the territory of Wyoming between six and seven months before the senate confirmed the treaties with the Sioux and Arapahoes, Shoshones and Bannacks, excluding from occupation and exploration fully half its area. Before the treaties, or the organization of the territory, gold mining was already being carried on in the Sweetwater country, and settlements being made. Such was the condition of Wyoming relatively to the Indians and the government, such the keeping of the compact made by the government with the savages, when it became a territory, and for which a reckless peace commission and a careless senate were responsible.

The Sioux and the Shoshones preserved for some time a peaceful attitude toward the white people, except where renegades of these tribes joined with the Arapahoes, who paid no more attention to the treaty than the United States had done, merely presenting

[5] This is not the exact description of boundary, but comes near enough to it for my purpose.

themselves at the agencies to draw their rations. These Arabs of the plains roamed as far west as the Sweetwater, and were so swift and so cunning that their raids were at first imputed to the Shoshones. Their depredations, which included many murders, and the destruction or robbery of a large amount of property. H. G. Nickerson, in the spring of 1870, after a number of murders had been perpetrated, visited the Arapahoe camp as a spy, and being suspected, very nearly lost his life.[6] Upon the evidence gathered by him, a company of 175 well-armed men was raised to avenge the death of these citizens. But through the leadership having been assumed by one William Smith, a bravado, who was subsequently killed in a brawl, the intended effect of the lesson was lost. Dividing his command, Smith marched in broad daylight with sixty men toward the Arapahoe camp. On the way he met a party of Indians, with their chief, Black Bear, going to the settlements to trade, with their families, sixteen in all, and slew them without mercy. This piece of infamy gave the Indians further grievance, of which they quickly availed themselves. These disturbances led to the establishment of a permanent military post in the vicinity of the Sweetwater settlements, which was named after Lieutenant Stambaugh, a promising young officer killed in a skirmish May 4, 1870. Men slept with their cartridge belts and gun at hand, and when surrounded, crawled into a thicket to defend themselves as best they could.

[6] Herman G. Nickerson, born in Ohio in 1841, received a collegiate education in the same state, and entered the union army in 1861 as a private in the 23d Ohio regt, and was mustered out in 1865 at Nashville, with the customary honors. He returned to Ohio to study law, but his health failing he went first to Nebraska City, then to Bozeman, Mont., in 1866, driving a team, and fighting Indians nearly all the way from Fort Laramie, having 2 of his company killed. On one occasion 180 head of stock were captured. Selling his goods, and engaging in mining, for 15 years Nickerson continued to reside in this district, undergoing all the difficulties attending pioneering and Indian disturbances. He went into sheep-farming in 1882 on a large scale. In 1868 he was appointed supt of schools, and was chosen justice of the peace several times, appointed U. S. commissioner in 1870, elected to the lower house of the legislature in 1871 and 1884, and was elected probate judge and county treasurer of Frémont co., of which he secured the organization.

In the winter of 1868–70 a scheme was set on foot at Cheyenne for raising an expedition of two thousand men to explore the "unceded Indian territory," which by the treaty of 1868 was promised to the Sioux for a special preserve.

Meanwhile the Indian commissioner invited Red Cloud and Man-afraid-of-his-horses to Washington, in order that they might observe the power and magnificence of the government. Red Cloud became so well convinced of the superiority of the United States in a long war that he gave his influence for peace, and for some months restrained his band from hostilities. It was during the summer of 1870 that a geological survey of Wyoming was made from Cheyenne to Fort Fetterman, to the South pass, to Fort Bridger and the Uinta mountains, to Henry fork of Green river, to Brown's hole, to Green river station, on the Union Pacific railroad, and thence via Bridger's pass back to Cheyenne.

In May 1873 General Ord, commanding the military department of the Platte, ordered a military expedition to the headwaters of the Snake, Bighorn, and Yellowstone rivers, which was placed in charge of Captain Jones. The route of the expedition lay from Bryan, on the Union Pacific railroad, north through the Wind river valley, across Wind river mountains, and that interesting northwest corner of the territory dedicated to the nation for a public park. This was the first attempt of a government expedition to approach this region from this direction,[7] and was

[7] In 1870 Lieut Gustavus C. Doane, by order of Major Baker, commanding at Fort Ellis, Mont., made a reconnaissance from the fort to Yellowstone lake, via the general course of the east Gallatin river This was the first military expedition to this lake, and was accompanied by a party of civilians from Helena, namely, the surveyor-general of Montana, H. D. Washburn, N. P. Langford, T. C. Everts, C. Hedges, Samuel T. Hauser, Warren C. Gillette, Benjamin C. Stickney, jr, Walter Trumbull, and Jacob Smith. They proceeded to the geyser basins and Yellowstone lake, making an extended report of their explorations. The highest mountain in that region was named after the surveyor-general, Washburne. *U. S. Sen. Ex. Doc.*, 51, 41st cong., 3d sess.; *Overland Monthly*, vi. 431–7, 489–96; *Missoula Pioneer*, March 9–30, 1872. It was upon the report of this expedition to the sec. of war, and through the labors of the Montana delegate, Claggett, that the Yellowstone

successful, the expedition proceeding through the Yellowstone national park to Fort Ellis.[8]

national park was reserved for a pleasure ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people. *U. S. H. Ex. Doc.*, 326, p. 162, 41st cong., 3d sess.; *Cong. Globe*, 1871–2, app. 694; *Annual Rept Supt Nat. Park*, 1881, 74–5; *Hayden, Great West*, 36–8. Another government party in 1872 designed visiting the Yellowstone park, namely, the peace commissioners to the Sioux,

YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK.

headed by Gen. Cowan. They were prevented by these Indians. No, so the U. S. geol. surveying exped., under Hayden, which approached from the west by the Snake river cañon through the Teton range, finding immense snow-drifts and glaciers in July, and a lake at an altitude of 10,200 feet, which was frozen 15 feet deep. *N. Y. Herald*, in *Helena Rocky Mountain Gazette*, Sept. 29, 1872. Hayden penetrated to the geyser basin, which was described in his report. Numerous visiting and exploring parties have traversed the park since 1872, notably one which fell in with the Nez Perces, under Joseph in 1877, by whom they suffered severely. A reconnaissance for a wagon-road from Fort Washakie was made in 1881 by Gov. Hoyt and Col Julius W. Mason, 3d cav., and a small escort. *Trans Wyom. Acad. Sciences*, 43–69.

[8] *Mess. Gov. Campbell*, 1873, 10. *Wyom. H. Jour.*, 1873, 27. *Illngerso, Knocking Round the Rockies*, 181. 'It is the intention of the military authori-

The inevitable crisis was approaching when the adoption of a decided policy with the Indians would be forced upon the government for the mutual good of white and red men. Some depredations being again committed by the Cheyennes and Arapahoes in Wind river valley in 1874, Captain Bates attacked

ties,' says Gov. Campbell, 'to ask of congress an appropriation sufficient to construct a military road from some point in Wyoming on the N. P. R. R., to Fort Ellis.' Jones, on p. 55 of his report, says one important object of his expedition was to discover a practicable route to Yellowstone lake from the south or southeast, and that he has found it practicable to build a wagon road via Yellowstone lake to Montana, which would save a considerable distance. It was discovered that there were three passes through the Sierra Shoshones, affording approaches to Yellowstone basin. First, from the head of Clarke fork to the east fork of the Yellowstone; second, from the head of the north fork of Stinkingwater, entering the basin opposite the foot of Yellowstone lake, (Colter's route, 1807) which route was followed by the expedition; third, from the head of Ishawooa river, entering the basin opposite the head of the lake. *Missoulian*, Aug. 22, 1873. All these passes were, he acknowleged, difficult. But one at the head of Wind river, a little southeast of the lake was practicable from Wind river valley. This pass he named Togwater, an Indian word. Its altitude was 9,621 feet, and the slopes of approach long and gradual, so that a railroad could be built over it. *U. S. H. Ex. Doc.*, 285, p. 55, 43d cong., 1st sess. Jones' report contains contributions on the geology, meteorology, botany, and entomology of Wyoming, besides its geographical and descriptive matter. The Wyoming legislature of 1873 petitioned congress to appropriate money to establish a military road over the route reported upon by Capt. Jones. *Wyom. Sess. Laws*, 1873, p. 261–2. Again in 1879 congress was memorialized on the subject of a road to Montana over the Jones survey of 1878, but nothing resulted from these petitions, and the approach via the route from Bozeman, has alone been rendered practicable to ordinary tourists.

N. G. Langford, of Montana, was made superintendent of the Yellowstone park in 1872, and made some improvements by way of laying out roads to points of special interest in the reservation. Little, however, has been done, the object being to keep it in a state of nature as much as possible, and to preserve the game. For a long time it had not even one resident, and no accommodations for visitors until 1880. In that year G. W. Marshall erected a cabin at Mammoth hot springs in Firehole basin, and kept a hotel. Marshall was born in Ill. in 1846. In the Firehole he was in truth a tresspasser; but Secretary Schurz, of the interior department, being in the park during a rainstorm, and having no shelter, suggested that he should enlarge his domicile and prepare to furnish accommodation to tourists, for which purpose he secured Marshall a permit from the government, to reside in the park and keep a hotel. In 1884 he obtained a lease for ten years. He had a daughter born there Jan. 30, 1881, the first child born on the reservation, and 50 miles from any neighbors. Gov. Hoyt named her Rose Park, in memory thereof. Marshall married Sarah Romrell in 1875.

The government superintendent of the park had his headquarters at Mammoth springs, but as no work could be carried on in the winter, did not reside there permanently. His duty is to construct roads and bridle paths, to discover mountain passes, geysers, hot springs, falls, fossil forests, and relics of prehistoric people, in which latter search considerable success was attained, as shown in a previons chapter. He also enforced the observance of rules against the spoliation of timber; against hunting, trapping, and fishing, except to supply food to visitors or residents; against the removal of

their camp at Point of Rocks, on the head of Powder river, with thirty-five soldiers and seventy-five Shoshones, killing about forty of them, with a loss of three soldiers killed and several wounded, including himself. The Indians were in force, numbering between two and three thousand, and the battle was a victory which relieved the western division of the territory of the Arapahoes for the remainder of the summer, only one murder occurring during the remainder of the year.[9] In the meantime the Sioux, as before, were preserving an armed neutrality, drawing their rations, and keeping the agents who furnished them in a state of alarm by their overbearing manners. Red Cloud had consented, reluctantly, to be removed to an agency of his own on White river, late in 1873. Like Spotted Tail's agency, it proved, on the survey of the boundary, to be in Nebraska, with-

mineral deposits, or any curiosities; against liquor selling; and against settling on the reservation, except under a lease from the department of the interior. *Report of P. Norris, supt*, 1881, p. 75; *Helena, Montana Herald*, Nov. 18, 1879.

In order to maintain these laws and regulations against infringement, the legislature of Wyoming in March 1884, passed an act making that portion of the park which was altogether in Wyoming, (a narrow strip on the north and west, projecting beyond the boundary,) a precinct of Uinta county, the governor appointing commissioners, justices of the peace, and constables, to serve until officers were elected, and the territorial laws are made operative in the park; and to carry out this act, an appropriation was made from the territorial treasury for the payment of these officers, and the construction of a jail in Firehole basin. *Wyom. Sess. Laws*, 1884, 177–83, 194–5, 195–7. *Laws appertaining to the Yellowstone National Park*, passed by 47th cong., 2d sess., ch. 143, *Sess. Laws;* 48th cong., 1st sess., ch. 332, *Sess. Laws; Mont. Jour. Council*, 1883, 239–40.

Wyoming thus became actually possessed of the largest and most remarkable pleasure ground in the world. Among the many descriptions of its scenery, are *Gen. Gibbons' Lecture on the Wonders of Yellowstone Park* in *Helena Gazette*, Sept. 29, 1872. *Letters of C. C. Clawson* in *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, May 18th and June 1, 1872. *Norton's Wonderland*, 1–81, a complete account of the different geysers and other curiosities, with a good map; *Richardson's Wonders of Yellowstons Park*, 1–256, a more labored description than the former; *Raymond, Camp and Cabin*, 154–207, narrative of a visit to the park; *Gunnison, Rambles Overland*, 29–44, including a ramble in the park; a series of descriptive articles in *The Contributor* for 1883, a monthly magazine published in Salt Lake City; a series of articles in *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, from Oct. 5th to Nov. 23, 1872. *Rept of Supt*, for 1880, with map; *Dunraven's Great Divide*, 194–293, a readable narrative of a tour by a party of Englishmen, among whom was the author, the earl of Dunraven, in 1874, and *Stanley's Wonderland*, still another descriptive and narrative account of a tour.

[9] The battle was fought July 4th, and the 17th of Sept. following a murder was committed. *Rep. Sec. Int.*, vol. 1, 578, 43d cong., 2d sess.

out the limits of the reservation, but since it was the best location for opening farms, the land being good and water plenty, it was retained for the Indians.

Owing to an extraordinary nugget of gold being exhibited at Bismark by a Sioux woman, who professed to have obtained it in the Black hills, General Custer determined upon a military reconnaissance to that region, accompanied by scientists who should settle the question of its value as a mining country.[10] It was a well organized and well furnished expedition, and when it returned there was wild agitation over the question of to go or not to go where Custer had led. No secret was made of the existence of gold in abundance; on the contrary, the military officers, the scientific explorers, and the press correspondents connected with it, combined to paint the Black hills region with the most brilliant touches of fascinating description. Water, soil, timber, minerals, all came in for a share of this enthusiastic praise. If a scheme had been purposely devised for violating the treaty of 1868, it could not have aroused the people more quickly. As if to remove the last impediment, another military expedition was fitted out at Rawlins late in the summer, the object of which was to rid the country of wandering Indians. A camp was to be established on the Sweetwater, where the infantry should guard the military stores, while the cavalry scouted as far north as Fort Reno, and scoured the whole country east of the Bighorn mountains and west of the Black hills, drained by the Cheyenne,

[10] The expedition consisted of 5 companies of cavalry under Custer, and 5 under Gen. Forsyth, and Gen. Tilson; 2 companies of infantry under Major L. H. Sanger; a battery of gatling guns under Lieut Josiah Chance; a detachment of engineers, under Col Ludlow, W. H. Wood, asst; 60 scouts under Lieut Wallace; Lieut Calhoun, A. A. A. Gen; Capt. A. E. Smith, quartermaster; J. W. Williams, chief medical officer; Allen and Bergen, asst surgeons; Col Fred Grant, acting aid-de-camp; Louis Argard, guide and interpreter; Professors Winchell and Grinnell, and others. *Bismark Tribune*, June 17, 1874; *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, July 11, 1874. The route of the expedition was Fort Laramie, thence north, striking the Black hills about French creek, passing northward to Bear Lodge mountain, the Little Missouri, and Hart river, and thence east.

Powder, and Tongue rivers, thus enabling the settlers to further break the treaty at will. To prevent this, General Sheridan hastened to warn the public against invading the Sioux Indian reservation, unless authorized by the secretary of the interior or act of congress to do so. In spite of this interdiction, several companies proceeded to organize, at different points in Dakota, Montana, and Iowa. Orders were issued to generals Terry and Ord, should these companies trespass on the Sioux reservation, to burn their trains, destroy their entire outfit, and arrest their leaders, confining them at the nearest military post. The commander of Fort Ellis, in Montana, succeeded in preventing a Bozeman company from starting. They were more readily quieted, the promise having gone out that Sheridan would soon open the country from the western slope of the Black hills to the Gallatin valley.

The only party that really reached the Black hills during the season of 1874, was one which left Sioux City October 6th, consisting of twenty-seven men, a woman and boy. The men were well mounted and armed; they had six wagons and were provided with provisions and mining tools. They proceeded to the Niobrara above its mouth, where they met 200 mounted Indians, and held a parley with them. No opposition was made to their progress, and they kept on to their destination, finding a pass through the hills to a point two miles from Harney peak, where they erected a stockade eighty feet long, and built a log house. They found the weather cold, but sunk twenty-five prospect holes, finding gold in each, and discovered several quartz lodes. They were not disturbed either by Indians or military companies for a considerable time,[11] but were finally arrested and taken to Fort Laramie. In March 1875, the president directed another order to be issued, excluding all white persons from the Sioux reservation

[11] *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, March 19, 1875. Among the party were Eph. Witcher, of Yankton, and Gordon. Witcher returned to Yankton before the arrest.

The government was now forced into a position in which it must pay or fight. It preferred to pay, and steps were taken to secure the consent of the Sioux to the sale of the Black hills, a commission being appointed to negotiate for the purchase. While this matter was pending, preparations went on uninterruptedly for mining. The books of the Black Hills Transportation company at Sioux City showed that from April 7th to May 7, 1875, over 300 men, forty wagons, and a pack-train had left that point for the mines, and about 200 had gone from Yorktown and other points, including a few women. In the east a company of 1,800 men was formed, O. H. Pierson, president, which was only waiting the result of the negotiations of the commissioners. It was the intention of this company to open mines and lay out towns by corporate means.

So confident was the secretary of the interior of the purchase of the Black hills that he authorized an exploring expedition under the charge of Walter P. Jenney of the school of mines of New York,[12] which organized at Cheyenne in May. It was attended by a military escort under Colonel R. I. Dodge.

In the meantime meetings had been held in Cheyenne early in January, looking to the organization of a citizens' company for the purpose of exploring in the Bighorn mountains, and developing the Black hills mining region,[13] Cheyenne being once more filled with a surging mass of humanity panting to acquire wealth by luck rather than labor. The merchants of the town quickly perceived the advantage to be reaped from a mining excitement, with Cheyenne for an outfitting point, and entered into the project of an exploring company with enthusiasm.

[12] His assistants were Henry A. Newton of Ohio, geologist; H. P. Little, formerly of the U. S. navy, astronomer; Dr V. P. McGillicuddy, topographer; D. Newberry, and a corps of surveyors. *Id. Rept Sec. Int.*, vol. 1, 538; 44 cong., 1 sess.; *Deer Lodge New Northwest*, May 14, 1875.

[13] *Cheyenne News*, Jan. 11, 12, and 13, 1875. The committe appointed to devise plans for carrying out the purposes of the organization were F. E. Warren, A. R. Converse, J. R. Whitehead, Luke Murrin, P. S. Wilson, J. Joslin, E. P. Snow, D. McLoughlin, M. E. Post, and A. E. Swan.

Early in May there appeared upon the scene a leader such as the occasion demanded. This was C. C. Carpenter, a man with considerable experience both as a frontiersman and a military officer. Making Cheyenne his headquarters, he issued his general orders like the commander of an authorized army, vindicating the character and purposes of his men, which Governor Pennington of Dakota had attacked, and promising them that they should not be prevented from entering the Black hills or Bighorn mountains. And, in truth, it would be an awkward thing for the government to train its guns on the citizens of an organized territory for traversing any part of it for what it might contain.

In July the commissioners reached the Black hills, finding mining camps and military camps at peace with each other, and the Indians more or less sullen on this account. They had exhibited some temper by destroying a few hundred dollars' worth of goods belonging to a trader, but further than that there had been no trouble in the Black hills. It was in vain, however, that terms were proposed for the ceding of the mining territory, or any part of the unceded Indian lands heretefore reserved by treaty from the occupation of the white race. At a general council held in September,[14] the demands of Red Cloud and Spotted Tail were exorbitant, being no less than $600,000,000. In this matter the ability of a savage to comprehend such a sum being on its face impossible, it was plain that they were not without malicious white advisers. The council ended by placing the government under greater embarassment than before. "However unwilling we may be to confess it," said the secretary of the interior, "the experience of the past summer proves either the inefficiency of the large military force under the command of such officers as generals Sheridan, Terry, and Crook, or the utter

[14] In May a large Sioux delegation had been taken to Washington for an interview with the president, which was intended to smooth the way to an arrangement. *Rept Sec. Int.*, vol. 1, 509; 44 cong., 1 sess.

impracticability of keeping Americans out of a country where gold is known to exist, by any force of orders, or of United States cavalry, or by any consideration of the rights of others."[15]

[15] If the government was in a hole, as the Indians would have said, it was put there by the secretary, and not by the people of the west, who would never have bound themselves by such a treaty as that of 1868. The nation was bound by a promise, the inevitable breaking of which could produce but one result, since the very explorers authorized by the secretary of the interior to make an examination of the Black hills had reported finding a gold field fifty miles in extent.

Up to this time miners, except about 500, had yielded to authority, and kept out of the forbidden territory. But seeing that delay did not lessen the difficulty, they began early in this year to prepare for a general movement in that direction. In Feb. 1876 Custer City had been laid off, and was the central point for trade. The improvements mentioned were Bevy and Boughton's saw-mill from Cheyenne; two portable saw-mills en route from Colorado; the steam saw-mill from Spotted Tail agency being the first to blow a whistle in the Black hills, Feb. 6, 1876. A herd of cows had arrived for a dairy. A couple had been married at Custer, namely William Hardesty and Ida Simms. *Cheyenne Leader*, Feb. 19, 1876.

Parties from Illinois, Nebraska, and Colorado were on the road in February, and newspapers gave full information about routes and outfitting places, each one in its own interest, Omaha and Cheyenne taking the lead. By the 4th of March there were 4,000 people in the Black hills, and the military had orders from the president not to interfere with them.

The Sioux nation at this time numbered about 35,000 persons, divided among ten agencies, situated chiefly in north-eastern and eastern Dakota. Of these, 9,087 were Ogallalas, of whom Red Cloud was principal chief, and 7,000 Brulés, over whom Spotted Tail was head chief. Add to these 2,294 northern Arapahoes and Cheyennes, who were associated with the Ogallalas and Brulés in the treaty of 1868, and there were over 19,000 aboriginals, who had the privilege of roaming over a large part of Wyoming.

Generals Reynolds and Crook, hoping to gain a victory over some of the hostiles which should render future concessions obtainable without a general war, left Fort Fetterman early in March to attack Crazy Horse. After passing Fort Reno, from which point only the cavalry was allowed to proceed, he took a northerly direction seventy miles to Tongue river, the march lying over high, well-grassed plains, watered by numerous streams flowing toward Tongue river, which was found to course through a narrow valley furnished with an abundance of timber. After scouting toward the Yellowstone, and exploring the lower Tongue and Rosebud valleys without finding the enemy, the expedition marched toward Powder river through a mountainous region, the weather being very cold, and the troops enduring much hardship. The scouts discovered the enemy's camp on that stream, which was attacked at daylight on the 17th by the main force under Reynolds, Crook having gone toward Sitting Bull's camp on the Rosebud, with only two companies of cavalry. The attack on Crazy Horse failed through the disobedience of Captain Webb of the 3d cavalry, who remained inactive, although ordered to charge from one side of the village, while Captain Eagan met him from the other. Eagan was left to fight his way out, after having plunged into the midst of the Sioux, with a loss of ten men killed and wounded. The savages fled, leaving their lodges and camp property, which were destroyed, and many of their horses captured. Knowing that this blow would only exasperate the Sioux, and finding circumstances against him, while his command was insufficient to carry out his designs, Reynolds returned to Fort Fetterman, and Crook went to Omaha, determined not to

make any further demonstrations against the enemy until new troops were sent to the frontier. Scarcely had he reached headquarters when Governor Thayer of Wyoming applied to him for military protection for the road leading from Cheyenne to the Black hills.

About the 1st of June Crook prepared to take the field again with 1,000 men, and a large number of scouts from different tribes. About the middle of the month the command started from camp on Goose creek, northwest of Fort Philip Kearny, and on the 17th attacked the Sioux on the head of Rosebud river, fighting them all day without achieving any signal victory. The Crow scouts who had been sent forward had not behaved with the caution necessary, or were ignorant of the country, and were themselves surprised by coming on Sitting Bull's camp in a cañon of the Rosebud, alarming the Sioux, and being fired on. They retreated to Crook's command, which was halted, and which now pushed forward, met by the Sioux, also eager for the combat. The face of the country hereabout was a succession of ridges, which made it difficult to operate with cavalry, but the most brilliant exploit of the day was a charge made by the first battalion of the 3d cavalry, under Colonel Mills, who took his three companies up over a ridge onto the plateau between him and the next ridge, crowded with savages, stopping to deliver one volley, and then mounting the second ridge at a gallop, driving the enemy to cover behind a third ridge. The battalion then dismounted, and deployed as skirmishers, holding the position they had carried. The second battalion, under Colonel Henry, were to attack Sitting Bull's right, and driving it back; and the third battalion, under Colonel Van Vliet, that of holding the bluff in the rear of the troops to check any advance from that quarter. The battle raged obstinately all day, and had it not been that the Sioux aimed, generally, too high, the loss on the side of the army would have been great. As it was, eight were killed and twenty-one wounded, including the gallant Colonel Henry. The loss on the part of the Indians was 50 warriors and 100 horses killed, and many of both wounded. They abandoned their village on the approach of Mills in the afternoon, and moved rapidly northwest, whereupon Crook turned back to camp at Goose creek, forty miles distant, not being prepared to pursue a numerous enemy who could not be surprised. Thus ended the second battle with the Sioux.

About the middle of May a force of 1,000 men, under General Terry, left Fort Lincoln for the Bighorn country, to enter it by way of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers in Montana. The expedition was composed of twelve companies of the 7th cavalry under Custer, and about 450 other troops. At the mouth of Powder river the cavalry was disembarked, and a supply depot established. Major Reno of the 7th was sent up Powder river to look for the enemy, while Terry consulted with Gibbon, whom he found awaiting him with 450 men from Fort Ellis, concerning the summer's campaign. Reno returned from his scout without having encountered any Indians, and on the 21st of June, several days after Crook's fight, which had again doubly exasperated the Sioux, but which was entirely unknown to the two generals, whose plans included Crook's co-operation, now withdrawn until he could be reinforced, they settled upon their course.

Gibbon, who was on the north side of the Yellowstone, was to cross at the mouth of the Bighorn, and proceed up it to the junction of the Little Bighorn, to be there on the 26th. Custer was to proceed up the Rosebud to ascertain the direction of an Indian trail seen by Reno. If it led toward the Little Bighorn, he was to avoid following it, but to keep south for some distance before approaching the stream in order to be where he could intercept the savages should they move that way, and to give Gibbon time to come up.

Custer left the mouth of the Rosebud on the 22d, striking the Indian trail. On the 24th his scouts discovered fresh trails twenty miles above the mouth of the Little Bighorn, and on the following morning a deserted village. A little further down the stream they reported a large village, and the Indians fleeing. Sending his adjutant to Reno, who was on the opposite or west

side of the stream, to bring him over for a conference, he determined to attack without waiting for Gibbon, believing that to wait would be to permit the escape of the enemy. Reno was ordered to recross to the west side, and attack from the upper end of the village, which was in a valley, while he should strike the lower end, and meet him.

Leaving a reserve of four companies, under Benton, Reno entered the valley at the time and in the manner appointed, but instead of finding a frightened and yielding people, which by their apparent alarm they might have been, he found himself surrounded by a terrible and infuriated horde, bent upon his annihilation. Dismounting, the men fought their way on foot through the woods to a high bluff, which he attempted to hold while sending Captain Weir with his troops to open communication with Custer. Weir was surrounded, and forced to retreat to Reno's position, now placed on the defensive, being furiously assaulted. The battle lasted until 9 o'clock in the evening, when the Indians retired to hold their customary war-dances and death rites.

During all this time no word had reached him from Custer, whom he imagined to be fighting like himself, cut off from communication by the great body of Indians. The battle was renewed with fury between two and three o'clock on the morning of the 26th, the troops fighting from rifle-pits constructed during the night, and barricaded with dead horses and mules, and boxes of hard bread. In the afternoon the Indians, having fired the grass in the valley, retreated under cover of the smoke, taking their way toward the Bighorn mountains, in good order, with all their property and families, their scouts having discovered Gibbon's command approaching, a few miles distant.

The relief which this movement furnished to Reno, whose fortifications contained eighteen dead and forty-six wounded, was great, the men having been fighting for twenty-four hours without rest, and their sufferings being extreme for want of water. Eight men had been killed and wounded in the endeavor to procure a few canteens full for their dying comrades, and not until midnight of the second day did they again make the attempt.

Although wondering at the continued silence and absence of Custer, the truth did not suggest itself to any one until nightfall, when a lieutenant of Gibbon's scouts dashed into their midst with the astounding intelligence that of the five companies of the gallant 7th cavalry which had entered the valley a few miles below simultaneously with themselves, every man and every officer lay dead on that fatal ground.

As there were no reliable witnesses, so there could be no incontestable history of the engagement. The account which was pieced together from the narrative of a scout who was hidden in the woods which covered the bluff above the valley, and the reluctant admissions drawn afterward from the Sioux, were all the foundation on which to build a theory of the fight.

All that could be learned was that soon after reaching the valley, which could be entered only by a narrow defile, the command was checked in its march by a terrific firing from ambush, which compelled the troops to dismount. They were soon surrounded, and while fighting their way toward the hills were all cut off. Thus perished 259 officers and men, in the third battle with the Sioux.

The remainder of the 7th cavalry under Reno and Gibbon's command, retreated to Bighorn river, whence the wounded were transported by steamer to Fort Lincoln. Terry's division remained all summer on the Yellowstone, having occasional skirmishes with the Indians, but making no movement toward the interior. It was not until August that, being joined by Gen. Miles, with six companies of infantry, 21st regiment, under Col Otis, that he moved up Rosebud river to form a junction with Crook, who had been reënforced by cavalry, making the number of men in the field against the Sioux, in Wyoming and Montana, over 3,000. Against such a force as this, the Indians could not be brought to battle, but, eluding the troops, moved their villages up and down the country, from the Missouri to the head of

Powder river. Only once during many months were they surprised, when a quantity of winter stores, and many of their horses were captured on the road to the Black hills by a detachment of Miles' command.

The point in which the white soldier is superior to the Indian warrior, is in stubborn endurance. The Indian must have, after his outburst of fury, a period of repose; after gorging himself like an anaconda, he must lie torpid for awhile. Keeping on the march for months exhausted his ardor and his resources. In September the least valiant of the Sioux began to visit the agencies to beg, and being turned away, offered to surrender. In October the troops of Miles' command in Montana captured a large part of Sitting Bull's supplies, in return for that chief's attempt to take a train on its way to Fort Keogh. Starvation is a greater general than the greatest. It brought 2,000 of the Sioux people to Miles' feet, but did not bring Sitting Bull and his immediate followers, who continued hostilities as before until January, when he went over the border into the British possessions, where the authorities compelled him to promise peace or be ejected from the country.

Crazy Horse, with whom Crook was left to deal, proved equally obdurate if less successful. When Terry's force moved up Rosebud river to join Crook, Crazy Horse eluded both, dividing his followers into small parties, and sending them by different routes to Tongue river, and across the country to Powder river, following the latter to its mouth, pursued all the way by the troops. At this point the two forces separated, Terry going north of the Yellowstone to prevent escape in that direction, and Crook returning southeast on the trail of the Sioux until it became undistinguishable. On the 14th of Sept. his advance surprised a village of thirty lodges near Slim Buttes, 180 miles from the Cheyenne river agency, inflicting considerable injury. In retaliation Crazy Horse attacked his main column, the battle again being a drawn one, after which the Indians went into winter camp on Tongue river, at the eastern base of Wolf mountains.

About the middle of November Crook's force left Fort Fetterman to find Crazy Horse, Gen. McKenzie striking on the 25th a detached village of Cheyennes, on the west fork of Powder river, destroying it and butchering men women, and children like the bloodiest savage of them all, and depriving those who were left of subsistence at a season when to obtain it was most difficult. By this cruel punishment another portion of the natives were brought to surrender.

Again, in January, Miles came upon the village of Crazy Horse on Tongue river, skirmishing with the Indians from the 1st to the 7th, and having a five hours' engagement with them on the 8th, which compelled them to abandon their position; but owing to the worn-out condition of his army trains he found it impracticable to follow. This ended the campaign of 1876. In the spring of 1877 Lame Deer, another hostile chief, was attacked at his village of fifty lodges on Rosebud river, by Miles. The Indians fled, but their horses, provisions, and camp equipage were captured. Raids by this band on settlers, surveyors, and wagon trains followed, continuing until July.

In July 1876 Sheridan requested the interior department to turn over to the military the management of the Lower Brulé, Cheyenne river, and Standing Rock agencies, on the Missouri river, and also the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail agencies, which were placed in charge of army officers. From time to time during the summer and autumn, numerous small parties surrendered, being. as they acknowledged, 'tired of war.' Those whom Miles captured on the Yellowstone were ordered to go to the Cheyenne river agency in November, hostages being retained for their obedience. In the spring other parties came in, rspresenting that the main body were willing to do the same, upon which report Spotted Tail was induced to visit the hostile camps with a deputation of head men, and persuade the Indians to return to their allegiance. He returned in May with 1,100. In June, Crazy Horse formally surrendered with his Cheyenne allies at Red Cloud agency.

But his submissson was rather to gain time than to be at peace, and being found inviting the Indians to renewed hostilities, he was arrested, and his followers disarmed. He soon escaped, and being re-arrested Sept. 4th, at the agency, to which he had returned, was taken to Camp Robinson on the 5th, and while being disarmed, resisted, and was wounded by the guard, from which wound he died the following day.

In this month Lame Deer voluntarily surrendered, making an end of the Sioux war. A commission visited the agencies in October, to negotiate with the Sioux for a surrender of the Black hills, and the privilege of hunting outside the reservation, which had been guaranteed to them by the treaty of 1868. They were asked to relinquish all claim to any country west of the 103d meridian; to grant a right of way for three roads across their reserve; to consent to the removal of the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail agencies to the Missouri river; to receive their supplies at such points as the president might designate, and to enter into arrangements looking to their becoming self-supporting at an early day.

These concessions were made, though partly under protest, as to removal. On the side of the United States it was agreed that their subsistence should be provided for until they should become self-supporting, and they be furnished with schools, and instruction in agriculture and the mechanical arts. This treaty congress ratified February 28, 1879. Their removal to the Missouri river took place late in 1877, when 14,000 of these people were taken in winter to new and unprepared situations, where the usual unhappiness and rebelliousness prevailed. In the following spring an effort was made to find land suitable for farming on the western side of their reserve, where at Pine ridge and Rosebud agencies the two principal chiefs of the Ogalallas and Brulés were finally settled with their people. They roamed, by permission, in small bands through the Black hills in search of game.

The northern Cheyennes to the number of 300 were removed to the Indian territory, to which they went willingly in May 1877, but where they, with characteristic restlessness, soon became troublesome, and in September 1878 left the territory to return north. Troops from Camp Robinson pursued to bring them back. Fighting occurred, in which both sides sustained losses, and the Cheyennes subsequently committed atrocities in Nebraska, as of old. They finally surrendered, were taken back south, and again in January Dull Knife's band attempted to escape, when forty of them were killed by guards, and the troops being called out, the fugitives were pursued for two weeks and nearly all cut off.

The remainder of the band in 1881 was permitted to be incorporated with the Sioux at Pine ridge agency, where a vigilant police system, in which service the most trusty natives were employed, preserved order, and prevented thieving and mischievous roving. In 1881 the Indians at Pine ridge agency earned $41,382 freight money, using their ponies and wagons to transport the agency goods from the nearest point on the Missouri river. This would seem an improvement on the chase, whether the game were buffaloes or white men.

The northern Arapahoes, who surrendered themselves with the Cheyennes in 1876, asked to be allowed to go upon the Shoshone reservation, and the consent of that tribe being gained, were placed there, where they have remained at peace. The Shoshone chief, Washatin, was a rare Indian, for he would work, and also weep over the idleness and drunkenness of his young men. According to some authorities, the good behavior of the Shoshones and Bannacks was due to the severe treatment of them by General Conner at Bear river in 1867, when they lost nearly 500 warriors. But previous to that engagement, Washakie withdrew his band; therefore he has the benefit of the doubt, and has certainly been a consistent friend of the white people ever since the treaty. In compliment to his fidelity, his musical name has been bestowed upon a military post on Wind river, and upon a group of mountain peaks, the Washakie Needles, in the Shoshone mountains.

When Ute Jack was planning the outbreak of 1879 in Colorado he visited the Shoshones to incite them to insurrection, which caused an order to be issued for his arrest. He seized a gun, and going into a lodge where was the sergeant of the guard, shot him dead, and wounded another man, when he was killed. This incident checked any tendency to insubordination which the Utes may have created.

CHAPTER VII.

RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT.

1868-1888.

DIVISION OF TERRITORY INTO COUNTIES—BIRTH OF TOWNS, AND GROWTH OF POPULATION—PIONEERS AND PROMINENT MEN—COMMERCE AND INDUSTRIES—GRASSES AND GRAZING—RANCHOS AND RANGES—STOCK-RAISING—SOME OF THE GREAT CATTLE MEN—LAND SURVEYS AND SALES—IMPROVEMENT OF BREEDS—CATTLE DRIVING FROM TEXAS AND OREGON—GENERAL CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY—AGRICULTURE AND MINES—BIOGRAPHICAL.

THE growth in population of Wyoming was slow during the Indian wars, first, from the natural evidence of danger, and second, from the exclusion of white people from the best lands in the territory. The government surveys were also impeded except along the line of the railroad, where the population was gathered into towns. The legislature of 1875 established two counties in the northern portion of the territory, which had not enough white inhabitants for the four years following to organize.[1] The amount of land which had been entered for settlement in 1876, before the northern portion of the territory was thrown open, amounted altogether to 38,734 acres. It increased steadily thereafter, and in 1883, over 79,000 acres were entered at the land office. The whole amount filed upon from 1873 to 1883 was 201,264 acres.[2] The population at this time did not exceed 30,000. In 1886, with a population of 65,000, the

[1] *Mess. Gov. Hoyt*, 1879, p. 33; *Compiled Laws Wyom.*, 1876, 198-201; *Wyom. Sess. Laws*, 1877, 34.

[2] *Rept of Gov. Hale*, 1883, p. 51; *U. S. H. Ex. Doc.*, 72, p. 156, vol. 19; 47 cong., 2 sess.

amount of land entered under the homestead and other acts of congress was 20,991,967 acres. The first division into counties, of the territory, was by running imaginary lines from the northern to the southern boundary. Carter county, first organized by miners and established by the Dakota legislature December 27, 1867, was bounded by the 33d meridian on the west, and extended east two and one-half degrees.[3]

The counties above referred to as having been erected in 1875, were named Crooks and Pease; the former being taken from that portion of the counties of Laramie and Albany lying north of 43° 30′, and including as much of the Black hills country as lies in Wyoming; and the latter from Carbon county, north of the same line.[4]

Uinta county, containing 15,000 square miles, was the most western division. Historically, it is the most interesting portion of the territory, having been occupied by adventurers ever since 1823.[5]

[3] The first legislature of Wyoming changed its name to Sweetwater, as has before been mentioned. On the 5th of March, 1884, the legislature created the county of Frémont out of that portion of Sweetwater lying between an east and west line as drawn by the survey between townships twenty-six and twenty-seven north, and the line of 43° 30′ north latitude, including the Sweetwater and the Little Wind river valleys, leaving to Sweetwater county the Red desert and the broken country south of the Union Pacific railroad.

[4] This rectangular mode of division is extremely simple, and in this mountainous region as convenient as any. The county of Pease had its name changed in 1879 to Johnson, in honor of Edward P. Johnson, territorial auditor, and beloved pioneer of Wyoming. These three additions to the original five counties constituted in 1884 the whole of Wyoming not reserved to the use of the Indians.

[5] It was taken off from Utah and Idaho on the organization of the territory of Wyoming, to straighten the west boundary, and was by the first legislature attached to Carter county for judicial purposes. Evanston, a town which the Union Pacific railroad company founded and nourished, was then in its infancy, having been located in June, 1869; but in August it was declared a voting precinct for the purpose of electing a member of the legislature. On the 1st of December the county was organized, and Merrill, a place which no longer exists as a town, named as the temporary county seat. The officers appointed by the governor were J. Van A. Carter county clerk, R. H. Hamilton sheriff, W. A. Carter treasurer and probate judge, and E. S. Jacobs superintendent of public schools. The first election to permanently locate the county seat was held September 6, 1870, Evanston having a small majority over Merrill. The commissioners elected were J. Van A. Carter, Russell Thorp, and J. L. Atkinson. Jesse L. Atkinson was born in Nova Scotia in 1830, and settled in Uinta co. in 1870, engaging in lumbering, get-

Uinta was the fourth county in population, having about 4,000 inhabitants. Its resources are timber, coal, iron, sulphur, of which there is a mountain on the west fork of Bear river, agriculture, and grazing. Coal oil is also believed to exist in the county.[6]

ting timber from the Uinta mountains. Then he went to cattle-raising with Benj. Majors of Colo, and accumulated a fortune. Sheriff of Carter county was Harvey Booth, county clerk Lewis P. Scott, probate judge and treasurer W. A. Carter. Evanston, the county seat, is the chief office of the western division of the Union Pacific railroad, altitude 7,000 feet. It was incorporated in December 1873, disincorporated in 1875, and incorporated again in 1882. Its population in 1886 about 2,000. Frank M. Foote procured its disincorporation. He was born in South Bend, Ind., in 1846, came to Bryan, Wyoming, in 1871, where he was employed by the U. P. R. R, as clerk, and subsequently as agent. In 1872 he removed to Evanston, where he subsequently resided. He was elected to the legislature in 1875. was elected probate judge and treasurer the following year, and reëlected in 1878. In 1879–80 he served also as deputy sheriff, and in 1881-2 as under sheriff of the county. He engaged in cattle-raising in 1883, his range being near Medicine Butte, 15 miles from Evanston. Evanston was surveyed and lots offered for sale June 25, 1870, E. S. Whittier being the first purchaser. A post-office was established in April, with Charles T. Devel postmaster. In July Whittier took the office, which he held 8 years. A public school was opened July 8, with 8 pupils. There were, in 1883, 12 school districts in the county, with 622 children in attendance. The first marriage celebrated in the county was on June 1, 1871, between George East and Annie Porter. The first church, presbyterian, was incorporated July 17th, the baptist church Sept. 7th, and soon after the methodist church. The railroad machine shops were located here in Nov. 1871. On the 10th of Oct. 1872, the first newspaper, the *Evanston Age*, was started. *The Times*, *The Chieftain*, and the *Uinta Co. Argus* were all published at Evanston. On the 6th of June, 1873, the Evanston library and literary association was incorporated, which received much assistance from W. W. Peek. The Evanston Water Ditch co. was incorporated to bring water to the town from Bear river, 8 miles distant. F. L. Arnold, in *Trans. Wyom. Acad. Sciences*, 1882, 96–7. A court-house and jail were authorized at Evanston in 1874. *Wyom. Sess. Laws*, 1874, 226. A land district was created, with an office at Evanston, in 1876. *U. S. Statutes*, 126–7, 44th cong., 1st sess. Almy, near Evanston, is a coal-mining town. There are a number of small towns in the county, namely, Aspen, Hilliard, Old Bear City, Piedmont, Leroy, Bridger, Carter, Hampton, Millersville, Cokeville, Beckwith, Nugget, Fossil, Twin Creek, Ham's Fork, Waterfall, Wright, Opal, Nutria Moxa, and Granger, the latter being on the boundary line between Uinta and Sweetwater counties, and the initial point of the Oregon short line railroad.

[6] In the summer of 1868 coal was found three miles from Evanston. In 1869 the first mine was opened. In 1870 the Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron company was organized.

Newell Beeman, born in Ontario co., N. Y., in 1844, came to Almy in 1871, engaging as book-keeper of the R. M. C. & I. company, and in 1873 became supt and business manager. He was elected county commissioner in 1874, and twice reëlected; was also school trustee, and several times on the republican central committee for the territory. The coal, according to Beeman, is semi-bituminous brown coal, of good quality, which is used by the company and the towns along the railroad. Its quantity is practically unlimited.

Justin Pomeroy was the first agricultural settler and cattle-raiser north of the railroad in Uinta co., where a large number of farms were later

Since the completion of the Oregon Short Line railroad, this county has progressed rapidly in improvements, and is destined to be one of the most important in the future state. Its assessed valuation in 1883, was $2,096,377.

Sweetwater county by the erection of a new county, Frémont, out of the Sweetwater region, has lost the significance of its name, as well as the most valuable portion of the territory. The county seat, which in early times was at South Pass City, was removed in 1874 to Green river.[7]

Frémont county established in 1884, contained an

opened, chiefly, however, for raising hay, oats, potatoes, and vegetables. In 1868 Moses Byrn and C. Guild located themselves on Muddy creek, 12 miles east of Fort Bridger.

John W. Myers took a land claim at the crossing of Bear river on the old stage road. In 1877 a Mormon colony located in Salt river valley, 140 miles north of Evanston. The valley is 20 miles long, and 7 to 9 miles wide, with beautiful scenery. In 1868 Beckwith, Quinn, and company took up a tract about 50 miles north of Evanston, containing 15,000 acres, 4,000 of which is under cultivation, 400 acres being in lucern, which yielded from 2 to 3 tons to the acre, and cut twice a year. From 3,000 acres of irrigated meadow land they cut in 1881, 3,500 tons of hay, and thrashed 1,800 bushels of barley. They wintered 2,500 head of cattle, of which 97 were thoroughbred Durham bulls and 40 thoroughbred cows. They owned a large number of thoroughbred horses, and fattened a herd of Berkshire hogs on lucern, turnips, and barley raised on the rancho. Blythe, Pixley, Christie, Lanktree, and many others had extensive ranchos on Bear river previous to 1880, since which time there has been a marked increase in settlement. *Trans. Wyom. Acad. Sciences, etc.*, 1882, 98–9.

Robert L. Hereford was born in Va, in 1827, and crossing the plains in 1851, wandered about the Rocky mountain region and west coast, always occupying high and responsible positions, when he went to Big Thompson river, Colo., in 1860.

Jesse Knight, born in 1850, and educated at an academy, went to Omaha in 1869, to Wyoming in 1871, remaining at South Pass city until 1873, being one year in merchandising business, and two, clerk of the court for the 3d judicial district. Uinta county being added to the district in 1873, and he has been in the same office ever since.

[7] Green river was an interesting point to travellers on account of the fossils found in the Green river sholes. These are arranged in thin layers of different colors, some of which contain thousands of impressions of fish, insects, and water plants. At Burning Rock cut, between layers of a light colored, chalky limestone, were strata of a dark color, saturated with petroleum, which, being ignited, burned for several days hence the name. The *Sweetwater Gazette* is published at Green river. Green river, named after a member of Ashley's expedition of 1823, and not on account of its color as is commonly asserted, furnishes some of the finest views of the passage of the continent. All the other towns in the county with the exception of Downieville, on Green river, are simply railroad stations. They are Marston, Bryan, Wilkins, Salt Wells, Point of Rocks, Hallville, Black Butte, Bitter Creek, Table Rock, Tipton, Red Desert, Washakie, Latham, Creston, and Fillmore. *Wolfe, Mercantile Guide*, 178–84.

area of about 20,000 square miles, inclusive of the whole Sweetwater mining country, the Shoshone reservation, and the elevated valley of the Bighorn on the west side of that river, with the Shoshone mountains on the western border.[8]

[8] The Wind river valley is a fertile and beautiful region, popularly known as the garden of Wyoming. The first commissioners appointed to organize, were, H. G. Nickerson, B. F. Low, and Horace E. Blinn. The first commissioners elected were, R. H. Hall dem., A. J. McDonald, and H. E. Blinn rep., J. J. Atkins was elected sheriff on the republican ticket. Ervin F. Cheney appointed deputy district clerk. South Pass city is the oldest town in the county. A newspaper was started there in 1868 by N. A. Baker called *The News*. It was sold to E. A. Slack, who moved it to Laramie. This paper was succeeded by the *Sweetwater Miner*, which was removed to Bryan.

Horace E. Blinn was born in Snelburn, Vt, in 1847, and educated there. In 1870 he migrated to Wyoming, locating himself at Camp Brown, now Fort Washakie, as post trader with J. K. Moore, and remaining there three years. He then went to Boulder co., Colo, where he erected a saw mill. In 1881 he returned to North Fork city, Popo Agie valley, settling three years later in Lander.

Louis P. Vidal, born in France, came to Wyoming, located himself finally in Atlantic City, and took up the extension of the Buckeye mine. He erected several houses there, and took contracts for supplying Camp Brown with certain necessary articles. In 1871 he went to this post, which had been removed to the Shoshone reservation, and named Fort Washakie, but in 1872 engaged in stock raising with his residence at Lander, the most important town in Frémont county.

Among the early settlers of what is now Frémont county, was John D. Woodruff, born in Broome co., N. Y., in 1847, and in 1866 came to Wyoming. Being well acquainted with the country, he acted as guide to generals Sheridan and Crook when selecting the site Fort Custer.

The pioneer cattle raiser of Frémont county was John Luman, born in 1838, in Jackson co., Va. In 1854 he settled in Kansas, migrating to Colo in 1859, and soon going to Fort Bridger, where he was employed by the post sutter two years. He then returned to Colo, remaining there seven years, mining and prospecting. He later became a successful stock raiser.

Another pioneer was James A. McAvoy, born in Ohio in 1842, and in 1868 came to Cheyenne. Thence he went to South Pass city in 1869, remaining there, engaged in mining. In 1873 he located himself on Willow creek in the Wind river valley, within the lines of the Indian reservation. He next engaged with Samuel Fairfield in constructing a road from the timbered lands at the head of Big Popo Agie to Lander. When Frémont co. was organized he was elected county clerk.

Still another sort of frontiersman was Major Noyes Baldwin, born in Woodbridge, Conn., in 1826, served in the civil war and afterward came to Wind river valley and established a trading post, dealing with the Indians for three years. He was one of the first discoverers of gold at South pass, with him being Henry Ridell, Frank Marshall, Harry Habbel, Richard Grace, and others. He is now a resident of Lander.

Robert H. Hall, born at Sacketts Harbor, N. Y., in 1852, came to Camp Stambough in 1873, remaining there for over four years, when he removed to Lander, having become interested in cattle.

James J. Atkins, born in Wis. in 1853, came to Dakota in 1872, and afterward to Lander, where he secured a farm and raised stock. He was elected sheriff on the organization of Frémont co.

Carbon county contains 13,500 square miles. As its name indicates, it overlies extensive coal deposits, particularly in the southern portion. It has several mineral districts, in which are found the precious metals, besides copper, iron, iron-paint, fire-clay, gypsum, salt, and coal oil. The latter promises to be one of the foremost resources of the territory, and particularly of Frémont and Carbon counties. The petroleum of Wyoming lies near the surface, and resembles the best Russian and Rangoon oils. For lubricating purposes it is not excelled by any known.[9]

[9]This county embraces a large extent of the Laramie plains, devoted to grazing. Good agricultural lands are found chiefly along the north Platte. Rawlins, founded in 1870, and named in honor of John A. Rawlins, is the county seat, and has about 1,800 inhabitants, railroad machine shops, banks, an assay office, established by the legislature in 1877, good public buildings erected in 1882, two newspapers, the *Tribune* and *Journal*, and a general condition of prosperity. It is situated in the midst of a mineral district, centrally in relation to other districts, and the east and west portions of the territory, and is the natural outlet of northern Colorado. The mineral paint mine at Rawlins was discovered by John C. Dyer and others. It was worked, but not profitably, owing to railroad rates. The Rawlins district contains copper mines which assay 40 per cent of copper to the ton, with an ounce of silver and traces of gold. The Ferris mineral district near Rawlins was discovered by George Ferris, John C. Dyer, and others. The Medium Bow Range contains several mining districts. Dexter district, 40 miles south of Rawlins, Summit, Douglas, Centennial, and Bramel districts, are in this range, and contain both quartz and placer mines. Hanspeck gold placer mines, 80 miles south of Rawlins, yield well to the hydraulic process. The Seminole district, 35 miles north of Rawlins, contains quartz, free milling, yielding from $12 to $30 per ton.

Carbon is a coal mining town, where about 500 miners are employed. Warm Springs is a settlement of 250 people in the Platte valley, and the only agricultural town in the county. Large herds of cattle have been kept on the ranges for stock-raising purposes, but there is a tendency to dairying and farming, which will ultimately drive out the stock cattle, and result in more compact settlement. The population of Carbon co. in 1883 was about 5,000, distributed upon farms, in railroad towns, and in the mines; and the assessed valuation $3,662,368. The railway stations are Separation, Greenville, Fort Steele, Edson, Station House, Percy, Medicine Bow, and Aurora. Taking into consideration the age of the territory, the wealth of this, the third county in value, is worthy of remark. Its property had increased in 1886 to between $4,000,000 and $5,000,000. The history of the men who founded the prosperity of the county is proper in this place.

James France, born in Pa in 1838, came to Wyoming in 1868, and opened store under the firm name of H. C. Hall & Co. A branch store was established at Rawlins in 1869, of which France took charge. He continued in merchandising until 1884, when he engaged in banking, erecting a building for that purpose. He was elected to the legislative council in 1874, and was appointed territorial auditor by Gov. Hoyt, vice Downey, elected to congress. He was appointed postmaster in 1871, retaining the office until 1885; and was several times county commissioner, being chairman of the board for three terms.

Dewitt C. Kelley, born in Pa in 1850, came to Rawlins in the spring of

Johnson county was organized out of the northern

1870, engaging as book-keeper for France, which situation he retained until 1882, when he was transferred to the James France bank, of which he was made cashier. In Dec. 1882 he went into merchandising for himself. The same year he was elected probate judge and county treasurer, and reëlected in 1884.

John C. Davis, born in Ireland and educated in England, came to Wyoming in 1869, and was engaged in different situations for 7 years, when he went into mercantile business, managing the establishment of J. W. Hughes for four years, and being made partner in 1880.

Barton T. Ryan, born in Ind. in 1838, and accompanied Gen. Sully on his march across Dakota to the Yellowstone, to intimidate the Sioux, and being in the battle of Deerstand, where 15,000 Indians were opposed to 3,000 troops. In the fight 585 Indians were killed against a loss of a few men killed and wounded on the side of the army. In 1870 he purchased an interest in a lot of cattle shipped from Iowa to Carbon co., and engaged in the business.

Isaac C. Miller, born in Denmark in 1844, came to Omaha in 1866, and the following year to North Platte, merchandising at Bitter creek until 1870, when he located himself at Rawlins. In 1871 he went to mining at Hahn's peak, and in 1873 returned to Rawlins and engaged in cattle raising. He was elected sheriff in 1880, holding the office two terms.

Perry L. Smith, born in Ill. in 1856, came to Rawlins in 1868, dealing in icattle and keeping a meat market. He was appointed county commissioner in 1869, and subsequently elected two terms, being chairman of the board each term. In 1874 he was elected county clerk for two years, and in 1879 was elected to the council of the legislature, being reëlected in 1881. He was appointed territorial auditor in 1884.

Samuel Fairfield, born in New Hampshire in 1836, came to Lander in 1873, and erected three saw-mills, one of which he sold to the government, remaining in that region until 1880. He then moved to Rawlins, where he remained three years, when he went to Garfield co., Colo, and with others located the town of Meeker on land purchased of the government, and partly improved for a military post.

John C. Dyer, born in Washington, D. C., in 1845, came to Fort Bridger, Sweetwater mines, and Cheyenne in 1867, where he engaged in merchandising, following the railroad west to Rawlins. He became interested in mining, and was one of the discoverers of the Ferris district, George Ferris, another of the company, discovering the first mine, which entitled him to have the district named for him.

Robert M. Galbraith was born in England in 1844. He had charge of the shops at Omaha, Laramie, or Benton, beginning when he was but 22 years of age, and having then 700 men under him. In 1870 he became interested in mines in the Seminole district. In 1882 he engaged in merchandising at Rawlins, selling out in 1884, and going into the stock business with Blake, his cattle range being 30 miles south of Rawlins. He was elected to the territorial council in 1882.

James V. Cantlin, born in Ill. in 1848, went to western Neb. in 1868, and thence to Rawlins in 1871. He was appointed postmaster at Ferris in 1877, and deputy sheriff of Carbon co. in 1878, holding until 1884, under James Rankin.

Homer Merrill, born in Rochester, N. Y., in 1846, came to Wyoming in 1872, and was admitted to the practice of the law at Laramie City, removing to Rawlins in 1874. He was elected prosecuting attorney for Carbon co. soon after, which office he held almost continuously for 10 years, and was supervisor of census in 1880.

A. L. Mauk, born in Pa in 1846, of German and French parentage, came to Rock Spring, Wyoming, in 1878.

William McCarty was born in Ireland in 1837, and after some mining

portion of Carbon county in March 1881.[10] It possessed at this period assessable property valued at $1,259,981, which had increased in 1883 to $2,481,404. It contains a large amount of good land which is being brought into a condition for farming by irrigating canals cut on the bench lands lying back of the meadows along the numerous streams in the county. Coal is abundant and of good quality. The county seat is Buffalo, founded in 1879-80 by W. L. Andrews, A. J. McCray,[11] William H, Phillips, and Charles Williams, on the south side of Clear creek. It is now chiefly on the north side of the stream, and within a short distance of Fort McKinney.[12]

The town was incorporated in 1884, having at the age of three years 500 inhabitants and a municipal

experiences in Colorado, he came to Eureka, Nev., Cal., and Mont., returning to Utah and Colo, and finally settling in Rawlins in 1875. He accompanied Gen. Crook in his expedition to the Powder river in 1876.

Frank A. Hinman, born in Iowa in 1857, and educated in Colo common schools, engaged in placer mining in 1877 at Hahn peak.

Benjamin F. Northington, born in Ky in 1833, of English parentage, was educated in Cal. His father erected the first grist-mill in Ky. In 1849 he went to Texas in the cattle business, and to Cal. through Mex. and Ariz. in 1849, in a company commanded by David S. Terry, the first to take that route and cross the Colorado near Yuma. In 1873 he settled in Rawlins, giving up mining, though he went to the Black hills in 1876. He was elected sergt-at-arms of the house of representatives in 1875.

Charles E. Blydenburgh, A. B., A. M., and Em. was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., in 1854, and came to Wyoming in 1878, locating himself at Rawlins, with J. G. Murphy, in the business of mining engineering. When the territorial assay office was completed, according to an act of the legislature of 1877, the firm took charge of it.

[10] *Mess. Gov. Hoyt*, 1882, p. 19. This county was first established under the name of Pease in Dec. 1875, but was not to be organized until it should have 500 electors residing within it. *Comp. Laws Wyom.*, 1876, 198–201. Owing to the obstinacy with which the Sioux resisted white occupation, it was not settled until after the Indians were placed on reservations under renewed treaties. Its advance since 1877 has been rapid. It was finally named Johnson, in honor of E. P. Johnson of Cheyenne. *Johnson Memorial*, 24.

[11] Alvin J. McCray, of Buffalo, Wyoming, was one of the first settlers. He was born in Buffalo, N. Y., in 1852. In the spring of 1876 he joined the migration to the Black hills, locating himself at Deadwood, where he established the first hotel.

[12] The first actual permanent settler in the county was Elias N. Snider, post-trader at Fort McKinney. Snider was born in Mansfield, Ohio, in 1842, and in 1877 was made post-trader of Fort McKinney, which appointment he resigned in 1879 to engage in stock raising and farming. Major B. J. Hart was the first to locate land west of Snyder, and Hart's claim became a part of Buffalo. When the county was organized he was elected probate judge, and served one term. In 1882 he was elected to the lower house of the legislature and reëlected in 1884.

PLAN OF BUFFALO IN 1884.

government.[13] The citizens are intelligent and liberal, supporting law, order, and education generously. It has one newspaper, the *Echo*, founded by a company, and first edited by T. V. McCandlish.[14] In the meantime, stock-raising is the principal source of wealth, there being a number of stock companies in the country, as well as individual owners.[15] The military post

[13] The first mayor of Buffalo was H. A. Bennett, born in Tenn. in 1854, and removed in 1877 to Cheyenne, and thence to Rock creek, where he engaged as clerk with G. D. Thayer, and remained until 1881, when he removed to Powder river and went into business with Conrad, to whom he sold out in 1882.

Another early settler was Richard Kennedy, who was born in N. Y., and brought up in Iowa. In 1872 he drifted to Montana, mining near Helena, prospecting on Clark fork in 1873, trapping in the Bighorn mountains, trading with the Crows, organizing a town site co. in 1877 and calling it after Gen. Miles. Before it had obtained a good start a rival Miles city was started two miles nearer the fort, which overshadowed his town.

Stephen T. Farwell assisted in forming the county organization, and was a justice of the peace previously. He was elected probate judge and county treasurer in 1884. Farwell was born in Cambridge, Mass., in 1836.

Noel T. Webber, another early settler, was born in N. Y. in 1822. In 1864 he joined the 3d Colo regt., Capt. Talbot's co., and served four months, being at the battle of Sand creek. He has had a varied experience.

James M. Lobban, who was born in Miss., came to Fort McKinney in 1879, engaging as clerk to the post trader, J. H. Conrad, and remaining until 1882. Lobban was elected probate judge and county treasurer in 1882, and member of the lower house of the legislature in 1884.

Frank M. Canton, a native of Va, born in 1854, removed to Colo in 1868, with his father, who settled himself southwest of Denver. He soon went to Montana, and engaged with William Jamison, who was in the stock business, remaining until 1877, when he came to Cheyenne and went into the service of the Wyoming Stock growers association, as a detective. He made many arrests of horse and cattle thieves, and some worse criminals, establishing his reputation for nerve and ability. In 1882 he was elected sheriff of Johnson co., to which he had removed with his family in 1881.

[14] Cullen Watt was born in Scotland in 1864, and educated in Canada. In 1867 he came to Laramie river in Wyoming. When Fort McKinney was building in 1878, he located a large tract of land 2½ miles east for a farm and stock range.

Eugene B. Mather and George W. Munkers brought in the first consignment of goods for Robert Foote of Buffalo in 1882, consisting of 80,000 pounds. I have already mentioned Munkers. Mather was born in Pa in 1849, and in 1868 went to Butler co., Kan., and established the first sawmill in that region, 20 miles e. of Wichita, remaining there until 1873. In 1876 he went to Colo with his brother-in-law, Munkers, and thence to Buffalo, where both took up their residence. Mrs Mather is a daughter of Justice Pomeroy of Uinta co., the first white settler of Fouteville.

[15] William J. Clarke, a native of Yorkshire, England, born in 1859, and educated at York, came to Wyoming in 1878. He remained there until 1881. Clarke made his residence at Buffalo.

Fred. G. S. Hesse, born in England in 1852, came to Wyoming in 1876 from Tex., where he had arrived 3 years previous.

Delos Babcock, born in Iowa in 1857, went to Colo in 1873. In 1878 he came to Wyoming.

Charles H. Burritt, born in Vt in 1854, and educated in Middlebury col-

has assisted materially in opening up the frontier. The legislature of 1879 passed an act to locate and establish a territorial wagon road from Rawlins to Fort McKinney, which being used by the military is improved by the soldiers. The presence of a garrison gives a feeling of security which settlers would lack, surrounded as the territory is on the west, north, and east by Indian reservations.

The second town in the county was Sheridan, situated where the Bozeman road crosses the middle fork of Tongue river.[16] Bighorn city, a few miles south of Sheridan, on the same stream, is the third. There are post-offices at Depot McKinney, Trabing, and at Colo, all on the road to Montana

Albany county, with less area, has more population than any county except Laramie. It comprises the eastern portion of the Laramie river, the remainder of its surface being broken and mountainous.[17]

lege and at Brown university, R. I., studied law in Detroit with Wm A. Moore. He came to Cheyenne in 1879. In 1883, he settled at Buffalo in the practice of the law.

Chauncy Stoddard, born in Peru, N. Y., in 1829, came to Wyoming, Johnson co., in 1879, an important cattle man.

John R. Smith was born in Ohio in 1844. In 1879 settled near Trading P. O. He was one of the commissioners appointed to organize the county, and was treasurer of his school district.

[16] Sheridan was incorporated in 1884. *Wyom. Sess. Laws*, 1884, 129. Its first mayor was John D. Loucks, who was born in N. Y. in 1845. With J. M. Works, he settled in 1880 on Big Goose creek. He was appointed postmaster in 1882, was elected justice of the peace, and chosen on the school board, which he was active in establishing. The first 40 acres of the town were laid off in lots, and about four buildings erected; the 2d year there were 50 buildings, and every lot sold.

Henry Held, born in Bavaria in 1849, came to Cheyenne in 1868 and to Sheridan in 1882.

Marion C. Harris, born in Ind. in 1856, came to Wyoming in 1883.

James B. Culver; born in N. Y. in 1857. In 1884 he came to Sheridan, and engaged with J. W. Conrad & Co.

[17] Its resources are principally grazing and mining. It is especially rich in iron, its Iron mountain yielding 85 per cent pure metal. Laramie City, the county seat, has 4,000 inhabitants. The military post and reservation of Fort Sanders adjoins it on the south. The Union Pacific railroad operates large rolling mills at this place, and in 1883 erected soda manufacturing works. There are 2,000 inhabitants divided among a dozen railroad stations, and a number of ranchos devoted chiefly to cattle-raising. The assessed valuation of the county in 1883 was $2,833,515. Nathaniel K. Boswell discovered the soda lakes in 1869, and subsequently sold them to the railway. He was then shipping 20 tons per week, at a profit of $7.50 per ton. The railway men would only pay what the mine had cost; and when

Laramie county was divided in 1877, and the northern portion given the name of Crook. It remained for some time unorganized, being very sparsely populated. On the western flanks of the Black hills, in

Boswell refused to sell, made the shipping rates so high as to take away his profit, and compell him to sell at their price, $12,000, the property being worth $2,000,000. The soda is from 2 to 21 feet thick, over about 200 acres, and forms as fast as it is removed. Boswell was born in N. H. in 1840, and in 1867 removed, to Cheyenne and went into the drug business, having a branch at Laramie, where he settled himself in 1868. He was sheriff 9 years, during which time he made several arrests of noted desperadoes. See *Cook's Hands Up*, 143. He has been also U. S. dept. marshal ever since 1869. Fort Sanders took charge of the prisoners before a jail was erected, and had at one period 37 convicts, 14 of whom were in for murder, and all arrested by Boswell. He was appointed chief of the Wyom. stock-growers' asso. in 1883, and had from 30 to 50 subordinates, recovering stolen stock, and seeing that branding was properly done. He stopped that kind of stealing when the thieves turned their attention to horses, 300 of which were stolen in 1884. The thieves were well organized, and had their stations extending from Oregon to North park, where were their headquarters. In 1881 he engaged in cattle-raising on the Laramie river, 30 miles s. w. of the town of Wyoming, where he had 8 miles of river front.

The station of Sherman is the highest point on the U. P. R. R., and has 200 population. Tie Siding, Red Butte, Wyoming, Cooper Lake, Lookout, Miser, Rock Creek, and Wilcox are on the road. Cummins City is on the Laramie, North Park, and Pacific R. R., and has about 300 voters. It is a mining town in the Bramel district, which is partly in this and partly in Carbon co. Laramie City was incorporated in 1873, and reincorporated in 1884. *Wyom. Sess. Laws*, 1873, 201. *Id.*, 1884, 84.

Among the foremost of the Albany co. men are the following: James H. Hayford, born in Pottsdam, N. Y., in 1826, removed to Cheyenne in 1867, and edited the *Rocky Mountain Star* for two years, when he came to Laramie and purchased the *Laramie Sentinel*. He was appointed terr. auditor in 1870. Mr Hayford has been active in forwarding every good undertaking in his city and territory since their foundations were laid.

In regard to newspapers, Laramie has had several which did not long survive. That peripatetic journal, the *Frontier Index*, belonging to the erratic Freeman, was the first newspaper published in Laramie, the next being the *Daily Sentinel*, which, after running 2 years, was changed to a weekly. In 1879 the *Times* newspaper was first issued here. It came from Salt lake originally, where it had been a Danish journal. It was moved to Evanston, and thence to Laramie by C. W. Bramel and L. D. Pease. Pease ran it about 2 years. In March 1880 was organized the *Boomerang Publishing Co.*, which issued the d. and w. *Boomerang*, E. W. Nye editor and manager. The stock was held by H. Wagner, J. J. Strode, Jacob Blair, A. S. Peabody, and others. The *Times* was revived for a short time as the *Missing Link*, and again as the *Tribune*. The *Boomerang* and the *Sentinel* also survived.

Robert Marsh, an Englishman, came to Wyoming in 1868. He was with the railway co. for 11 years, in various capacities. He was elected mayor of Laramie in 1880, through the city council, of which he was a member. He was on the school board 7 years; vice-president of the board of trade several years; and appointed by the county commissioners com'r on live stock brands many years in succession, associated with S. F. Phillips. He thoroughly identified himself with the interests of Laramie and the county, and became one of the largest owners in the Wyoming Central Land and Improvement com-

the valleys of Sun Dance and Sand creeks there was an agricultural district and settlements. The small grains were found to do well, and experiment proved that it was not necessary to irrigate in this region, the

pany, from which he himself purchased 50,000 acres. He married a daughter of George Harper, one of the earliest settlers in the county, and has several children.

Mortimer N. Grant was born at Lexington, Mo., in 1851, and came to Wyoming in 1869 in the service of the gov't as surveyor, and surveyed in every part of the territory.

Thomas Alsop, from Staffordshire, England, discovered the coal banks at Carbon on the railroad, taking out in the winter of 1868, $128,000 worth of coal, locating himself 8 miles above Laramie City on Laramie river. He was elected county commissioner in 1875.

Robert E. Fitch, born in N. Y. in 1843, came to Laramie in 1872, and took charge of the public schools untll 1882.

Ora Haley, born in east Corinth, Me, in 1844, settled himself in Laramie City in 1868, engaging in butchering with Charles Hunton. Haley was elected to the lower house of the ter. legislature in 1871, and in 1881 to the upper house; and was chosen a member of the city council in 1878–9 and 1880. He was highly esteemed in the community, and felt a just pride in his success.

Charles E. Clay, born in Va in 1838, came to Fort Laramie in 1865. In 1875 he removed to Cheyenne; in 1882 to Rock Creek. His brother, William Clay, came to Wyoming in 1875, and established himself in cattle-raising on the Chugwater.

John H. Douglas–Willan was born in Dublin in 1852, of Scotch parentage, and went to Larimer co., Colo, in 1875 to engage in cattle-raising, but removed in 1877 to Wyoming, locating himself on La Bonté creek in Albany co. In 1883 he formed the Douglas–Willan Sartoris co., of which he was prest and manager.

J. E. Yates, born in Canada in 1834, came to Colo, and enlisted in the 3d Colorado regt in 1864, and was with Chivington at Sand creek. When Cheyenne was founded he removed to this place, and assisted in establishing *The Leader* newspaper. In 1870 he again removed to Laramie, taking a position on the *Sentinel*, managed by J. H. Hayford. In May 1871 he entered into partnership with Hayford, and purchased the *Sentinel*.

Michael H. Murphy, born in Pa in 1845, came to Laramie City in 1869, and in 1875 was elected on the democratic ticket to a seat in the legislature.

John W. Blake, born in Bridgeton, Me, came to Laramie in 1874, studied law, and was admitted to practice in 1877. In 1884 he was elected to the upper house of the legislature.

Charles W. Spalding, born in Marysville, Ky, in 1835, came to Laramie in 1876, as one of her best citizens.

William Lawrence, born in Scotland, came to Laramie in 1876, engaged in divers business ventures with success.

Otto Gramm, born in Ohio in 1845, came to Laramie City in 1870. The fire department of Laramie was organized by Gramm, aided by Wanless. He was on the school board which made the first purchase of lots for school purposes. In 1878 he was appointed dept. fish commissioner under H. B. Rumsey; was sec. of the board appointed by the legislature in 1882, and appointed ter. fish commissioner in 1884; one of the solid men of Laramie, and a man of culture; was elected probate judge and county treasurer in 1884 for two years. In 1885 he was elected city treasurer.

William Crout, born in N. Y. in 1826, served in both the Mexican and civil war, after which he was sent to the frontier, via Leavenworth and Fort Collins, escorting the mail from Denver to Salt Lake, where he was dis-

precipitation being sufficient for perfecting crops. The farming lands were surrounded by uplands suitable for grazing, and the mountains were covered with pine and oak timber. The assessed valuation of improved land, town lots, cattle, and horses, in 1877, was $1,607,882, and of personal property $81,987.

Laramie county proper[18] contained 6,800 square miles, and a population of 9,000. Its assessed valuation in 1883 was $7,345,055, more than two-thirds of which was in personal property. The amount of property represented by these figures, compared with the population, makes Laramie one of the wealthiest counties in this or any other territory.[19]

Cheyenne, the county seat and capital of the territory, had a population in 1886 of about 7,000. It was the centre of the stock interests of Wyoming, and portions of Nebraska, Dakota, and Montana, and had a large trade with miners, stockmen, freight contractors, and with the military establishments of Camp

charged in the spring of 1866, and in 1883 engaged in stock-raising in Carbon co., 60 miles due w. of Laramie.

Gustave Schnitger, born in Prussia in 1823, was in 1878 appointed U. S. marshal of Wyoming, with headquarters at Cheyenne. In 1883 he removed to Laramie. William R. Schnitger of Cheyenne, son of Gustave, was deputy marshal under his father, and also city marshal of Cheyenne, by appointment and election.

[18] By reference to *U. S. Sen. Doc.*, 62, p. 99, vol. ii; 41 cong., 2 sess., it will be seen that an attempt was made to have the name of Ogallala adopted in place of Laramie.

[19] The average wealth of Colorado, a notably rich state, is over $500 per capita, while the average wealth of Wyoming is nearly $800. The usual average in agricultural counties is $200 to $300 per capita. Carbon county averages over $700 per capita; Albany county $472; Sweetwater $984; and Laramie over $800. It is noteworthy that the only one of these districts which has no railroad property to assess sustains the highest rate of value to the individval. Copper mining districts have been formed in Laramie county at Platte Cañon, Rawhide Buttes, Black Buttes, Sand Creek, and Hurricane. At Silver Crown, an abandoned district, new and rich discoveries of copper were made in 1882. The first smelting-works erected were at Platte Cañon, twelve miles west of Fort Laramie, in Dec. 1882 by the Wyoming Copper company. There is a coal oil basin in Crook county, in the vicinity of Jenny's stockade. Coal and salt are found in close proximity to the oil. Mica exists in the Laramie range, and a deposit twenty miles north of Fort Laramie was sold to a New York company in 1882, which began shipping it east. This body of coal was discovered by Cyrus Iba in 1880. Associated with Iba in the ownership were Johnson and Edward J. Baker. Iba was born in Pa in 1830, and after busy and adventurous life, came to Cheyenne in 1875, and thence proceeded to the Black hills, where he made his coal discovery and his fortune.

Carlin and Fort Russell. It covered an area of 1,500 acres, was generally well built, and ornamented with shade trees. It had one street, Ferguson, with more handsome residences than any avenue in any town of equal population in the United States.[20]

[20] The first really fine structures were erected by stockmen. This gave confidence to the merchants. *Slaughter, Life in Colo and Wyom.*, MS., 6. The *Cheyenne Sun* published an especial edition in Sept. 1885, illustrated with views of the churches, school-houses, public amusement halls, and handsome residences, which goes far to substantiate Slaughter's statement. There were 32 private residences delineated, from cottages to mansions costing $40,000; all in excellent taste, and showing the presence of abundant means. The presence of shade trees is largely due to Dwight Fisk, who was mayor in 1877. He brought trees from Colorado, and was careful to attend to their growth. He was born in 1839 near Syracuse, N. Y.; settled himself at Cheyenne, carrying on a business as freight contractor for the gov't, and supplying ties to the railroad. In 1869 he erected a house on Lodge Pole creek, and engaged in cattle-raising. He was a member of the city council of Cheyenne in 1874–5–6.

The school-houses of Cheyenne, particularly the Central school, were of the best order, the latter seating 550 pupils. The library contains 800 volumes of well chosen reference books. The graded course requires 8 years for its completion, when the pupil is prepared to enter the high school for a 3 years' course. The catholic academy is a handsome and costly edifice. It is 4 stories high, in the French style of architecture. The whole number of pupils enrolled in 1883 was 604.

The court-house and jail completed in 1872 cost $47,000. It was used for a capitol building in 1873. The city hall, erected in 1874, cost $11,000. The Cheyenne club-house is a modern improvement, being erected in 1881 for the comfort of men of wealth, who objected to hotel living. It was built of brick, and cost $40,000. The club prohibits gambling, and requires a high standard of character in its members. The board of trade has its headquarters there, and there are received the prices current of the eastern markets. The opera-house was built of brick, with stone trimmings. The first of seven church organizations was of the methodists, by D. W. Scott, in Sept. 1867. The church edifice was built of wood, in 1871, and dedicated Sept. 23d. A brick parsonage was added; total cost, $6,000.

St Mark's episcopal church was organized Sept. 27, 1868. A wooden edifice was completed on the 23d of Aug., 1869, which was the first building consecrated to worship in the city. The convocation of Colorado and Wyoming was formed in 1879. St Mary's, catholic, was organized in the spring of 1868, and the same year a building costing $7,000 was completed, which was used for two years, when a new and handsome church, costing $9,000, was erected. The 1st congregational was organized June 13, 1869, by J. D. Davis. A church building was erected on Hill and 19th streets in 1879, and dedicated Dec. 19th; cost, $5,000. The 1st presbyterian was organized, with 9 members, Feb. 1, 1870. A church edifice, costing $6,500, was built, and dedicated July 17, 1870. In 1883 a new church was erected, costing $15,500. A church was erected in 1881 by the baptists, at a cost of $8,000. The colored methodists had their house of worship.

The county hospital, of brick and wood, cost $21,000. Its arrangement for the comfort of the inmates is very complete.

There were, in 1886, three odd fellow lodges, Cheyenne No. 1, instituted April 15, 1868, Hope No. 2, instituted Aug. 30, 1871, Allemania No. 5 (German), instituted Jan. 1, 1883. *Wyom. Gr. Lodge*, I. O. O. F., 1879. There were four masonic lodges, Cheyenne No. 1, organized Feb. 29, 1868, Wyoming No. 1, March 15, 1873, Western Star (col.), March 13, 1879, member-

The stations along the railroad have scanty resources and small populations, a condition which

ship 24, Aug. 18, 1880. *N. Mex. Proceedings Gr. Lodge*, 1879, p. 93. The Knights of Pythias, Cheyenne lodge No. 2, organized Jan. 9, 1875.

Cheyenne fire department organized as follows: Pioneer H. and L. co. in 1867. Its building and apparatus cost $4,500. The Alert Hose co., organized in Oct. 1877; building and apparatus, $3,000. The Durant steam fire-engine co. organized in 1868; apparatus cost $10,000. The J. T. Clark hose co. organized in 1879. Water came from Lake Mahpahlutah, 1½ miles north. The city is lighted by electricity, being the first town in the world to use electric lights before gas.

The Wyoming Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, founded in 1882, and located at Cheyenne, is an exponent of the progressive tendencies of the people. The territorial library, at Cheyenne, in 1886 contained over 11,000 vols.

The manufactures of Cheyenne are chiefly those connected with the railroad car and machine shops, the manufacture of wagons and harness, some small boot and shoe factories, 2 breweries, a planing mill, and foundry and machine works. The most interesting industry pursued here is that of making jewelry out of native metals and gems.

The first of four banks established was the First National, by A. R. Converse, in 1871, with a paid up capital of $75,000, which has been increased to $200,000, with a surplus of $50,000. Mr Converse died in the summer of 1883, when T. B. Hicks succeeded to the presidency. The bank of Morton E. Post & Co. was established in 1876 by Stebbins, Post & Co. Stebbins retired in 1883. The Stockgrowers' National bank began business in 1882, its organizers being J. M. Carey, Thomas Sturgis (president), H. G. Hay, and W. C. Lane. Its paid up capital in 1883 was $447,000. The banking house of A. T. Kent is also a savings deposit bank. In 1868 Mowry A. Arnold opened the first savings bank in Wyoming, which continued only until 1873.

Cheyenne had in 1886 three newspapers: *The Cheyenne Leader* was started in July 1867 by Nathan A. Baker and J. E. Gates. Baker sold in April 1872 to H. Glafeke, who owned it until Oct. 1881, when it was sold to the Leader Printing co., composed of Morton E. Post, A. H. Swan, G. L. Hall, J. W. Collins, J. C. Baird, E. A. Reed, Frank H. Clark, and H. B. Kelly. Before the year was out, the company sold to W. C. Irvine, and he again to Morrow & Sullivan. Soon after it was owned by Morrow alone, and in 1884 it passed into the hands of the Democratic Leader co., composed of W. C. Irvine, J. C. Baird, N. N. Craig, John F. Coad, Fred. Schwartze, Luke Murrin, David Miller, Thomas Mulqueen, Charles F. Miller, Luke Voorhies, C. P. Organ, and others. The democrats needed a newspaper for campaign purposes, and the republicans allowed them to get it.

The *Cheyenne Sun* was originally the *Daily News*, started by Benton and Fisher in 1875, and had run about half a year when it was purchased by A. E. Slack, and its name changed to *The Sun*. Slack started the *Independent* at Laramie, a daily, changing its name to *The Sun*, and conferring the name on the *News*, as above. Slack was born in N. Y. He served in the civil war, and came to Wyoming in 1868, mining for a time at South pass, and running a saw-mill, which furnished lumber to the military posts, until 1871, when he went to Laramie, and engaged in newspaper business. He became sole proprietor of the *Sun*.

The *Northwest Live-stock Journal*, devoted entirely to stock interests, was owned and controlled by A. S. Mercer, who, with S. A. Marney, started it in 1883. I have had occasion to mention Mercer in my *History of Washington*, 216, this series, in connection with the territorial university. He was born in Ill. in 1839, and went to Washington ter. as a surveyor for the govt in 1861. The following year he took charge of the infant university. In 1863 he was appointed com'r of immigration, and proceeded east on this business.

must exist so long as grazing without agriculture continues to be the bias of the people. A movement was

He brought back with him in 1864 a number of women who were competent teachers, but who soon married. In 1865 he returned to New England, and brought out a shipload of 300 women, who also soon settled in homes of their own. He erected the first grain wharf at Astoria in 1866, and originated the project of shipping direct to the east by sailing vessels. He sent the first cargo of wheat from Oregon to Liverpool, assisted by a pool of farmers. In 1874 he started the *Oregon Granger* at Albany, but soon went to Texas, and started the *Sherman Courier*, and no less than 5 other newspapers at different points in Tex. before coming to Cheyenne, in 1883.

The *Wyoming Tribune* was started Nov. 20, 1869, by Edward M. Lee, Samuel A. Bristol editor. It suspended in Sept. 1872. Bristol was born in Conn. in 1841, migrated to Colo in 1867, and to Cheyenne in 1869. The first exclusively job printing office and book bindery in Wyoming was started in May 1882 by Bristol and John J. Knopf, the latter soon selling out to William M. Knabe. *Bristol's Newspaper Press*, MS., is a history of these journals.

Of other publications which had but a brief existence at Cheyenne was the *Star*, started by O. T. B. Williams in 1867, which ran for about 1 year. The *Argus*, a democratic newspaper, started in 1867 by L. L. Bedell, and suspended in 1869. It was resuscitated by Stanton and Richardson, practical printers, but only ran a few weeks. The *Cheyenne Gazette*, established by Webster, Johnson, and Garrett in 1876, only ran a few months, and was removed to the Black hills. It came originally from Plattsmouth, Neb., to Laramie City, where it was called the *Chronicle*, the name it bore at Plattsmouth. Directories of Cheyenne and Laramie were published about 1873 by J. H. Triggs. A. R. Johnson and T. N. Tuthill published a *Cheyenne Directory* in 1883, from which I have made some quotations. For other notes about Cheyenne, I have consulted *Wyoming Territorial Affairs*, MS., consisting of selected extracts from the *Cheyenne Sun*, 1875; *Slaughter, Life in Colo and Wyom.*, MS.; *Wyoming Indians and Settlers*, MS., consisting of selected extracts on the subject indicated, taken from the *Cheyenne Sun*, 1876, and containing a pretty full history of the Bighorn and Black hills expeditions; *Wyoming Miscellany*, MS., consisting of selected extracts from the *Cheyenne Weekly Tribune*, 1869–70; *Boettcher, Flush Times of Colorado*, MS., 1; *Bowles, The Switzerland of America*, 16–17; *Graff, 'Graybeard,' Colorado*, 27; *Strahorn, Hand-book of Wyom.*, 142–5; *Hayden, Great West*, 204–8; *Corlett, Founding of Cheyenne*, MS.; *Ingersoll, Knocking Around the Rockies*, 31; *Rept Gov. Wyom.*, 1881, and 1883, and many private dictations.

There were few towns in Laramie county. Hartville, Fairbank, and Millersburg, on the North Platte river, are camps belonging to the copper mines. Chugwater is a road station at the south end of the timber region. Hat Creek is a post-office merely. There are a great number of ranchos, and the land is largely occupied and owned by cattle raisers. F. B. Haight lives at Chugwater, and John Storrie at Hat Creek. The amount of land surveyed, in 1882, in Wyoming was 412,270.91 acres; sold, 58,307.25 acres. In 1883 there were 1,216,611.03 acres surveyed, and 187,488.65 acres sold. In Laramie and Johnson counties there were incorporated in 1882–3 seventeen irrigating canals, tunnels, and ditches.

Horace A. Roy, born in Ia in 1857, in 1881 came to Cheyenne as surveyor. He ran the 11th auxiliary meridian 172 miles, from Latham north to Beaver creek, and the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th standard parallels, subdividing and sectionizing this area, under the contract of C. W. Brown. In 1884 he was elected surveyor of Laramie co., in which he ran nearly 2,000 miles of lines, including the irrigating ditches of the Ione Land company and the Union Cattle company.

Among the leading residents of Cheyenne, most of them at some time stock-raisers, are: J. M. Carey, who first engaged in the business in 1871

made in the direction of agriculture by the Wyoming Development company of Cheyenne, which, in 1883,

with his brother. He drove Texas cattle into the country, and improved them.

One of the first to engage in stock-raising was E. W. Whitcomb, born in Oxford, Mass, who came to Wyoming in 1857, freighting for Johnson's army en route to Salt lake. In the spring of 1868 he went to the north Platte. He made a business of stock-raising, including sheep.

Another early stock-raiser was H. B. Kelly, born in Mo. in 1834. He was elected to the ter. council in 1875. The following year he burnt a kiln of brick, and erected a house on the Chugwater, where he remained until 1880, when he sold a herd on that range to the Swan Land and Cattle co. for $105,000, and put another herd on the north Crazy Woman creek of Powder river, which he sold soon after for $100,000, and turned his attention to raising high grade bulls. He was elected county commissioner in 1881, and reëlected 1884.

John Hunton, born in Va in 1839, came to Wyoming in 1867. In 1884 he incorporated his stock as the John Hunton Cattle company.

John W. Snyder, born in Wis. in 1837, after a life of vicissitudes, with his brother drove from Texas 3,300 stock cattle to Nebraska, and sold them to Edward Creighton at Omaha. In 1876 they came to Cheyenne.

A. C. Snyder, a native of Pa, came to Cheyenne in 1869. He engaged in stock business on the Chugwater.

Mowry A. Arnold is of the Rhode Island family which settled in that state in 1635; migrated to Colo in 1865, and mined and taught school at Central. In 1867 he came to Cheyenne and taught. His wife was elected supt of public schools of Laramie co. in 1871, holding the office two years.

Charles F. Coffee born in Mo. in 1847; in 1871 he moved to Cheyenne from Texas, and raised high grade cattle and horses.

A. H. Swan came to Wyoming in 1872, and in 1874 was joined by his brother, Thomas Swan, and they were in time among the largest owners north of Texas. Among their first investments was the purchase of John Sparks' herd on the Chugwater. They invested heavily with a Scotch syndicate under the name of Swan Brothers' Land and Cattle co., and controlled 200,000 head. They purchased a large herd of A. R. Converse in 1884, and made other purchases in the territory without moving the cattle, and had between 40 and 50 ranchos.

George T. Morgan, an Englishmen, came to Wyoming in 1876 to look about with the view of introducing choice English stock. In 1878 he came again in charge of a consignment of Hereford bulls to A. H. Swan, the first introduced into Wyoming, and cost $10,000 to import. In 1883 and 1884 they imported 500 head of thoroughbred cattle. The Swan brothers, with Morgan for manager, established the Wyoming Hereford association, the largest and finest blooded breeding farm in the world, consisting of 40,000 acres under fence, with good buildings, windmills for lifting water, and other improvements.

Hiram S. Manville, born in Mass in 1829, came to Wyoming in 1879. About 1881 A. R. Converse combined with him, forming the Converse Cattle company, with a capital of $500,000. The officers of the company were: A. R. Converse, prest; W. C. Irvine, vice-prest; James S. Peck, sec. and treasurer; H. S. Manville, gen. manager; and Judge A. C. May, all of whom were trustees.

Samuel Haas, a native of Pa, is a very prominent cattle man of Laramie co.

A. T. Babbitt, member of the executive committee of the stock growers' association, came to Cheyenne in 1878. In 1881 he organized the Standard Cattle co., consisting of A. T. Babbitt of Ohio, George R. Blanchard of New York, and R. M. Alley of Boston, of which Babbitt was manager. Babbitt is the author of the comprehensive *Report on the Grazing Interest and*

was organized for the purpose of irrigating a tract of 60,000 acres lying southeast of Big Laramie river, and eighty miles northwest of Cheyenne in Laramie county. This land is considered as among the finest in the territory for agricultural purposes. The soil is deep, some of it being of a clay formation, but the greater portion consisting of a rich sandy loam, well adapted to irrigation. Its fertility has already been demonstrated by the raising thereon of a succession of valuable crops.[21]

Beef Supply, 1884. He organized in 1882 the Wyoming Copper co., whose works are located at Fairbanks, 100 miles n. of Cheyenne, in which was invested $200,000, and which produced in 1883, 100,000 pounds of copper bullion.

Harry Olerichs, born in Baltimore in 1854 came to Cheyenne in 1878; engaged successfully in the cattle business. He was elected to the lower house of the legislature in 1880, and was talked of for governor when Hale deceased.

H. E. Teschmacher was born in Mass in 1856; came to Wyoming in 1879. In 1885 he owned, with his brother, Arthur, 6 ranchos and a residence in Cheyenne. He served in the territorial legislature in both houses. His father, H. F. Teschmacher, came to Cal. in 1842, and was alcalde of San Francisco.

Thomas W. Peters, born in Philadelphia, came to Wyoming in 1879; is a wealthy and influential citizen, being a successful cattle raiser.

T. B. Hord, born in Ohio in 1850, came to Wyoming in 1880 to engage in stockraising, and invested judiciously.

John Chase, born in N. Y. in 1842, migrated to Atchison, Kan., in 1863, and from there to Denver the same year. The party for Colo consisted of Gen. Bela M. Hughes, William R. Ford, and Thomas Stevens. He remained in Denver 10 years in the banking business. From Denver he came to Cheyenne in 1873, where he kept the Inter-Ocean hotel, the first in the world to be lighted with an electric lamp in every room.

C. A. Campbell, born in lower Canada in 1850, came to Colo in 1871. In 1876 he went to Chicago. In 1880 he returned west, settling at Cheyenne, and engaging in stock-raising.

Charles Hecht was born in Germany in 1842. During the civil war he was agent for purchasing horses for the govt. In 1866 he went to Colo. In his experience he had many skirmishes with Indians. He now owns several ranges stocked with blooded horses and cattle.

C. S. Morgan was appointed territorial secretary in 1880, and reappointed in 1884. During most of this period he was acting-governor of Wyoming. Having selected Cheyenne for his home, he is doubly interested in the development of the country. Morgan is from Pa, and was a member of the legislature of that state for 5 years before his appointment to Wyoming.

Deane Monahan, born in Ireland in 1836, came to the U. S. in 1848, joined the army, and served until 1884, when he was honorably retired on account of injuries received by his horse falling with him on the ice. He was with Crook in his Bighorn expedition in 1876.

E. R. Hurd, born in England in 1852, came to Cheyenne in 1876; is a successful contractor and builder.

[21] In order to bring water upon this tract it was necessary to tunnel 3,000 feet through a mountain, and to conduct the water of the Laramie river into

Blue Grass creek, thence into Sabille, and from the latter stream into a canal, the whole distance being 86 miles, more than half of which was dug out. Two hundred miles of lateral ditches were required to irrigate the tract. Nearly half a million dollars was expended in completing the work, which was finished in 1886. It is estimated that the tract thus reclaimed will support a farming population of 3,750, and cause the building of a town of 2,000 inhabitants. The elevation of this tract is from 4,500 to 5,000 feet, and consequently its climate will not interfere with the raising of any farm products that can be matured anywhere in the neighboring states and territories. The founders of this enterprise were J. M. Carey, H. C. Plunkett, Thomas Sturgis, M. E. Post, A. Gilchrist, W. C. Irvine, and W. P. Maxwell. Another land company was organized in 1884 under the name of Wyoming Central Land and Improvement company, the object of which was to acquire agricultural, mineral, grazing, and timbered lands and railroad lands, and to sell, lease, or develop them at pleasure; to engage in stock-growing or mining, or to cultivate by irrigating and farming any portion of them suited to agriculture.

Andrew Gilchrist, general manager of the W. D. co., was born in Ayrshire, Scotland, in 1841; came to Wyoming and engaged in the cattle business, having several ranchos, and meeting with much success.

The advancement making in the farming interest is further illustrated by the enterprise of Thomas W. Rutledge and Benjamin Hellman, who in 1883 dug ditches by which 10,000 acres, 42 miles north-west of Cheyenne, were reclaimed. In 1885 the whole tract was fenced with wire, and half of it well irrigated and cultivated. Their principal ditch was 27 miles in length, 20 feet wide at the mouth, and 6 feet at the lower end. On the irrigated land they raised two and a half tons of hay per acre, oats weighing 52 pounds to the bushel, and wheat which averaged 47 bushels per acre. One potato having 22 eyes produced 22 hills of potatoes.

Rutledge was born in Canada in 1828. He migrated to Denver in 1865, and to Cheyenne in 1867.

The future of the country, whether devoted to farming or grazing, depends largely upon irrigation, although it is almost universally conceded that since settlement began, there has been a change in the climate and a greater rainfall. In 1889 over 5,000 miles of canal had been constructed, whereby some 2,000,000 acres had been reclaimed, and it was estimated that 4,000,000 additional acres could be placed under cultivation. The legislature of 1873 asked for the aid of congress in irrigating arid lands, and congress, as I have before mentioned, has legislated on the subject of artesian wells in the territories. The territorial laws also deal with the subject of irrigation, each county being authorized to appropriate $3,500 for the purpose of sinking artesian wells at the county seats, or at any town where there is a voting population of 400 or more. The legislature of 1879 protested by memorial to congress against the great cattle companies fencing streams of water away from the public, where they had no title to the lands enclosed, or only a portion. So difficult is it to combat a reputation established, however falsely, that no effort was made in the first ten years of the history of the territory to introduce farming anywhere except in a few small and comparatively low valleys. The census of 1880 contained a most discouraging report, the number of acres given as improved being less than 2,000, and the number of bushels of wheat raised in 1879 less than 5,000. This was increased to 25,000 in 1882, which was good evidence of what the country could produce should farming be undertaken in earnest. The oat crop for 1882 was 47,000 bushels. The value of these crops was $53,500. The potato crop amounted to 85,000 bushels, worth $94,050. The farmers of Wind river valley alone raised 48,329 bushels of grain. It must be remembered that the agricultural or land improvement companies had not then got their land under cultivation, and that the increase in production would be rapid after they were colonized or settled. The amount of cultivable land in the territory was estimated in 1884 to be not less than 8,000,000 acres, and the productions

which might be considered as sure, were wheat, oats, barley, potatoes, roots generally, garden vegetables, and all the hardier fruits. There were raised 1,000,000 bushels of oats in 1887.

The per cent of persons engaged in farming in Wyoming in 1882 was 18, and the value for the year of farm products per capita of those engaged was $227.21. This is a low figure compared with California or Nevada, only about half that of Oregon; about two-thirds that of Colo; equal to that of Utah; and greater than that of New Mexico, Dakota, or Arizona. The locust and the grasshopper, these pests of all dry and most open countries, make periodical visits to Wyoming, but as the farmers learn how to entrap them, become less formidable. From all these facts it will be seen that the settlers of the future will have a choice between agriculture and grazing. Worse things might happen to Wyoming than to be altogether a cattle country, provided the land and the herds should be divided up, as in time they must be. Beef-making and dairying, added to farming, however, would secure the greatest amount of profit and permanent wealth. A large number of well-to-do men are worth more to the state than a few extraordinarily rich ones. Few phenomenal things in society have a continued existence. In the past large profits were made by buying cheap cattle, fattening them, and selling them for double the amount given. This profit decreases with the increase of cattle buying, which raises the price of the cheap cattle, but not of the beef cattle. The annual loss of from three to five per cent is interest paid on the capital invested to that amount. As the country settles up, the large herds will become unwieldy, and the owners glad to sell, because they will not have room for them on their own land, and the government is bound to protect the settler rather than the tenant. There is always the danger that the native grasses, which could not be excelled for the stock interest, may be crowded out by seed introduced by the breaking of the soil, even by the roads, in which case a change would occur in the cattle-raising; and whereas now from ten to fifteen acres a head are necessary, more land would be required; and whereas now a steer can be raised in a large herd for one dollar, and in a small herd for four or five dollars, it will then cost double, and be profitable enough at that.

The number of cattle in Wyoming in 1884 was 1,151,900, and the capital invested in the business, without the land purchased, was estimated at $100,000,000. Although a superior horse-raising climate, on account of the lung power imparted by the altitude and dry air, and notwithstanding horses take care of themselves by pawing through the snow when cattle are not able, the investment in this class of stock has been only about one twentieth that put into horned stock. There were in the territory in 1885 about 500,000 head of sheep, valued at something over a million and a half, making a total invested in stock of $106,500,000. To protect such an amount of movable property from loss by theft, accident, and disease is the object of the Wyoming Stockgrowers' association, an organization which has admitted members from Nebraska, Colorado, Kansas, Montana, Texas, and some of the states east of the Missouri river to its benefits. It establishes, besides, by special legislation, the laws which govern the stock interest. It employs a police force, with the best detective talent in the country, and constitutes a power from which it is difficult for offenders against the laws to escape. The inspection of cattle is an important part of the association's labor. In 1883 there were 189,838 inspected at points of shipping, and 100,000 on the ranges. Over 1,000 estrays were found, and their value returned to their owners. Over 600 were killed by the railroad, for which the law requires payment. The saving effected by the association is considerable, to say nothing of the greater security from contagion which this vigilance secures.

The mineral resources of Wyoming are yet undeveloped. Copper, as I have already stated, has been actually smelted at Fairbank, in Laramie county. It occurs in Silver Crown district, twenty-two miles west of Cheyenne, on Rawhide creek, on the Platte river west of Fort Larnmie, near Rawlins, near Laramie peak, near Inya Kara, in Crook county, in the south-

east slope of the Wind river mountains, in Uinta county, and near the Colorado line in Carbon county. This pretty general dissemination of copper ores seems to promise that it will become in the future a leading industry.

The oil-basins before referred to are two of them in Frémont county, two in Carbon county, one in Crook county, one on the border between Carbon and Johnson counties, and one in Uinta county, near Aspen and Hilliard. This product is regarded as of great value to the territory, but as yet has not been more than simply tested for its quality, although several companies have been formed to sink wells. Soda and mica are the only other mineral products being worked. A mine of pure graphite was discovered near Laramie in 1887. The railway company erected furnaces at the soda lakes in Albany county in 1883. This deposit is a sulphate, and is several feet in thickness, over an area of fifty-six acres. There are several lakes of the bicarbonate of soda near Independence rock, in Carbon county, aggregating 460 acres. It has been tested for glass-making, and found to be superior for that purpose. Glass works have been erected in Laramie and Cheyenne. One mica mine has been opened in Laramie county. Iron, fire-clay, natural soap, gypsum, and building stone are abundant but neglected resources.

Wyoming has not yet established a reputation as a gold and silver mining territory, notwithstanding the incorporation of various companies whose purpose was to work certain mines in certain districts. A small amount of gold has been annually extracted from the Sweetwater mines ever since 1868, but the amount has been diminishing rather than increasing, if we may believe the reports, official and otherwise. In 1879 the product was over $23,000, and but $5,000 in 1882. This report, however, takes no account of the recently discovered mining districts, applying only to Sweetwater. Manufactures have almost no existence beyond those operated by the railroad, and half a dozen breweries. The raw material still awaits the application of capital to its development.

The animal food supply of the territory has been increased by the good offices of the board of U. S. fish commissioners, for which the laws of Wyoming provided in addition to the national commission. The distribution for 1885 was 50,000 whitefish in each of the following streams and lakes: Bear river, Green river, the lakes north of Rawlins, Lake Creighton, and in Lake Mapalutah in Laramie county. In Lake Minnehaha, the same county, Lake Hattie in Albany county, the lakes north of Rawlins, in Green river and Bear river 40,000 lake trout each. In the streams about Evanston, 25,000 brook trout; in the streams about Rawlins, 30,000 brook trout, and in the Laramie county streams 25,000 of the same. The legislature in 1886 appropriated 2,000 for a hatchery, which was not erected because congress failed to give a title to the land on which the improvements were to be made, since which 40 acres have been secured for the purpose. At the U. S. hatchery, 750,000 trout and whitefish were produced in 1886. The wild game of the territory is protected by law, and also by an association of citizens, who have voluntarily assumed the duties of guardians of the few herds of buffalo left on the plains, and the elk and deer of the hills, to prevent their being slaughtered merely for the peltries.

The want of Wyoming, after the settlement of the Indian troubles, was railroads. These it did not get for some time, except the Union Pacific, which merely crossed the territory at its least productive latitude, and the branch to Denver, which was of little value to the business of Wyoming. Cattle, wool, and coal were all that was to be exported over either, while everything used in the industries of the territory, or that was consumed by the people, with the exception of meat and a small proportion of their bread and vegetables, was imported at a high rate of transportation. The construction of the Oregon Short Line railway was a partial relief to the most western division. The Central Pacific of Wyoming, owned by the Chicago and Northwestern, was a benefit to the central and eastern divisions. But there was still the whole country between that road and the Yellowstone

river in Montana dependent entirely upon wagon transportation. The Cheyenne and Northern was completed 120 miles to Douglas in 1888, thereby securing $400,000 from Laramie county to the Union Pacific, its owner. The Chicago and Northwestern in 1887 extended its line from Douglas—old Fort Fetterman—west to Fort Caspar, 60 miles, with the evident intention of continuing westward to meet the Oregon Pacific. Rival roads soon entered the field, the Burlington and Missouri running its main line from Broken Bow in Nebraska to Fort Laramie; a branch from southern Nebraska to Cheyenne; and another branch from the main line in northern Nebraska to the Black hills and northeastern Wyoming. The projected Laramie and Denver Short line was strongly urged about this time. Indeed, it cannot be long before railroads will penetrate all the valleys of Wyoming, climbing the intervening ranges as do the Colorado lines, and extending northward and westward to British Columbia and the Pacific ocean. Where they lead, immigration will follow.

The formation of a new land district in 1887 was indicative of the drift of population, embracing as it did Johnson and Crook counties. In the eastern portion of the new county of Converse 300 settlers began farming in 1887–8. For the first time flouring-mills were erected. A flouring mill was erected at Buffalo, in Johnson co., one west of Buffalo, a third at Sheridan, in the new county of Sheridan, and a fourth at Laramie, which went into operation in 1888. The first woollen mill was erected at Laramie 1887. In the upper Platte valley there were 2,000 persons living upon farms, and 500,000 acres were sown to grain in 1888. This change would have come in time, but it was hastened by the check which was given to stock-raising by a succession of severe winters, making it necessary to confine herds within limits where they could be sheltered and fed. This could not be conveniently done where the numbers were very great, the natural food supply becoming soon exhausted. Men naturally reflected that while a few became wealthy quickly under the former system, by resorting to farming a greater number would become comfortably well off, the cattle would be divided among them, population would increase, taxes diminish, and that men were of greater value to the country than herds of wild cattle.

Cheyenne and Laramie each maintained a board of trade, which published information calculated to attract the capitalist or the home-seeker. I am, myself, indebted to them for various interesting facts of importance in history.

Among those who have assisted to build up the state are the following: Allen Thompson, born in Oswego, N. Y., in 1849, entered the union army in 1861, and served through the war. He came to Fort Laramie in 1867, and in 1869 to Cheyenne.

Charles W. Riner, born in Ohio in 1854, went to Colo for his health in 1869, and settled himself in Cheyenne in 1870. He was elected to the lower house of the legislature in 1882, and to the city council in 1884.

W. P. Carroll came to Cheycnne in 1873, and was associated with W. W. Corlett in the practice of law. He was elected county attorney in 1874–7, and afterwards city attorney. He was appointed supreme court reporter in 1880, which office he retained for several years.

E. F. Stahle, born in San Francisco in 1850, in 1881 was appointed dept U. S. surveyor for the dist of Wyoming, and for 4 years was engaged in Cheyenne.

Charles F. Miller came to Cheyenne in 1867. In Jan. 1877 he was elected probate judge, and reëlected in 1879. He has an interest in the Union Mercantile co. of Cheyenne, and was the projector of the gas co.

Walter S. Hurlbut, born in Mo. in 1840, migrated to Colo in 1862, and to Idaho in 1863. In 1884 he was appointed receiver in the U. S. land office.

Will R. Swan, a native of Ohio, came to Wyoming, and engaged in plumbing and gas-fitting, having branch establishments in different parts of the territory and in Iowa. Being a natural mechanic, he became interested

in this trade, personally superintending the setting up of engines and steam boilers.

James E. Tuttle, born in New Jersey in 1832, came in 1859 to Colo. He was elected treasurer of Park co. in 1862, and again in 1864. In 1866 he went to Denver, and in 1871 to Cheyenne.

E. Nagle, born in Ohio in 1833, came in 1868 to Cheyenne. He was appointed penitentiary comm'r in 1881, being chairman of the board. He was elected county comm'r in 1876, and was tendered the nomination as delegate on the republican ticket in 1881.

Samuel Aughey, naturalist, born in Pa in 1832, found in his botanical researches in Wyoming 72 different species of grass, which he believed might be doubled. The govt published for him *Notes on the Nature of the Food of the Birds of Nebraska*, and other works of the same class. He was appointed territorial geologist of Wyoming by Gov. Hale in 1883.

A. J. Gray, born in Mass. in 1837, was with Gen. Miles in his campaign against the plains Indians in 1871; was in military service 19½ years. He was a member of the Mass. Medical society, and vice-prest of the Wyoming Academy of Science, etc., of which he has been general secretary.

W. W. Crook, born in Ky in 1836, came from Kansas to Wyoming in 1875, remaining 2 years at Laramie City, then removing to Cheyenne.

Orin C. Waid, born in Ohio in 1845, went to N. Mex. in 1864, and thence to Wyoming in 1867. He states that in 1886 there were but three men in the ter. who were alone in the cattle business, namely, Charles Hecht, Charles Coffin, and himself, the others being in companies.

A. H. Reel, born in Jacksonville, Ill., in 1837, came to Colo in 1860. In 1869 he was elected a member of the city council on the democratic ticket, which office he filled until 1871, being again elected in 1878 for three years. He was elected to the lower house of the legislature in 1875, to the upper house in 1877, and reëlected in 1882. He was one of the originators of the Stockgrowers' association, of the city water works, and one of the incorporators of the gas company. In 1885 he was chosen mayor of Cheyenne. He was married in Denver in 1879.

INDEX.

NOTE.— For names, as of pioneers, officials, etc., in addition to alphabetical list, see also under heading of 'Names.'

A

Adams, Gov. Alva, biog. of, 634; election of, 1886, 647.
Adams, Lt-gov. J. W., election of, 192, biog. of, 321.
Adams, Samuel, biog. of, 508.
Agriculture, great basin, 21–3; Nevada, 1852, 73, 244–5, 262–3, 266–7, 270, 275; White Pine co., 279–80; Eureka co., 284; Colorado, soil, etc., 330; first farming, 355; 1864–8, 492; public land surveys, 533; area in cultivation, etc., 1866–70, 534–5; soil, 535–6; irrigation, 536 et seq.; canals, etc., 538–40; grain counties, 540; fruit-growing, 541; horticultural society and state board of agric., 542–3; stock-raising, 543 et seq.; Frémont co., 604; Weld co., 638; summary of, 639; Wyoming, 802 et seq.
Aiken, T. A., biog., 576.
Aikins, S. J. biog. of, 576.
Alamosa, town, descript. of, 593.
Albany county, Wyo., organized, 739; hist. of, 793–4.
Albertson, N., founds Central, 382.
Albrecht, C. H., mention of, 74.
Albrecht, Miss R. F., marriage contract of, 74.
Alexander, Col E. B., mention of, 697.
Alexander, J. F., att'y-gen., 322.
Allen, Capt., mention of, 104.
Allen, B. D., biog. of, 592.
Allen, G. B., biog. of, 380.
Allen, Mrs, school of, 1854, 75.
Allen, W. P., mention of, 76.
Alma, town, 384.
Alsop, Thos, biog. of, 795.
Ambrosia, N., mention of, 76.
American desert, descript. of, 17.
Anderson, W. W., biog. of, 653.
Antelope island, descript. of, 12.
Anthony, Edmund, biog. of, 654.
Antiquities, Colo, 499; Wyo., prehistoric race, 673.
Anza, Col, exped., 1775, 27.
Apache cañon, battle at, 422.
Applegate, Jesse, explor. of, 62.
Applegate, Lindsey, explor. of, 62.
Arapahoe county, Colo, attempted organization, etc., of, 1858, 401–2; hist. of, 548 et seq.; general descript., 548–9.
Arbuthnot, S., biog. of, 576.
Archuleta, A. D., biog. of, 593.
Archuleta county, Colo, creation of, 644; democratic rioters in, 648–9.
Arkansas valley, settlement of, 387 et seq.
Armor, J., founds Central, 382.
Armstrong, A., biog. of, 627.
Arnold, M. A., biog. of, 800.
Arthur, J. B., biog. of, 626.
Ashley, Congressman D. R., elections of, 188.
Ashley, E. M., biog. of, 653.
Ashley, W. H., mention of, 38; explor. of, 679–80.
Atchison, J. H., mining share of, 107–8.
Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fé R. R., Grand Cañon contest, 605–7.
Atkin, J. D., biog. of, 654.
Atkin, Leonard, biog. of, 658.
Atkins, J. J., biog. of, 787.
Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph co., 231.
Aughey, Sam'l, biog. of, 806.
Augur, Gen'l, mention of, 725–6.
Auraria, Colo, founding, etc., of, 367 et seq.; election at, 1860, 403.
Austin, Nev., hist. of, 267–8.
Authorities, Colo, Nev., and Wyo., list, xiii.–xxvii.
Aux, George, biog. of, 382.

Avery, D. E., mention of, 142.
Ayre, Lieut, Indian battles of, 460.

B

Babbitt, A. T., biog. of, 801.
Babcock, Delos, mention of, 792.
Bacon, C., biog. of, 615.
Bacon, J. L., biog. of, 639.
Bailey, J. L., biog. of, 546.
Baker, explorations of Colo, 497–8.
Baker, James, biog. of, 353.
Balch, W. R., 'Mines and Miners,' 149.
Baldwin, A. W., secedes from union party, 178–9.
Baldwin, C. P., biog. of, 589–90.
Baldwin, Major N., biog. of, 787.
Ballou, W. T., town founded by, 276.
Bancroft, Dr. F. J., biog. of, 572.
Bank of California, White Pine mining control, effort for, 279.
Banking, Colo, 567.
Bannacks, Indians, attack Reese's party, 67–8.
Barela, C., biog. of, 627–8.
Barker, A. H., biog. of, 367.
Barnard, E. L., mention of, 69–70; absconding of, 71.
Barnard, Frank, death of, 70–1.
Barnard, J. P., mention of, 70–1.
Barnard, T. G., mention of, 71.
Barney, Libens, biog. of, 385.
Barry, David, mention of, 73.
Bartleson, John, co., etc., of, 47 et seq.
Bartlett, Judge A., appointment of, 737.
Bassick mine, hist. of, 596.
Bateman, A. L., mention of, 293.
Bates, Capt., defeats Indians, 1874, 772.
Bates, G. C., biog. of, 657–8.
Bates, Mary Barker, biog. of, 657.
Battle mountain, name, 206; Nev., town, descript. of, 267.
Beall, S. W., delegate to Washington, 1861, 407.
Beaman, J. S., biog. of, 616.
Bean, Robert, mention of, 42.
Beatie, H. S., first house in Genoa, 66–7.
Beatty, Judge W. H., biog. of, 203.
Beaubien grant, hist. of, 594.
Beck, Judge W. E., election of, 452.
Becker, G. F., 'Monograph,' etc., 149.
Becker, Peter, biog. of, 624.
Beckwith, Capt. E. G., explor. of, mention of, 699.
Beckwith, G. L., biog. of, 650.
Beckwourth, J. P., mention of, 45; biog. of, 352; in Ashley's exped., 680.
Bee, F. A., biog. mention, 228; telegraph line built by, 230.
Beeman, Newell, biog. of, 785.
Belden, Josiah, mention of, 47; 'Statement,' 48; further account, 54.
Belford, Congressman, election of, 449.
Belford, J. B., biog. of, 445.
Belford, J. B., judge, 1870, 1874, 440.
Belknap, C. H., election of, 203; assoc. just., 322.
Bell, Dr W. A., biog. of, 604.
Belty (William), mention of, 52.
Benevolent societies, Nev., 301.
Bennett, H. A., biog. of, 792.
Bennett, Delegate H. P., election of, 415–16; biog., 416; election of, 1862, 429.
Bennett, Rev. J. L., pioneer clergyman, 293.
Bennett, John, biog. of, 487.
Bent county, Colo, hist. of, 574–5.
Bent family, biog. mention, 353.
Bent, W. W., rept, etc., of, 458.
Bergh, Abraham, biog. of, 630.
Berry, L. W., biog. of, 616.
Berry, Robt, biog. of, 623.
Berthoud, E. L., survey of, 551.
Betts, J. A., biog. of, 634.
Beverly, J. M., biog. of, 381, 615.
Beverly, W. H., biog. of, 615.
Bibliography, Nev., 243–4, 308–9; Colorado, 525 et seq.
Bidwell, John, journey to Cal., 1841, 47; troubles of, 49 et seq.
Big Meadows, battle of, 214.
Bingham, Lieut, death of, 421–2.
Bishop, Frederic, mention of, 73.
Bishop, John, mention of, 100.
Black Hawk camp, 382.
Black hills, Wyo. (see also mining), descript., 661; explor. of, 773 et seq.
Blackburn, Abner, gold discov. of, 93.
Blackburn, J. L., assassination of, 167.
Blackfeet, Indians, attack Nidever's party, 40.
Blake, J. J., mention of, 90.
Blake, J. W., biog. of, 795.
Blake and Williams, mention of, 371.
Blakeslee, Senator, mention of, 290.

Blasdel, Gov. H. G., election of, 1864, 184; message of, 185; re-election of, 1866. 188.
Blinn, H. E., biog. of, 787.
Blossom, J. A., biog. of, 268.
Blunt, Gen., victory of, 424.
Blydenburgh, C. E., biog. of, 790.
Bonanza firm, hist. of, 134 et seq.; tax troubles of, 196–8.
Bonneville, Capt. E. L., adventures of, 41, 43; explor. of, 681.
Boone, A. G., mention of, 439; Ind. treaties of, 1861, 458.
Boswell, N. K., mention of, 759
Boughton, J. H. biog. of, 627.
Boulder county, hist of, 575–80.
Boulder creek, Colo, gold found at, 1859, 575.
Boulder, town, founding of, 376; hist. of, 576, 579–80.
Boundary, Cal. and Nev., commis. appointed 1854, 76; Colo and New Mex., 1869–9, 498–900; Wyo., descript., 659; 1868, 740; survey of, 752.
Bowen, Senator T. M., election and biog. of, 451–2.
Bowers, J. W., mention of, 574.
Bowers, L. S., biog. of, 171.
Bowles, J. W., biog. of, 385–6.
Boyd, Judge T. P., biog. 410.
Brace, C. C., biog. of, 579.
Bradford, Delegate A. A., election and biog. of, 434; reëlection of, 1868, 435–6.
Bradley, Judge George, appointment of, 72.
Bradley, Gov. L. R., election of, 1870, 189–90; biog. of, 194.
Brazee, A. W. judge, 1885, 440.
Brantner, Samuel, biog. of, 386.
Breene, Lieut-gov. P. W., election of, 1884, 449; biog. of, 508.
Brendlinger, H. J., biog. of, 572.
Brevoort, Henry, mining invent. of, 119.
Bridger, James, anecdotes of, 3–4; explorations of, 37; biog., etc., of, 684–5.
Brisbane, W. H., biog. of, 508.
Bromwell, H. P. H., defeat of, election 1874, etc., 439.
Brookfield, A. A., biog. of, 576.
Brown, Clara, biog. of, 616–17.
Brown, George, mention of, 74.
Brown, J., mention of, 71.
Brown, J. M., biog., 384.
Brown, S. W., biog. of, 384.
Buckland, S. S., mention of, 209.
Bucknum, Dr A. C., biog. of, 656.
Buffalo, town, hist. of, 790–2; plan of, 701.
Bunker, B. B., app't'd U. S. att'y, 157.
Burdsal, C. S., biog. of, 385.
Burlington and Colorado R. R. 555.
Burnham, Dr N. G., biog. of, 657.
Burning Moscow company, hist. of, 122 et seq.
Burritt, C. H., biog. of, 792–3.
Busby, Michael, death of, 214.
Bute, explor. of, 388.
Byers, W. N., biog. of, 374; attack on, 409.
Byrnes, William, mention of, 69–70; attempted assassination of, 71.

C

California legislature, boundary resolution of, 1858, 152; gov's mess., 1861, 153; volunteers from against Inds, 212.
California gulch, descript. of, 396.
California Mining co., organization, etc., of, 136 et seq.; output, etc., 137.
California State Telegraph co., 231.
Calkins, C. C., biog. of, 651.
Call, Judge Anson, ap't'ment of. 72.
Campbell, C. A., mention of, 801.
Campbell, E. L., defeat of, gubernatorial election, 449.
Campbell, H. A., biog. of, 615.
Campbell, Gov. J. A., appointment and biog. of, 741; administ. of, 750.
Campbell, R., mention of, 683.
Canby, Gen., milit. movements of, 1861, 421 et seq.
Cañon City, founding of, 391–4; hist. of, 605–8.
Cañon City and San Juan R. R., hist. of, 606–8.
Cañons, Colo, descript. of, 326–7.
Cantlin, J. V., biog. of, 789.
Canton, F. M., biog. of, 792.
Capital, Colo, rivalry for, 417.
Capital, Wyo., descript. of, 760.
Carbon county, Wyo., organized, 739; hist. of, 788.
Cardenas, Capt. G. L. de, route of, 26; map, 27.
Carey, J. M., biog. of, 741, 790–800; defeat and election of, 1874, 1884, 749–50.
Carlin, Nev., settlement of, 276.
Carlisle, J. N., biog. of, 634.
Carpenter, C.C., Black hill exped., 776.

Carpenter, M. B., biog. of, 570.
Carrington, H. B., Ind. campaign of, 718–19.
Carroll, W. P., biog. of, 805.
Carson, Kit, mention of, 24, 353; biog., etc., 45, 468; with Frémont, 57.
Carson City, founding of, 1858, 86; capital located at, 163; descript., 169, 255.
Carson co., creation of, 75; exodus of Mormons from, 80–1; elimination of, 165.
Carson lake, mention of, 13; descript. of, 14.
Carson river, bridge over, 1852, 72–3.
Carson valley, settlement of, 66 et seq.; annexation petitions of, 1853–6, 74–5, 78; map, 94.
Carson and Colorado R. R., 239.
Carstarphen, O., biog. of, 598.
Carter co., Wyo., organization of, 732; named changed, 744; organization of, 784.
Cary, J. L., mention of, 73, 75.
Case, F. M., mention of, 533, 553.
Cassidy, Congressman G. W., election and biog. of, 203.
Castle island, descript. of, 12.
Catlin, W. C., mention of, 393.
Caves, Nevada, descript., 4.
Central City, Colo, founding, etc., of, 380–3; hist. of, 611–15.
Central Pacific railroad, Nevada, affairs of, 232 et seq.; corruption of, etc., 234–6; lands of, 238.
Chaffee county, Colo, hist. of, 581–5.
Chaffee, Senator J. B., election of, 432; reëlection of, 437; biog. of, 438; election of, 1876, 445.
Chapman, M. R., biog. of, 599.
Charcoal burners' riot, 284–5.
Chase, John, biog. of, 801.
Chatfield, I. W., biog. mention, 556.
Cheney, E. F., mention of, 759.
Cherokees, in Colo, 1858, 363–4.
Cherry creek, descript. of, 281.
Cheever, D. A., biog. of, 571.
Chever, C. G., biog. of, 384.
Cheyennes (see also Indians), threatened attack of, Aug. 1864, 463; hostilities of, 711.
Cheyenne, town, rise of, 733; capital located at, etc., 746; hist. of, 796.
Chilcott, Senator G. M., election and biog. of, 435; app'tment of, 451.
Childs, Judge J. S., mention of, 74; app'tment of, 84.
Chiles, J. B., visit to Cal., 1841, 47; co. of, 1843, 55.
Chinese, Nev., 292.
Chivington, Col, biog. of, 421; Sand creek battle, 466 et seq.
Cholera, Nev., 1850, 68.
Chollar mining co., litigation of, 126–7, 173.
Chorpenning, G., lawsuit of, 76; mail contracts of, 226–7.
Church, Frank, biog. of, 653.
Churchill county, Nev., hist. of, 262.
Civil War, Colo, 420 et seq.; battle Apache cañon, 422; Pigeon rancho, 422–3; Peralta, 423; Cabin creek victory, 424.
Clapp, Miss H. K., biog. mention, 171.
Clark, mention of, 72.
Clark, H. F., mention, 103.
Clark, J. E., mention of, 103.
Clark, Judge I., appointment of, 72.
Clark, W. G., biog. of, 444.
Clarke, R. M., state att'y-gen'l, 1865, 188.
Clarke, W. J., biog. of, 792.
Clay, C. E., biog. of, 795.
Clayton, P. H., mention of, 89.
Clayton, T. S., biog. of, 654.
Clear Creek county, Colo, hist. of, 586 et seq.
Clemens, Gov. O., acts, etc., for boundary, 154–4; app't'd terr. sec., 157.
Cleveland, Pres., silver views of, 201.
Cleveland, C. C., quells Ind. trouble, 221.
Climate, great basin, descript. of, 4–6; Nevada, 245; Colo, temperature, etc., 329; storm and flood at Denver, 1864, 490; Wyoming, 670.
Cline, J. W., biog. of, 386.
Cloudbursts, Nev., 245.
Cobb, F. M., biog. of, 366.
Cobb, E. W., biog. of, 386.
Coffee, C. F., mention of, 800.
Coffman, E. J., biog. of, 650.
Cole, William, biog. of, 368.
Colfax Agricultural and Industrial Colonization company, hist. of, 595.
Collier, D. C., biog. of, 370; mention of, 497.
Collins, Dr J. W., biog. of, 655.
Collins, Lt-col, Ind. victory of, 715.
Collins, R. J., biog. of, 590.
Collins & Co., mention of, 104.
Colonies, Nev., Mormons, Carson valley, 1855, 78; list of colonists, 1855, 79; Mormons abandon, 80.
Colorado, history of, 323 et seq.; physical features, 323 et seq.; discovery and occupation, 338 et seq.;

French occupation, 343; Pike's exped., 344 et seq.; Long's, 348; progress of settlement, 1859–60, 387 et seq.; organization of govt, 1858–61, 401 et seq.; territory organized, 1861, 413; seal of, 418; Indian wars, 1860–80, 455 et seq.; mining, 1859–75, 482 et seq.; floods and Ind. troubles, 489 et seq.; boundary with New Mex., 1868–9, 498–90; agriculture and stock-raising, 533 et seq.; railroads of, 552 et seq.; education, 558–60; religion, 560; counties, 574 et seq.; events, 1886–8, 643 et seq.
Colorado in 1863, map, 409.
Colorado Central R. R., 552–4, 556.
Colorado City, founding of, 389–90.
Colorado river, descript. of, 16.
Colorado springs, hist. of, 388, 600.
Colorado springs and vicinity, hist. of, 600–4; map, 602.
Colter, John, explor. of, 675–6.
Commerce, Nev., prices, 1850, 68; transportation, 226 et seq.; Colorado, 566.
Como, Nev., decline of, 258.
Comstock, H. T. P., career, etc., of, 98 et seq.; disposal of mining title, etc., 105–6.
Comstock, Henry, the Gold Hill mines, 109–10.
Comstock lode, see Mining.
Conejos county, Colo, hist. of, 591–3,
Congress, U. S., Nev. boundary commis. app't'd, 1860, 152; additional ter. granted to Nev., 1866, 156; act for R. R. survey, 1853, 360; admission of Colo territory, 1861, 413; appropr. for Colo, 1862–3, 429; appropr., 1863–6, 434; 1880 et seq., 450; appropr. for Wyo., 1846, 688.
Conner, General, operations, etc., of, 218–19, 717.
Connor, Col, regiment of, 181.
Conrad, Capt. B., Indian victory of, 220.
Consolidated Virginia, see Virginia Consolidated Mining co.
Constitution, Nev. State, vote on, 1863, 184; amendments to, 203–4.
Constitutional convention, Colo, 1860, 404; 1864, 430–1.
Conventions, Nev., for ter'l gov't, 82, 87; state, 1863, 177 et seq.; 1864, 180.
Converse, A. R., biog. of, 758.
Converse county, Wyo., 75.
Cook, mention of, 51.
Cook, Gen. D. J., biog. of, 760.
Cook, G. W., biog. of, 510–11.
Cook, Richard, mention of, 520.
Cooper, Gen., defeat of, 424.
Cooper, J. A., biog. of, 573.
Cooper, Thos, biog. of, 589.
Copeland, S., biog. of, 616.
Corlett, W. W., biog. of, 749.
Corning, G. C., biog. of, 444.
Coronado's expedition, failure in reaching Colo, 338.
Cosser, Mrs, the Colo divorce case, 73–4.
Cosser, Walter, mention of, 73.
Cosser, W. P., mention of, 75.
Costilla co., hist. of, 594 et seq.
Counties, Nev., organization, etc., of, 159, 253; Colo, organization of, 1859, 402; hist. of, 574 et seq.; Wyoming, 784 et seq.
County commissioners, Nev., 1861–2, list, 162.
Cowan, A., mention of, 78.
Cowan, Mrs A., biog. of, 171.
Coyner, D. H., 'The Lost Trappers,' 350–1.
Cradlebaugh, Judge J., app't'ment, etc., of, 89; election of, 1861, 158.
Craig, L. W., biog. of, 586.
Craig, W. B., biog. of, 653.
Cramer, F., biog. of, 655.
Crandall, J. B., stage line of, 227.
Crane, J. M., ter'l delegate, 1858, 83; death of, 89.
Crawford, D. C., biog. of, 444.
Crazy Horse, Ind. chief, battles of, 777, 780; death of, 781.
Crested Butte, town, founding of, 523.
Crime, Nev., 291–2; Colo, 1860–1, 408; 1860, 412; Leadville, 512–13; Wyo., Cheyenne vig. committee, 1867, 738; road agents, 758–9.
Crook, Gen., Sioux campaign, 1876, 777 et seq.
Crook, W. W., mention of, 806.
Crooks co., Wyo., boundary of, 784.
Crossman, G. H., valley named for, 24.
Crout, William, biog. of, 795–6.
Crow, Henry, biog. of, 384.
Crowinshield, W., mention of, 228–9.
Culver, J. B., mention of, 793.
Cummings, Gov. A., reorganizes Carson co., 84; appointment of, 1865, 435.
Curry, A., mention, 103, 159.
Curry, A. V. Z., founds Carson city, 86.
Curry, C. W., mention of, 103.
Curtis, Allen A., gift of, 297.

Curtis, Gen. S. R., Ind. war orders of, 446.
Custer, Gen., milit. exped. to Black Hills, 1874, 773; defeat and death of, 778–9.
Custer city, Wyo., founding of, 777.
Custer county, Colo, hist. of, 595.

D

Daggett, C. A., mention of, 73.
Daggett, C. D., elected pros. att'y, 1854, 76.
Daggett, Congressman R. M., biog. of, 203; speech of, Feb. 25, 1881, 235.
Daley, D. C., silver discov. of, 493.
Dargin, D. G., mention, 622.
Davis, H. C., 322.
Davis, J. A., mention of, 596.
Davis, J. C., biog. of, 789.
Dawson, J. A., biog. of, 647.
Dayton, town, founding of, 1856, 79; name, 95; descript. of, 258.
Dead Men's gulch, name, 383.
Death valley, descript. of, 3.
Decker, W. S., biog. of, 652.
De Coursey, M. L., biog. of, 604.
Deep creek, importance of, 16.
Defiance mine, yield of, 278.
Deidesheimer, Philip, timbering system of, 113; plan of cribbing, 114; biog., etc., of, 115; arrest of 'Ophir' men, 123.
De la Martyr, see Martyr.
Delta co., Colo, hist. of, 596.
Democrats, see Politics.
De Mont, Capt., co. of, etc., 66.
Denver, Lieut-gov. F., election of, 1870, 190; state prison war, 314.
Denver, Gen. J. W., mention of, 372.
Denver, founding of, 369; capital estabd. at, 417–18, 551–2; riots in 1879–80, 448; storm and flood, 1864, 490; hist. of, 1859–86, 548; incorp. of, land titles, etc., 549; plan of, 550; immigrant route by, 551; mint at, 551–2; R. R. lines to, 552 et seq.; street railways, 558; education in, 558–60; religion, 560–4; water supply, 562; drainage, 563; manufactures, 564; chamber of commerce, 565; banking, 567; society, 567–70.
Denver Circle R. R., 555.
Denver expositions, Wyoming exhibit in, 752.
Denver Pacific R. R., Colo, 553–4.
Denver, South Park, and Pacific R. R., 555.
Denver, Utah, and Pacific R. R., 555.
Denver and Rio Grande R. R., strike, 1885, 453; extension of, 1881, 524; map of the alignment around Dump mountain, organization, etc., of, 554 et seq.; Grand cañon contest, 605–8.
Deseret, state of, organized, etc., 66.
Deseret co., creation of, 72.
De Smet, P. J. de, missionary labors of, 686.
Dickens, W. H., biog. of, 650.
Dickson, see Hancock and Dickson.
Dickson, L. H., biog. of, 650.
Dittenrieder, Mrs L. M., journal of, 73.
Doane, Lieut G. C., milit. exped. of, 1870, 769.
Doherty, W. F., biog. of, 592.
Dolores county, Colo, hist. of, 597.
Dominguez, F. F. A., explorations of, 36.
Donelson, T., biog., 384.
Dotson, P. K., biog. of, 634.
Dougan, D. H., biog. of, 573.
Douglas, John H., biog. of, 795.
Douglas co., organization and hist. of, 253–5, 598.
Dover, James, marriage contract, etc., of, 74.
Dovey, W. C., superintendent pub. instruct., 322.
Downey, Delegate S. W., election of, 750.
Downing, Jacob, biog. of, 651.
Doyle, J. B., mention of, 371.
Drake, G. W., biog. of, 386.
Draper, J. A., mention of, 393.
Drummond, Judge W. W., boundary communication of, 151–2; reagitation of boundary question, 156.
Du Bois, J. J., biog. of, 507.
Dudley, J. H., biog. of, 368.
Duggan, Martin, biog. of, 512–13.
Dunagan, J. J., biog. of, 655.
Duncan, Lieut, victory of, 220.
Duncan, Judge C., mention of, 72.
Dyer, J. C., biog. of, 789.

D

Eagle co., Colo, hist. of, 599.
Earthquakes, Nev., 245.
Eaton, Gov. B. H., election and biog. of, 449.
Eaton, H. C., biog. mention, 618.
Eberhardt mine, 278.
Eckley, J. E., mention of, 188.
Eddy, H. H., biog. of, 638.

Education, Nev., 292–3; Colorado, 393, 558–60; Wyoming, 761.
Eilers, A., biog. of, 519–20.
Elbert, Gov. S. H., appointment, etc., of, 436–7; election of, 445.
Elbert co., Colo, hist. of, 599.
El Dorado, Colo, founding of, 387–9.
Elections, see Politics.
Elkins, J. T., biog. of, 508.
Elko county, Nev., hist. of, 274.
Elko, town, settlement of, 276.
Elliott, V. A., judge, 446.
Ellis, J. B., mention of, 73–4.
El Paso claim club, 389.
El Paso co., Colo, hist. of, 599–604.
Emigration, see Immigration.
Empire, town, hist. of, 592.
Escalante, Fr. S. V. de, map, etc., of, 35–6; exped. of, 339 et seq.; map of route, 342.
Esmeralda co., Nev., hist. of, 259; jurisdiction difficulties of, 162 et seq.
Espinosa's bandits, murders and death of, 424–5.
Eureka county, Nev., hist. of, 281.
Eureka, town, hist. of, 283.
Eureka and Palisade R. R., 239.
Evans, Col, defeat of, 218.
Evans, Senator J., app't'd gov., 427; election of, 432; call for vol't'rs, 461.
Everett, Dr A. S., biog. of, 656.
Everts, Philetus, biog. of, 322.
Expeditions, Nev., earliest, 26 et seq.; Frémont's, 1843–4, 55 et seq.; Colo, 338 et seq.; local expeds from New Mex., 338; Escalante's exped., 339 et seq.; Pike's, 344 et seq.; Long's exped., 348 et seq.; Frémont's, 1842–4, 357; Gunnison's, 1853, 360; miscellaneous govt, 361–2; Wheeler's and King's, 362; to Gunnison country, 517 et seq.; Wyoming, Spanish claims, 672; Verendyre's, 1743–4, 674; Colter's, 675–6; Lisa's, 676; Williams', 676–7; Hunt's, 679; Long's, 679; Ashley's, 679–80; Bonneville's, 681; Wyeth's, 682; Frémont's, 1842, 688; to open roads, 699–700; Stansbury's, 764; Warren's, 765; Raynold's, 765–6; geol survey, 769; milit. expeds, 1873, 169–70.
Eyser, Charles, biog. of, 386.
Eyster, C. S., judge, 1866, 440.

F

Fain, Sheriff J. C., mention of, 70–1; election of, 1854, 76.
Fair, Senator J. G., mention of, 118; Con. Virginia purchase, 134 et seq.; biog. 135; senator, 203.
Fairfield, Samuel, biog. of, 789.
Farrell, M. J., biog. of, 239.
Farwell, S. T., biog. of, 792.
Fennimore, James, mention of, 72; career of, 99 et seq.
Ferguson, Charles, mention of, 73.
Fetterman, Lt-col, defeat and death of, 722–3.
Finances, Nev., taxes, 1861, 161; 1871–88, 310; rejection national currency, 1863–4, 183; mining tax troubles, 195 et seq; monetary standards, 198 et seq.; Colorado, Gilpin's treasury demands, 426; banking, 566; summary of, 640; in 1887, 648; Wyoming, 755; territory bonds, 760.
Finfrock, J. H., biog. of, 716.
Finley, A., map, 1826, 34–5.
Fish culture, Nev., 241; Wyoming, 804.
Fisher, A. N., supt pub. instruction, 1865, 188.
Fitch, R. E., mention of, 795.
Fitch, Congressman Thos, election and biog., 189.
Flaniken, Judge R. R., app'tment of, 89.
Fleeson, Capt., Ind. battle of, 214.
Flood, J. C., Con. Virginia purchase, 134 et seq.; biog., 135.
Floyd peak, height of, 9; name, 24.
Flumes, Nev., 287–90.
Foley, M. D., biog. of, 225.
Follensbee, George, mention of, 71.
Fontaine City, fight with Missourians, 390–1.
Foote, F. M., biog. of, 785.
Ford, Gen. J. H., mention of, 467.
Forest Queen, mine, discov., etc., of, 523.
Fort Leavenworth, 351–2.
Forts, Colo, 352–5; Wyoming, 682 et seq.; Fort William, 683; Laramie, fort, hist. of, 683–4; cut of, 690; govt purchase of, 691; Fort Laramie in 1874, plan, 692; Fort Bridger, 684; cut of, 685; Fort Platte, 685; Fort Kearny, established, 1847, 489–90; Fort Supply, 697; Fort Randal, 710; Fort Halleck, 714; Fort Sedgwick, 714–15; Fort Philip Kearny, Fetterman, Ind. disaster at, 720 et seq; Fort Fetterman, 725.
Fosdick. H. M., biog. of, 634.
Font, Father P., map, etc., of, 27–8.

Fountain colony, hist of, 600–1.
France, occupation of Colo, 343.
France, James, biog. of, 788.
France, L. B., biog. of, 652–3.
Franktown, founded, etc., 79.
Frémont, J. C., route, etc., of, 1843, 55 et seq.; notoriety of, exploration, 65; explor. of Colo, 1842–4, 356; explor. Wyo., 1842, 688.
Frémont county, Colo, settlement of, 392; hist. of, 601–8.
Frémont county, Wyo., hist. of, 786–8.
Frost, John, biog. of, 267.
Fuller, C. W., mention of, 256.
Fulton, D. J., biog. of, 385.
Fur-traders, Colo, 350–1, 354–6; Wyoming, 677 et seq.

G

Gage, S. T., biog. of, 187.
Galbraith, R. M., biog. of, 789.
Gale, Judge W. H., mention of, 440.
Galloway, B. S., biog. of, 625.
Gamble, James, mention of, 231.
Garber, Judge, mention of, 191.
Garces, Father F., explor. of, 27–31.
Garfield county, Colo, hist. of, 609.
Garrison, A. F., pres't of comm., 404.
Garrison, W. H., sale of mining title, 123–4.
Geist, A. W., biog. of, 634.
Genoa, town, name, 79; avalanche at, 1882, 254.
Geology, see Mining.
Georgetown, Colo, hist. of, 590–2.
Gerry brothers, biog. of, 353.
Gerry, Elbridge, mention of, 463.
Gest, J. H., mention of, 382.
Geysers, Wyo., 668.
Gibbs, Elijah, land troubles, etc., of, 430.
Gibson, T., mention of, 382.
Gilchrist, Andrew, biog. of, 802.
Gilpin, Gov., app't'ment, etc., of, 413; biog. of, 414; instructions, etc., of, 415; message of, 419; organization of troops, 420; removal of, etc., 426–7; election of, 1865, 432.
Gilpin county, Colo, mines of, map, 380; hist. of, 610.
Gird, C. C., biog. of, 653.
Goben, E., mention of, 280.
Goddard, L. M., biog. of, 508.
Goddard, O. J., biog. of, 559.
Godey, mention of, 57.
Godin, exploit of, 40.
Gold Hill mines, first owners, etc., of, 109.
Gold cañon, mining camps, etc., in, 1857–9, 94–6.
Golden, founding of, 380–1.
Golden Gate, founding, etc., of, 380–2.
Goodwin, C. C., defeat of, 1872, 191.
Gore, Sir George, travels in Wyo., 695–6.
Gorsline, W. B., judge, 1866, 440.
Gosh Utes, hostilities of, 219.
Gould, J. B., biog. of, 616.
Government, see Politics.
Graham, Benj., prospecting exped. of, 518.
Graham, H. J., delegate to congress, 403.
Graham gang, expulsion of, 597.
Gramm, Otto, biog. of, 795.
Grand county, Colo, hist. of, 616.
Grant, Gov. J. B., election and biog. of, 449.
Grant, M. N., biog. of, 795.
Grattan, Indian massacre of, 709.
Gray, A. J., biog. of, 806.
Great American desert, see American desert.
Great Basin, descript. of, 1; Frémont's knowledge of, 2; wonders of, 3; climate of, 4–6; geology of, 6; rivers of, 14–16; springs of, 16, 17; deserts of, 17, 18; vegetation of, 18, 19; animal life in, 19, 20; minerals of, 20, 21; agriculture of, 21–3; soils of, 21–3.
Great Salt Lake, see Salt Lake.
Greeley, Horace, praise of Colo, 398;
Green river, descript. of, etc., 8, 786.
Greene, James, mention of, 73.
Greenwood, John, mention of, 60.
Greenwood, W. H., biog. of, 608.
Gregory, J. H., biog. of, 377.
Gridley, charitable work of, 182.
Grigsby-Ide company, mention of, 60.
Grimes, C. M., mention of, 595–6.
Grimes, W. S., biog. of, 656.
Grosch Bros., silver discov. of, etc., 96 et seq.; death and books of, 98.
Gross, C. J., biog. of, 571.
Guerillas, Colo, 1863, 424–5.
Guiness, Lieut, death of, 725.
Gunnell, A. T., biog. of, 624.
Gunnison, Capt. J. W., R. R. survey, etc., of, 360–1, 695; party of massacred, 360–1.
Gunnison county, organization, etc., of, 522; hist. of, 617.
Gunnison county, prospectors in, etc., 516 et seq.; rush to, 1880, 524.
Gunnison, mining region, map, 521.
Gunnison, town, settlement of, 521 et seq.; hist. of, 617–18.

H

Haas, Hermann, biog. of, 716.
Haas, Sam'l, mention of, 801.
Hague, J. D., mention of, 362.
Haguis, J. N., mention of, 393.
Haines, James W., biog. of, 288–9.
Hale, Gov. W., appointment, death, etc., of, 752–3.
Haley, Ora, biog. of, 795.
Hall, C. L., biog. of, 623–4.
Hall, Frank, mention of, 71; biog. of, 440.
Hall, Geo. W., biog. of, 590.
Hall, R. H., biog. 787.
Hall, Spafford, mention of, 73–4.
Hall, W. L., mention of, 71–3.
Hallack, Chas, biog. of, 573.
Hallett, Judge M., biog. of, 411–12; app'tment, etc., of, 1866, 439–40.
Hallock, J. F., comptroller, 322.
Hallock, Nelson, biog. of, 623.
Hamilton, W. H., mention of, 280.
Hamilton, Nev., hist. of, 280.
Hanchette, mining invention of, 318.
Hancock and Dickson, explor. of, 1804–7, 675.
Harding, silver discov. of, 103–4.
Harding, Justice S. S., succeeds Hall, 439.
Hardenville, founding of, 103–4.
Harney, Gen'l, defeats Sioux, 1856, etc., 710.
Harris, John, map of, 32.
Harris, M. C., mention of, 793.
Hart, Major B. J., mention of, 790.
Hart, Wm, the Comstock discov., 101.
Harting, S. J., biog. of, 658.
Harvey, John, mention, 624.
Harvey, T. J., app't'd Ind. commiss., 208.
Haskill, N. R., mention of, 69; attempted murder by, 71.
Hastings, L. W., 'Emigrant Guide,' etc., 55; mention of, 60.
Hawes, Jesse, biog. of, 639.
Hawkins, R. T., mention of, 73.
Hawkins, Dr T. H., biog. of, 658.
Hawley, T. P., mention of, 191, 322.
Hayden, Prof. F. V., explor. of, 361–2, 518–19.
Haynes, J. H., mention of, 73.
Hays, Col J. C., Indian victory of, 213 et seq.
Hazzard, G. W., biog. of, 385.
Head, Lafayette, biog. of, 444.
Healy, Mrs, mention of, 60.
Hecht, Charles, biog. of, 801.
Held, Henry, mention of, 793.
Hellman, Benj., mention of, 802.
Hellroaring river, 667.
Helm, Judge J. C., election of, 452.
Helm, W. A., biog. of, 394.
Henderson, E. W., biog. of, 377.
Henderson, G. L., biog. of, 386; mention of, 622.
Henry, Alexander, exped. of, 678.
Henry, J. W., Judge, 446.
Heushaw, George, mention of, 47.
Hereford, R. L., biog. of, 786.
Herzinger, J. L., biog. of, 626.
Hesse, Fred. G. S., mention, 792.
Hickman, Bill, Indian murders of, 205.
Hickman, N. C., biog. of, 622–3.
Hicks, George, Sr, prospecting party of, 364–5.
Hidden Treasure mine, discov. of, 277–8.
Hinman, F. A., biog. of, 790.
Hinsdale, G. A., county named for, 618.
Hinsdale co., Colo, hist. of, 618.
Hunton, John A., mention of, 800.
Hill, Senator N. P., election and biog. of, 450; mining developments of, 486.
Hobart, Senator W. W., public expense bill, 1881, 312.
Hodges, H. M., mention of, 76.
Hoffman, Maj. Wm, mention, 697.
Hogle, A. W., biog. of, 856.
Holladay, Ben, mention of, 73.
Holly, Justice C. F., mention of, 440.
Holman, W. J., gold discov., 383.
Hopper, Charles, guide of Bartleson co., 53.
Hoppin, J. H., biog. of, 263.
Hord, T. B., mention of, 801.
Horn, T. G., mention, 610.
Hover, W. A., biog. of, 652.
Howe, Church, biog. of, 741.
Howell, Eugene, biog. of, 274.
Howland, J. D., biog. of, 369.
Hoyt, Gov. J. W., app'tment of, 751.
Huérfano co., Colo, hist., 619.
Huffaker, G. W., biog. of, 86.
Hughes, B. M., biog. of, 572.
Hughes, Harvey, mention of, 74.
Humboldt co., Nev., hist. of, 262–4.
Humboldt lake, descript. of, 14.
Humboldt river, descript. of, 15; discov. of, 36–7.
Hunt, Gov. A. C., app'tment of, 436; founds Salida, 584.
Hunt, A. S., app't'd U. S. marshal, 427.
Hunt, W. P., explor. of, 679.
Hurd, E. P., mention of, 801.

Hurlbut, W. S., mention of, 805.
Huston, G. W., biog. of, 623.
Hutton, Levi, Indians attack, 1856, 206.
Hyde, Judge O., appointment of, 76.
Hyde, Orson, curse, etc., of, 80.
Hylton, T. A., mention of, 69–70.

I

Iba, C., biog. of, 796.
Idaho, Nevada annexation scheme, 317.
Idaho Springs, town, hist. of, 598.
Iliff, J. W., biog. of, 385.
Illustrations, see Maps.
Immigration, to Oregon and Cal., 1839–46, 46; route of, in Colo, 1841, 356; Colo prospecting parties, 364 et seq.; return of, 375–6; overland, 1860–1, 398–400; Wyoming, 1841–3, 687.
Indians, Nev., victory of Pyramid lake, 209 et seq.; Hays defeats, 213 et seq.; troubles with, 1861–2, 217; victory of, 218; treaty with, 1862, 218; 1863–4, 219; battles with, 1864–6, 219–21; affairs of, 1874–80, 221–3; reservations, 221–3; hostilities, etc., 1849–82, 205 et seq.; attack on Hutton and Pierson's party, 1856–7, 206; hostilities, 1858–60, 207 et seq.; war council, 208; attack at Williams' station, 209; Colorado tribes, treaties, etc., 455–7; appropr. for, 1860, 457; brigandage, etc., of, 457; the Colo regiments, 459; hostile combination, etc., 1864, 460; outrages, etc., of, 1864, 461; council of, etc., July, 1864, 462; threatened devastation, 463–4; peace proposals of, 465–6; the Sand creek battle, 466 et seq.; renewal of hostilities, 1865, 467; treaty, 1865, 468; hostilities renewed, 1866–8, 469–70; Utes, tribes, territory, etc., of, 470; raids, etc., 1863, 471; treaties with, 1865–8, 471–2; head chief, 472–3; war with, 1878, 474–9; treaty, 1878, 479–81; Wyoming, hostilities of, 1862–3, 701; Sioux massacre, Grattan, 709; defeat of, 710; Cheyennes, 711; hostilities, 1867, 724; treaty, 1867, 726; Arapahoe and Cheyenne hostilities, 714–15; Sioux hostilities, 1864, 714–16; Connor and Sully's exped. ag'st, 1865, 717; treaty with, 717–18; Fetterman massacre, 720 et seq.; territory of, treaty of, 1868, etc., 766–7; Arapahoe depredations, etc., 767–8; Bates defeats Arapahoes, 771–2; Red Cloud, agency, 1873, 772–3; Sioux hostilities, 1876, 777 et seq.; treaties and reserves of, 1877–81, 781–2.
Industries, Colo, summary of, 639.
Insane asylum, Nev., 317.
Iron co., creation of, 72.
Irrigation, Nev., 290–1, 317–18; Colorado, 536–40; Wyoming, 801–2.
Irwin, J., biog. of, 625.
Ives, explorations of Colo, 517.
Ives, Butler, boundary commissioner, 1853, 155.

J

J. O. R. stump, cut, 678.
Jackson, G., gold discov. of, 376.
Jackson, H. B., biog. of, 639,
Jackson, W. S., R. R. president, 555.
Jameson, H. H., mention of, 69.
Jamison, A. E., mining discov. of, 1865, 103–4.
Janin, Louis, mention of, 142.
Jefferson, Pres., encourages exploration, 344.
Jefferson county, Colo, hist. of, 619–21.
Jefferson, territory of, attempt for, 1859, 403.
Jenkins, J. W., correspondence with Elbert, 436–7; biog. of, 653.
Jenney, W. P., explor. Black hills, 775.
Jennings, Wm, mention, 98.
Job, Moses, mention of, 74.
Johnson, Pres., veto of Colo state bill, 432.
Johnson, Gov., indorses Nev. petition, 1858, 83.
Johnson, E. P., biog. of, 748.
Johnson, W. T., mention of, 553.
Johnson county, Wyo., hist. of, 789–93.
Johntown, mention, 95.
Jones, delegate, election and defeat of, 1870–2, 749.
Jones, H. F., biog. of, 654.
Jones, Judge, app'tment of, 1861, 166.
Jones, Judge W. S., biog. of, 741–2.
Jones, Senator J. P., biog. of, 149; senator, 1873, 190–1; reëlection and monetary report of, 198 et seq.; the silver question, 320.
Jones, S. L., mention of, 225.
Journals, see Newspapers.
Juab co., creation of, 72.

Justice, Nev. and Utah, and judges, 1852, 72; 3d dist created, 1854, 75–6; first suit and trial, 1853, 1855, 76–7; popular administ. of, 86–7; U. S. court established, 89; judicial districts, 1861, 166; administ. of, 166 et seq., 172; Colorado, administ. of, 1860–1, 407–8; judiciary, 439–40, 445–6, 452; Wyoming, 747.
Julesburg, town, Inds. destroy, 715.

K

Kansas, territorial affairs of, 401.
Kansas Pacific R. R., Colo, 552 et seq.
Kellog, S. B., gold discov. of, 397; biog. of, 581.
Kelly, D. C., biog. of, 788–9.
Kelly, H. B., biog. of, 800.
Kelly, Henry, mention of, 280.
Kelsey, Benj., mention of, 53.
Kendall, Congressman C., election of, 1870, 190; 1872, 191; bill of, 291.
Kennedy, Richard, biog. of, 792.
Kennedy, W. R., biog. of, 624.
Kenyon, Asa, mention of, 74.
Kern, E. M., mention of, 62.
Ketchum, Capt. W. S., mention of, 692.
Kimball, H. C., in Wyoming, 1847–8, 694.
King, B. L., settler, 1852, 72; mention of, 81.
King, Clarence, explor. of, 362.
Kingman, Judge J. W., app't'ment, etc., of, 741–2.
Kinkead, Gov. J. H., election and biog. of, 1878, 193.
Kinna and Nye, mention of, 371.
Kinsey, S. A., mention of, 69, 71.
Kirby, Joseph, the Comstock discov., 100 et seq.
Kitely, W. J., biog. of, 650.
Klein, Jacob, biog. of, 172.
Kline, Perry A., biog. of, 484.
Knott, E. H., mention of, 73.
Knott, Thomas, mention of, 73, 75.
Knox, T. W., mention of, 382.
Knight, Jesse, biog. of, 786.
Kountze, L., mention of, 553.
Kuykendall, W. L., mention of, 719.

L

Lake county, Nev., jurisdiction difficulties of, 164.
Lake county, Colo, hist. of, 621–2.
Lake Tahoe, see Tahoe.
Lakes, Nev., descript. of, 10 et seq.; Colorado, 336–7.
Lancaster, A. B., biog. of, 277.
Land grants, Mexican, in Colo, 356.
Lander county, Nev., hist of, 264–5.
Lands, Nev., settlement of, etc., 71, 75, 250–3; Colorado, laws for, 430; grants to Colo, etc., 1876, 447; survey of, 533; Wyoming, school, 761; govt laws, etc., 762, 783.
Langford, N. G., supt Yellowstone nat. park, 771.
La Plata county, Colo, hist. of, 623.
Larimer county, Colo, hist. of, 625.
Laramie, see also Fort Laramie.
Laramie city, Wyo., founding of, 739.
Laramie county, Wyo., creation, etc., of, 736; hist. of, 794–801.
Laramie hills and plains, 660.
Las Animas county, Colo, hist. of, 627.
Las Animas grant, map, etc., 631.
Las Animas mining dist, formation of, 1871, 500.
La Salle, explorations of, 343.
Lassen, Peter, presides at meeting, 1857, 83; death of, 207.
Latter-day saints, see Mormons.
Law, John, biog. of, 624.
Lawrence, William, mention of, 795.
Lawrence company, prospecting exped. of, 365–6.
Laws, Wyo., code, 1868, 745.
Leadville, Colo, founding of, 396; riot, 1879–80, 448, 514–15; discov. of silver, organization, etc., 504 et seq.; name, 509; population and growth, 510; business of and map, 511–12; crime, etc., 512–13; riot in, 514–15.
Leavenworth, Col J. H., com. of, 424.
Leavenworth company, founding of Denver, 369.
Lee, Judge Alfred, appointment of, 72.
Lee, C. F., biog. of, 625.
Lee, E. M., app't'd sec. of state, 741.
Legislature, Nev., 1861, laws, etc., 158 et seq.; 1862-3, 176; loyalty of, 182–3; mining taxes, 194–5; Colorado, 427–8; territory of Jefferson, 406; Wyoming, 743, 756–8.
Lehow, O. E., biog. of, 586.
Leonard, O. R., chief-just., 322.
Lincoln county, Nev., hist. of, 271.
Linfrock, W. E., mention of, 717.
Lisa, Manuel, explor. of, 676.
Lobban, J. M., biog. of, 792.

Locke, Judge P. B., decisions, etc., of, 173; resignation of, 174.
Londoner, Wolfe, biog., etc., 412.
Long, R. A., biog. of, 652.
Long, Maj. S. H., explorations of, 348 et seq., 679.
Longmont, town, hist. of, 578–9.
Loomis, Abner, biog. of, 626.
Loomis, Washington, mention of, 70; execution of, 71.
Lovejoy, F. W., R. R. pres., 555.
Loveland, Chester, mention of, 81.
Loveland, William A. H., biog. of, 556.
Luman, John, biog. of, 787.
Lumber, Nev., 254, 287–90.
Lykins, D. J., biog. of, 654.
Lyon, J. E., mention of, 487.
Lyon co., Nev., hist. of, 258–9.

M

Mackay, J. W., Con. Virginia purchase, 134 et seq.; biog., 135.
Mackay, Mrs. J. W., charitable gift of, 301.
Magin, Antoine, 'Histoire Universelle,' 33.
Magnus, Peter, biog. of, 385.
Magraw, W. M. explor. of Colo, 1857, 361; mention of, 699.
Mails, Nev., Salt Lake city and S. Bernardino routes, 73; 1851–3, 226–7; daily overland, 1861, 229–30; Colo, Indian disturbances of, 1864, 462.
Maineville, F. De, biog. mention, 508.
Maldonado, Gabriel, mention of, 107.
Mammoth cave, Nev., descript. of, 4.
Mankin, John, Mormon property purchased, 81.
Manufactures, Nev., 1884, 286 et seq.
Manville, H. S., biog. of, 800.
Maps (also plans and illustrations), probable route of Cardenas, 27; Padre Font's map, 1777, 28; map by John Harris, 1605, 30; Granata Nova, 31; Utah and Nevada, 1795, 32; Rector's map, 1818, 33; Finley's map, 1826, 34; Escalante's route, 35; Frémont's route, 1843–4, 56; 1845, map, 61; route of the Oregon co., 63; Carson valley, 94; Escalante's route, 342; mines of Gilpin co., 380; Colorado in 1863, 409; Thornburg battle-ground, 475; Uncompahgre agency, 478; Uintah reservation, 480; San Juan mining district, 495; Leadville and vicinity, 511; plan of Denver, 550; maps, alignment of the Denver and Rio Grande R. R., around Dump monntain, 555; railroads of Colo, 556; Salida and vicinity, 585; Colorado springs and vicinity, 602; Las Animas grant, 631; J. O. R., stump, cut, 678; Old Fort Bridger, cut, 685; Fort Laramie in 1874, plan, 692; R. R. builders' fort, cut, 733; Yellowstone national park, 770; plan of Buffalo, 1884, 791.
Marcy, Capt. R. B., exped. of, Wyo., 1857, 699.
Marsh, Rob., biog. of, 794–5.
Marshall, F. J., biog. of, 589.
Marshall, G. W., biog. mention, 771.
Marshall, J. Y., biog. of, 507.
Marshall, Lieut W. L., explor. of, 362.
Martial law, Colo, proclamation of, 448, 514.
Martin, Thomas S., 'Narrative' of, 62.
Martyr, G. De L., biog. of, 652.
Marysville mines, discov. of, 566.
Mather, Eugene B., biog. of, 792.
Mauk, A. L., mention of, 789.
Maxwell grant, see Beaubien grant.
Maxwell, J. P., biog. of, 579.
May, David, biog. of, 624.
Mayfield, Wm, murder of Blackburn, 167.
McAllister, H., biog. of, 600.
McAvoy, J. A., biog. of, 787.
McBrown, I. E., biog. of, 385.
McCarty, Wm, biog. of, 789–90.
McCaslin, M. L., biog. of, 369.
McCook, Gov. E. M., app't ment of, etc., 436–7.
McCoy, G. W., biog. of, 649.
McCray, A. J., biog. of, 790.
McDougal, G., exped. of 1885, 64–5.
McDougal, J. H., mention of, 90.
McDougall, George, mention of, 60.
McFerran, Judge W. B., biog., 601–2.
McGaa, Wm, biog. of, 372.
McIlvoy, D. D., biog. of, 615.
McKay, Thomas, mention of, 45.
McLaughlin, C. H., biog. of, 571.
McLaughlin, P., the Comstock discov., 100 et seq.
McMarlin, James, mention of, 74, 76.
McWilliams, J. W., biog. of, 268.
Meek, Joseph, mention of, 43–4.
Meeker, N. C., app't ment and murder of, 473–5.
Meek, Stephen, mention of, 43–4.
Meldrum, J. M., defeat, election, 1882, 750.

Meldrum, N. H., elected sec. of state, 448.
Mercer, A. S., biog. of, 798.
Merchant, Harmon, biog. of, 654.
Meredith, Henry, death of, 212.
Merrill, Homer, biog. of, 789.
Merritt, Colo, relief of, Ute war, 475.
Mesa co., Colo, hist. of, 628.
'Mexican' mine, support system of, 112, cave in of, 113.
Mexico, Colo boundary, settlement of, 1819, 348.
Meyers, W. H., lieut-gov., 449.
Mighels, Henry, biog. of, 170.
Mighels, R. H., defeat of, election 1878, 193.
Miles, Col, battle with Sioux, June 1876, 778; captures Ind. supplies, etc., 780.
Miles, A. H., biog. of, 385.
Milheim, John, biog. of, 385.
Military, Nev., 1861–3, 181; Colorado posts and stations, 1847–57, 359–60; 1865–6, 469; troops organized 1861, 420; hist. of the 1st reg't, 421–3; 2d regiment, 423–4; 3d regiment, 424; militia in Ind. service, 1864, 461; Wyoming, stations estab. 1846, 688; post commanders, 1867, list. 724.
Millard co., creation of, 72.
Miller, C. F., biog. of, 805.
Miller, C. P., biog. of, 627.
Miller, Isaac C., biog. of, 789.
Miller, Joseph, mention of, 679.
Miners' League of Storey co., organization of, etc., 131–2.
Miners' Protective association, organization of, 130.
Mining, Nev., geology of great basin, 64–7; great basin, minerals of, 20–1; gold discovery, 1859, 86; geol. and config. of Comstock lode, 92–3; early gold mining, Nev., 93; the Grosch silver discov., 1853, 96; Comstock's discov., 98 et seq.; claims located, 103 et seq.; Hardin's discov., 1849, 103–4; Reese River dist, 103–4; Potosi dist, 104; Washoe, name, etc., 104; claims, etc., 105 et seq.; quartz law, 1859, 107–8; Gold hill mines, 109; mills and processes, 110 et seq.; processes and machinery, 111 et seq.; timbering system, etc., 112 et seq.; tailings, processes, etc., 116 et seq.; descript. of mining terms, 121–2; litigation, etc., 122, 173; laws, 127, 177; stock board organized, 1862, 129; stocks, 129 et seq.; temperature of mines, table, 130; miners' wages, 130 et seq.; yield, etc., 132 et seq., stocks, rise and decline of, 137 et seq.; yield of Comstock, 1881, 140; Sutro tunnel, 141 et seq.; depths of mines, 174–8; geol. of Comstock, 149; litigation over, 173; taxation, 194; mineral productions, etc., 201; questionable value of mines, 224; Comstock ethics, 225; coal, 241–2; miscellaneous minerals, 242–3; Reese river mines, 265; mineral land, 253; White Pine mines, 277–9; Eureka co., 281–2; yield, 283; Esmeralda county, 259; Elko county, 275–6; Lincoln co., 271; miners' union, 304; legislation, 1887, 318, 320; Colorado geology, 330–2; minerals, 332–3; gold discoveries, 1852, 363 et seq.; prospecting expeds, 364 et seq.; disappointed gold-seekers, 1859, 374–5; gold discoveries, 1859, 376; Gregory's discovery, 377–9; laws adopted, 1859, 378; yield and finds, 1859, 379; mines of Gilpin county, map, 380; other finds, 1859, 381 et seq.; at Cal. gulch, etc., 1860–1, 396–7; mining ditch, 1859, 397; mills, etc., 1860, 398; production, 1859–60, 419; placers, production and decline of, 482; quartz-mills, 483; processes, 484; yield, 484–5; silver discov., 485–6, 492; Colorado Smelting co., 486; lead, 486–7; management of mines, 488–9; mines and mills, 494; San Juan mining dist, map, etc., 495; diamonds, 497; surrender of Ute reserve, 501; mining in, 501–3; Cal. gulch, new discov. in, 504 et seq.; smelting, 508; miners' strike, 513; smelters, Leadville, 1879, 516; prospecting, Gunnison country, 516 et seq; coal discov., 1877, 522–3; silver and gold discov's, 1879, 523; geology of Gunnison mines, 524; national mining exposition, 565; Chaffee county, 581–90; Silver Cliff dist, 596–7; Gilpin co., 610; summary of, 639–49; yield, 1886–7, 645; Wyoming geology, 663; De Smet's gold discov., 686–7; early prospecting, 695; gold discov. by Reynolds, etc., 700; gold discov., 1867, 730; quartz, 733; Custer's mineral report, 773; Black hills, attempts to purchase, etc., 774 et seq.; coal, 785.
Mint, Nev., founding, etc., of, 314; Colorado, 428.
Mirage, Nev., mention of, 5.

Missionaries, Wyo., 1834–9, 685–6.
Missouri Fur co., 677–8.
Mitchell, H. K., mention of, 142; defeat of, election, 1866, 188.
Moffatt, D. H., biog. of 572.
Mojaves, Indians, Garcés' visit to, 28–9.
Monahan, Deane, biog. of, 801.
Monetary commission, Nevada's share in, 198 et seq.
Monheimer, J. H., biog. of, 625.
Montrose county, Colo, hist. of, 628.
Moonlight, Gov. T., app'tment, etc., of, 754.
Moore, M. R., biog. of, 586.
Morgan, C. S., biog. of, 801.
Morgan, G. T., biog. of, 800.
Morgan, T. G., biog. of, 269.
Morgan exploring exped., 67.
Mormon battalion, Colo, 357–9,
Mormon cave, Nev., descript. of, 4.
Mormons, Nev., settlements of, 65–6, 68; in Carson valley, 78; exodus of, 80; discov. of Potosi mines, 104; legislation against, 317; in Wyoming, 694, 696.
Morrisites, Wyo., 703.
Morrison, Geo. H., biog., etc., of, 316.
Morrison, J. H., biog. of, 384.
Morrison, S. B., biog. of, 384.
Morrissey, J. D., biog. of, 508.
Mott, Judge G. N., app'tment of, 157, 166; elected delegate to cong., 1862, 176; resignation of, 173.
Mottsville, mention of, 72.
Mount Vernon, founding of, 380–1.
Mountain City, founding of, 382.
Moynahan, James, biog. of, 573.
Munkers, G. W., biog. of, 728–9.
Murat, H., biog. of, 371.
Murdock, N. E., mention of, 254.
Murphy company in Nevada, 1844, 59–60.
Murphy, M. H., mention of, 795.
Musser, Delegate J. J., election of, 90.
Myers, J. W., biog. of, 786.

N

Nagle, E., biog. of, 806.
Names of persons (early pioneers, etc.), Nev., member of ter'l gov't meeting 1857, 82; committees for govt, 1858, 83; officials and candidates, election 1858, 85; early settlers, 86; mining locators up to Sept., 1859, 105–6; locators Gold Hill mines, 109; councilmen, representatives, etc., 1861, 158–9; 1862–3. 177; county commissioners, 1861–2, 162; Lake co. officers, 164; early school-teachers, etc., 168; members, state conven, etc., 1863, 179; 1864; 180; volunteer officers, 1865, 181–2; state officers, 1864, 184; 1868–70, 189–90; 1874–5, 191–2; 1878–9, 193–4; members legisl., 1865, 185; Ormsby's Indian rangers, 209 et seq.; road and railroad owners, etc., 232–3; railroad incorporators, 238 et seq.; stock-raisers, 247–8; clergymen, 293–301; Colorado members Escalante's explor. party, 339–40; residents of Pueblo, 1846–7, 358; early prospecting parties, 364 et seq.; Cherokee prospecting party, 1858, 364–5; founders of Denver, 369; mine discoverers, 1859, 379; town founders, 1859, 381; Arkansas valley settlers, 387 et seq.; Colorado city, town, co., 389–90; Cañon city founders, 391–4; Frémont co. settlers, 394; Pueblo pioneers, 394–5; residents Cal. gulch, 1860, 396; pioneers at Granite, 397; county commissioners, etc., 1859, 402; constit. convention delegates, 1860, 405; ter. officials of Jefferson, 1860, 406; ter. officers, 1861, 413; grand jury, 1861, 414; members legisl. 1861, 416; councilmen 2d session, 420; members constit. conven., 1864, 431; 1876, 433; judiciary, 1865–75, 439–40; 1876, 445–6; other state officials, etc., 440–3; state officers, 1876, 444–5; 1886, 647; pres. electors, 1884, 452; the Sand creek participants, 467; immigrants to Montana, 483; mines and mill owners, 483–4; silver discoverers, 493–4; bankers, and officials of Leadville, 511–12; explorers of Gunnison co., 516 et seq.; journalists, 527–32; Denver officials, 1861, 549; Pioneer association, 571; pioneers Boulder co., 575–80; Chaffee co. pioneers, 583 et seq.; Silver Cliff officials, 1879–81, 598; Gilpin co. pioneers, 615; settlers Golden city, 620–1; pioneers of Pueblo co., 630 et seq.; Wyoming, Missouri fur company, 677–8; early trappers, 681; milit. officers, etc., 1847, 689, 698; miners, 1868, 732; Cheyenne founders, etc., 734–5; Laramie co. officials, 1867, 737; ter. officials, 1869, 741; members legis. 1870,

743; county officials, 744; Cheyenne officials, 1869, 746; judiciary, 747–8; officials Hoyt and Thayer's administ., 751–2, ter. officials, 1884, 753; officials Moonlight's administ.; 754; university regents, 761; members Doane's exped. 1873, 769; Uinta co. pioneers, etc., 784–6; Wind river valley, 787; Carbon co., 788; Cheyenne editors, 798–9.
Natrona county, Wyo., 758.
Nevada, general discript. of, 1 et seq.; origin of name, 23, 150; earliest explorations of, 26 et seq.; first European in, 27; maps of, 27, 28, 30–6; immigration through, 54; first settlements, 1849, 65–6; organization of Deseret, 66; organization of ter., etc., 82 et seq.; Comstock mines, 92 et seq.; area and boundaries, 151 et seq.; organization of ter., 1861, 157; election 1861, 158; ter. seal, 161; the silver question, 198 et seq.; transportation, etc., 226 et seq.; general condition, 1883–6, 285; finances of, 1871–88, 310 et seq.; politics, 1862 et seq., 176; admission as state, 179; state seal, 180; loyalty to union, etc., 1861–5; 181 et seq.
Nevada Central R. R., 238–9.
Nevada, Colo, founding of, 380–1.
Nevada silver association, organization of, 200.
Nevada and Oregon Narrow Gauge R. R., 240.
Nevers, S. A., biog. of, 81.
New Mexico, Colo boundary line, 1868–9, 498–900.
New river, see Reese river.
Newspapers, Nev., hist. of, 169; list and founders of, 305–8; Colorado, 527; Leadville, 515; Wyoming, 'Sweetwater mine,' 732; Cheyenne Argus, Leader, and Rocky Mountain Star, 735; Laramie city, 794; Cheyenne, 798–9.
Nickerson, H. G., biog. of, 768.
Nidever, George, explor., etc., of, 39–41; battle with Blackfeet, 40; with Shoshones, 42–3.
Niles, Surveyor H. W., election of, 1854, 76.
Noble, Lieut, defeat of, 218.
Noble, Worden, biog. of, 732.
Nomenclature, Nevada, 23.
North, Judge J. W., app't'd surv.-gen., 1861, 157–8; app'tment and decisions of, 173; resignation of, 174.
North American fur co., 679–80.
Northern mystery, mention of, 32.
Northington, B. F., biog. of, 790.
Nuckolls, E., biog. of, 622.
Nuckolls, Delegate S. F., election of, 743.
Nuestra, Señora las Nieves, Colo, Escalante at, 340.
Nye, Gov. James W., boundary address of, 153; app'tment of, 157; elected senator, 186–7; defeat of, 1873, 190–1.
Nye, M. C., mention of, 47.
Nye co., Nev, hist. of, 269.

O

Oakes, D. C., biog., etc., of, 367, 373 et seq.
Obiston, F. F., biog. of, 592.
O'Brien, Maj. N. J., biog. of, 715.
O'Brien, W. S., Con. Virginia purchase, 134 et seq.; biog., 135.
O'Connor, Dr J. W., biog. of, 584.
Ogden, P. S., biog. and explorations of, 36–37.
Ohmertz, Miss Millie, biog., 584.
Oil-basins, Wyo., 804.
Olds, John, mention of, 73.
Olds, L., mention of, 73.
Olerichs, Harry, biog. of, 801.
'Ophir,' mine discov., etc., of, 98 et seq.; timbering system of, 113 et seq.; lawsuits, etc., of, 122 et seq.; yield, 132.
Oregon battalion, 689.
Oregon immigration, route of, 60; Scott-Applegate co., 62; map of route, 63.
O'Riley, Peter, the Comstock discov., 100 et seq.; biog. and death, 107.
Ormsby, Maj., Indian battle of, 210; death of, 211.
Ormsby, W. M., memorial of, 83.
Ormsby co., Nev., railroad troubles of, 236–7; hist. of, 255.
Oro city, Colo., see Leadville.
Osborn, W. B., biog. of, 626.
Osburn, J. A., member Ophir co., 105.
Otis, H. G., founds Central, 382.
Ouray, Ind. chief, biog. of, 473.
Ouray co., hist. of, 629.
Outcalt, J. B., mention of, 618.
Overland Telegraph co., 231.
Overland Traffic, Colo, 398–400.

P

Pacific Coast Pioneer society, 305.

Pacific Telegraph co., 555–7.
Pacific Wood, Lumber, and Flume co., 288–9.
Paddleford, G. F., settlement of Elko, 276.
Pah Utes, Inds, hostilities of, 1857, 206 et seq.; reservation of, 221.
Palmer, J. A., settlement of Carlin, 276.
Pattee, J. M., Wyo. lottery, 745.
Palmer, Gen. W. J., R. R. enterprises, etc., of, 553–5, 600; biog., 603–4.
Paris exposition, Nev. mineral specimens at, 305.
Park co., Colo, hist. of, 629.
Parker, C. M., biog. of, 656–7.
Parkinson, Controller R. W., election of, 188.
Parks, gold discovd by, Colo, 364.
Parsons, prospecting exped. of, 519–20.
Patio mining process, descript., 117.
Patterson, A. H., biog. of, 626.
Patterson, E. H. F., silver discov. of, 493.
Patterson, Delegate T. M., election of, 1874, 437; defeat of, election 1878, 449.
Pattie, biog. of, 352.
Patton, R. F., bravery of, 716.
Paul, A. B., sec. sanitary commis., 182.
Paul, Henry, biog. of, 616.
Pauly, P. J., biog. of, 651.
Payne, Capt., battle with Utes, 474–7.
Pease co., Wyo., boundary of, 784.
Peck, Geo., biog. of, 366.
Penitentiary, Nev., hist. of, 314–15; Wyo., 745.
Penrod, Emanuel, the Comstock discov., 101 et seq.; mention of, 107.
Penrod, Comstock, & Co., mine of, etc., 103.
Peralta, battle at, 423.
Pesse, E. L., defeat, election 1878, 750.
Peters, T. W., biog. of, 801.
Petrified forest, Nev., 4.
Physical features, Nev., descript. of, 6 et seq.; Colo, 323–4, 333–6; Wyo., 659–71.
Pierce, J., mention of, 553.
Pierson, Capt., battle with Pah Utes, 206.
Pierson, O. H., mention of, 86, 90, 108.
Pigeon rancho, battle at, 422–3.
Pike, Z. M., explorations of, 344 et seq.
Pike's Peak, discov. of, 345.
Pile, Gov., prospecting party of, 500.
Pioche, F. L. A., mention of, 272.
Pioche, Nev., settlement, etc., of, 272.
Pioche and Bullionville R. R., 239.
Pioneer Stage line, organization of, 227.
Pitkin, Gov. F. W., election and biog. of, 448; defeat of, senatorial election 1883, 451–2.
Pitkin co., Colo, hist. of, 630.
Pitt, Thomas, mention of, 74.
Placerville and Humboldt Telegraph co., 230.
Plans, see maps.
Playter, J. H., biog. of, 624–5.
Plumas co., Cal., jurisdiction troubles of, 164.
Politics, Nev., elections, Carson co., 1854, 76; Id., 1856, 78; 1859, 89–90; 1861, 158; 1862, 176; for state conven 1863, 177–8; 1864, 180–4; 1866, 188; 1868 and 1870, 189; 1874, 191–2; 1876, 192; 1878, 193; 1880, 203–4; Mormons and anti-Mormons, 84–5; state convention, 177 et seq.; party split, 178–9; state admission, 1864, 190; 1861–5, 181 et seq.; republicans, Nev., victory of, 1868, 189; defeat of, 1870, 189–91; election, 1876, 192; 1878, 193; legislative majorities of, 198; defeat of, 203–4; senatorial elections, 1865, 186–7, 1873, 190–1; democrats, defeat of, 1868, 189; victory of, 1870, 189–91; election, 1876, 192; 1878, 193; victory of, 203–4; 1886–7, 320–1; Colorado elections, at Auraria, 1860, 403; 1862, 429; 1874, 436–7; 1876, 442–5; 1878, 449; 1884, 452; 1886, 647; constit. convention, etc., 1860, 404 et seq ; republicans, victory of, election, 1861, 416; convention 1861, 415–16; politics, 1861–86, 426–54; democrats, organization of, 1862, 429; victory of, 1874, 436–7; Wyoming, women's rights in, 746; elections, time fixed for, 748; Laramie county, election, 1867, 737; 1870, 742–3; elections for delegate, 1870–84, 749–50.
Pollock, I. J., biog. of, 623.
Pomeroy, Justin, biog. of, 785–6.
Pony express, 213, 228, 399.
Population, Nev., 1860–1. 167 et seq.; Lincoln county, 273; Colo, census, 1860, 414; 1876, 446; Wyoming, 783.
Post, Delegate M. E., biog. of, 734; election, etc., of, 750.

Potosi Mining co., litigation of, 173.
Powell, in the Cole divorce case, 74.
Powell, Maj. J. W., explor. of Gunnison country, 517; Ind. battle of, 725.
Pray, A. W., mention of, 254.
Preble, C. S., important advice of, 252.
Public buildings, Nev., 314 et seq.; Colo, 606–8.
Pueblo, Colo, residents of, 1846–7, 358; founding of, 394–6; hist. of, 630–3.
Pueblo county, Colo, hist. of, 630.
Pursley, James, gold discov. of, 347.
Putnam, C. A. V., elected state printer, 191.
Pyramid lake, descript. of, 12; discovery of, 1844; 58; battle of, 209 et seq.

Q

Quivira, mention, of, 32–3.

R

Railroad builders' fort, cut, 733.
Railroads, Nev., 232 et seq.; fares and freights, 234–5; interstate commerce bill, 318–19; business and progress of, 319–20; Colo, act for survey, 1853, 360; beginning, etc., of, 552 et seq.; map, 556; progress, 1886–8, 646; Wyo., construction, etc., of, 733, 804.
Raynolds, Capt. W. F., explor. of, 765–6.
Rector, William, map of, 1818, 33–4.
Red Cloud, Ind. chief, 718, 769.
Redding, John, mention of, 72.
Reel, A. H., biog. of, 806.
Reese, John, mention of, 67, 73; trading-post, etc., 68–70; bridge franchise of, 72; explor. of route, 75. lawsuit of, 76.
Reese river, origin of name, 24.
Reithmann, Emile, biog. of, 654.
Reithmann, J. J., biog. of, 372.
Reithmann, L. D., biog. of, 372.
Reitz, Henry, biog. of, 372–3.
Religion, Nev., 293–301; Colo, 560–4.
Reno, Major, Sioux campaign, 778–9.
Reno, Nev. hist., etc., of, 255–6, 293, 315.
Republicans, see Politics.
Reynolds, Col, explor. of, 361.
Reynolds, Gen'l. battle with Crazy Horse, 1876, 777.
Reynolds, James, robberies of, 1864, 425.
Reynolds, Capt. W. F., explor. of, 1859, 699, 700.
Rhodes, L. R., biog. of, 655.
Rice, J., biog., etc., of, 633.
Richards, J. W., biog. of, 385.
Richardson, A. D., mention of, 382.
Richardson, S., Gunnison exped. of, etc., 519 et seq.
Rickman, Robert, mention of, 47.
Riley, Capt., milit. exped. of, 351.
Riling, John, biog. of, 623.
Riner, C. W., biog. of, 805.
Rio Buenaventura mystery, mention of, 34.
Rio Grande county, Colo, hist. of, 632.
Rische, biog. of, 507.
Rivers (see also Physical Features), Nev., descript. of, 14–16; Colo, 227–8.
Roads, Nev., 1854, 227; 1856–9, 232; Colo, 1859, 397; Wyo., 699.
Robinson, Lyman, biog. of, 507–8.
Robertson, N., biog. of, 734.
Robison, G. B., assassination of, 448.
Robinson, Judge R., app'd boundary comm'rs, 154.
Roche, Mayor, closes gambling dens, 649.
Rock Springs, Wyo., riot against Chinese, 1885, 753–4.
Rocky Mountain Fur co., 680–1.
Rogers, W. B., biog. of, 654.
Rollandet, Edward, biog. of, 655.
Roller, W. W., biog. of, 582.
Rollins, A. J., mention of, 71.
Rooker, Mrs, at Denver, 1858, 371.
Rooney, S. R., mention of, 293.
Roop, Gov. S., election, etc., of, 90; mention, 164.
Roop co., Nev., descript. of, 262.
Rose, J. H., mention of, 72, 78, 80–1.
Rothwell, Dr E. J., biog. of, 657.
Routes, post, in Colo, 438.
Routt, Gov. J. L., appointment and biog. of, 437; election of, 1876, 444; disposal of school lands, 447–8.
Routt co., Colo, hist. of, 635.
Rowell, C. J., biog. of, 507.
Roy, H. A., biog. of, 799.
Rudd, Anson. biog. of, 393–4.
Ruff, Capt. C. T., establishes Fort Kearny. 689–90.
Russell, W. G., exped., etc., of, 364–5; journal. 373; biog., 379.
Russell, W. H.. mention of, 228.
Rutledge, T. W., mention of, 802.

Ryan, B. T., biog. of, 789.
Ryan, J. J., biog. of, 626.

S

Sabine boundary, arrangem't for, 343.
Saguache co., Colo, hist. of, 636.
Salaza, A. A., biog. of, 594.
Salida, town, hist. of, 584; map of and vicinity, 585.
Salomon, F. Z., mention of, 371.
Salt Lake, descript. of, 11.
Salt Lake City, founders, mention of, 65.
Sampson, A. J., biog. of, 444.
San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board, organization of, 1862, 129.
San Francisco and Washoe R. R., 233.
San Juan co., Colo, hist. of, 636.
San Juan mining district, map, 195.
San Miguel co., Colo, hist. of, 637.
Sanborn, Gen., Ind. treaty of, 1865, 468.
Sand creek affair, Colo, 468 et seq.
Sangree de Cristo grant, see Beaubien grant.
Sanitary fund, contributions to, Nev., 182.
Santa Fé trail, 350–2.
Sarpey, P. A., biog. of, 353.
Sawyer, E. H., mention of, 608.
Schleier, G. C., biog. of, 369.
Schnitger, Gustave, biog. of, 796.
School land, Colo, legisl. on, 447.
Schussler, H., survey of, 257.
Scott, J. D., gold discov. of, 376.
Scott J. H., mention of, 71, 73.
Scott, Levi, explor. of, 62.
Scott Bluffs, descript. of, 693.
Seal, territorial, Nevada, 161; Colo, state, 418.
Sears, H. D., mention of, 76.
Sears, J. P., biog. of, 384.
Sea, inland, Nev., supposition of, 10–11.
Seavy, M. M., biog. of, 385.
Seaton mine, mention of, 485.
Serré, M., in Bonneville's party, 681.
Sessions, D. R., mention of, 316.
Sharon, Senator Wm, withdraws senatorial contest, 1873, 190–1; election of, 1875, 191–2; biog. of, 204; R. R. built by, 236–7.
Shattuck, J. C., biog. of, 445.
Sheldon, M., biog., etc., of, 633.
Sheridan co., Wyo., 758.
Sheridan, Gen., Ind. reserve orders, 1874, 774.
Sheridan, town, hist. of, 793.
Shermantown, descript. of, 280–1.
Sherrer, Jacob, biog. of, 654.
Shoshones, Indians, Nidever's battle with, 42–3.
Shute, Rufus, biog. of, 622.
Sibley, Gen., milit. movements of, 1861, 421 et seq.
Sides, R. D., eo. treasurer, 1854, 76.
Sierra de la Grulla, Escalante names, 340.
Silver congress, Denver, 1885, 451.
Simpson, Capt. J. H., mention of, 24, 699.
Sinclair, William, mention of, 40–1.
Sioux, hostilities of, 1854, 709; Harney defeats, 1856, 710; 1867, 724; war with, 1876, 777 et seq.; removal of, 781.
Sitting Bull, Ind. chief, battle with Crook, June, 1876, 778; Custer, 778–9; in British possessions, 780.
Six-mile cañon, mining camps in, 95.
Skerritt, Thomas, biog. of, 384–5.
Skull valley, origin of name, 23–4.
Slack, A. E., biog. of, 798.
Slingerland, Lt-gov. J. S., election of, 188.
Slough, Col, resignation of, 423.
Smedley, Wm, biog. of, 655.
Smith, A. J. mention of, 402.
Smith, Capt. E., mention of, 750.
Smith, E. B., biog. of, 484.
Smith, H. P. A., resolution of, 404.
Smith, J. R., biog. of, 793.
Smith, J. S., explorations of, 38–9.
Smith, Martin, memorial of, 1858, 83.
Smith, P. L., biog. of, 789.
Smith, Maj. S. P., Ind. vict. of, 220–1.
Smith, Wm, Ind. massacre of, 768.
Smoke, Mrs, mention of, 371.
Smythe, S. S., biog. of, 656.
Sness, Henry, biog. of, 655.
Snyder, A. C., mention of, 800.
Snider, E. N., biog. of, 790.
Snyder, J. R., mention of, 60.
Snyder, J. W., mention of, 800.
Society, Nev., first marriage, ball, and divoree, 73; Mormon plan of, 1856, 79; gambling penalties, etc., 1861, 162; crime, 167, 171–2, 291–2; Chinese, 292; education, 292–3; religion and churches, 293–301; benevolent societies, 301; fraternal societies, 302; libraries, 303; sciences, 305; newspapers, 305–8; Colo, crime, 1860–3, 408–10, 412, 512–13; general, 567–70; summary of, 641–2; Wyo., crime and vig. committee, Cheyenne, 738.

Solomon, Dr J., biog. of, 657.
Sopris, Richard, biog., etc., of, 368, 382.
South Pass city, founding of, 731.
Southard, Samuel, biog. of, 639.
Spaulding, C. W., mention of, 795.
Spencer, Samuel, wan rings of, 350.
Spickeman, A. H., mention, 622.
Spink, Delegate S. L., election of, 1868, 739.
Springmeyer, Senator, mention of, 290.
Squires, Al., mention of, 73.
St Vrain, Col C., biog., 353.
Stage lines, Nev., 1857–9, 227 et seq.; Colo, 399–400.
Stahle, E. F., biog. of, 805.
Stallcup, J. C., biog of, 573.
Standart, S. H., biog. of, 573.
Stanford, Leland, railroad affairs of, 232.
Stanley, R. H., biog. of, 624.
Stansbury, Capt. H., mention of, 695; explor. of, 764.
Stanton, I. N., biog. of, 635.
Statehood, Colo, efforts for, 1862–4, 430–1; admission, 432–3.
Stard, J. H., biog. of, 585–6.
Stebbins, Mart., mention of, 81.
Stedman, Dr A., biog. of, 657.
Steele, Gov. R. W., biog. of, 410.
Steele, Delegate W. R., elections and defeat of, 1872–6, 749.
Steinberger, A., delegate to congress, 1858, 403.
Steptoe, Col, mention of, 24, explor. of, 1854, 361.
Steptoe valley, origin of name, 24.
Stevens, Elisha, trip through Nevada, 59–60.
Stevens, W. H., mineral discov. of, 504–5.
Stevenson, C. C., gov. 1886, 320–1; biog. of, 321.
Stewart, Capt., Indian victory of, 213 et seq.
Stewart, Frank, mention of, 100.
Stewart, Senator Wm M., pres. Sutro Tunnel co., 142; att'y fees of, 127; biog., etc., of, 174; secedes from Union party, 178–9; election of, 1865, 185; 1887, 320; Idaho annexation, 317.
Stiles, Judge G. P., appointment of, 76.
Stock-raising, Nev., 247; Colo, 543 et seq.; first attempts, etc., cattle, 543–4; grasses, 544; laws, 545; cattle companies, 545–6; sheep and wool, 546–7; horses and mules, 547; Wyoming, 802–3.
Stoddard, mention of, 793.
Stone, A. W., judge, 1885, 440.
Stone, Judge W. F., biog. of, 411; election of, 446.
Storey, Capt., death and biog. of, 215.
Storey county, Nev., descript. of, 256–7; R. R. troubles of, 236–8.
Stowel, C. S., quartz-mill of, 494.
Strait, W. W., biog., etc., of, 633.
Streeter, Judge Rienzi, biog. of, 650.
Strike, Denver & R. G. R. R., 1885, 453.
Strock, D. D., biog. of, 615.
Sublette, W., mention of, 40, 683.
Sully, Gen. A., Indian victories, 1864, 714.
Summit county, Colo, hist. of, 637.
Sumner, E. C., biog. of, 385.
Sumner, Col E. V., defeats the Cheyennes, 711–12.
Sunderland, T., mention of, 236.
Sutro, Adolph, organization, etc., of Sutro tunnel, 141 et seq.; defeat, senatorial contest, 1875, 191–2.
Sutro tunnel co., organization, hist., etc., of, 141 et seq.
Swan, Delegate A. H., election and biog. of, 750, 800.
Swan, W. R., biog. of, 805–6.
Swasey, W. F., mention of, 60.
Sweetwater co., Wyo., name, 744; hist. of, 786.
Symes, G. R., congressman, 1884, 449.

T

Tabor, Senator H. A. W., at Cal. gulch, 1860, 396; wealth of, 507; biog. of, 508–9; elected lieut-gov., 448.
Tahoe, lake, descript. of, 13; origin of name, 24–5.
Talbot, Theodore, mention of, 62.
Talcott, M., mineral discov. of, 264.
Taylor, D. C., biog. of, 654.
Telegraph, Nev., 1861, 230; 1863–6, 231; Colorado, 555–8.
Teller, Senator H. M., election and biog. of, 445; app't'd Sec. of Interior, 451; Ind. service of, 463.
Territorial organization (see also government and politics), Colo, 1861, 413; Wyo., efforts for, 739; admission, 740.
Terry, Gen., Sioux campaign, 778.
Teschmacher, H. E., biog. of, 801.
Thatcher, Justice H. C., election and biog. of, 445.
Thayer, Gov. J. M., app'tm't of, 750.

Thomas, John, mention of, 69.
Thomas, Rufus, mention of, 69.
Thombs, P. R., biog. of, 632.
Thompson, Allen, biog. of, 805.
Thompson, H. S., mention of, 90.
Thompson, J. A., stage line of, 227.
Thompson, James, mention of, 100.
Thornburg, Capt., death, etc., of, 474–7.
Thornburg battle-ground, map, 475.
Thornton, H. I., mention of, 191.
Thorrington, W. B., mention of, 73; execution, etc., of, 84.
Tilton, Virginia, Virginia City named for, 168.
Timpanogos river, descript. of, 15.
Tooele co., creation of, 72.
Topography, great basin, descript. of, 1 et seq.
Towns, Nev., founded by Mormons, 1856, 79; hist., etc., 253 et seq.; Colo, birth of, 380–2; founded, 1886–7, 644.
Townsend, U. S. marshal, mention of, 427.
Trading posts, Nev., 66 et seq.; Colo, 354–6.
Treasure City, descript. of, 280.
Trefen, Rev. J. L., Methodist Mining co., 295.
Tritle, F. A., defeat of, 1870, 190.
Truckee river, mention of, 16.
Tucker, A. W., biog. of, 615–16.
Tucker, L. R., Leadville riot, 514.
Tucker, explor. of, 388.
Tuffy, G., treasurer, 322.
Tulloch, James, mining convention of, 118.
Turner, Judge G., app't'd chief just., 1861, 157, 166; resignation of, 174.
Tutt, Lieut J. W., mention of, 207–8.
Tuttle, J. E., biog. of, 806.

U

Uinta co., Wyo., creation of, 744; hist. of, 784–6.
Uintah mountains, descript. of, 8.
Uncompahgre agency, map, 478.
Uncompahgre co., see Ouray co.
Union Pacific R. R., Colo, 552.
Unionville, Nev., founding, etc., of, 263–4.
United States and Mexico Telegraph co., 557–8.
Utah lake, descript of, 12.
Utah territory, division of, 72.
Utah, western, see Nevada and Carson co.
Ute reservation, treaty releasing portion, 1873, 301.
Ute Inds, removal of, etc., 450; territory tribes, etc., of, 470; raids of, etc., 1863, 471; councils with, 1865–6, 471–2; treaty and head chief, 1868–75, 472; devastations, etc., of, 1876, 473; war with, 474–8; Thornburg battle-ground, map, 475; treaty, 1878, 479–81.

V

Van Deren, A. J., biog. of, 484.
Van Sickle, Henry, mention of, 73, 76.
Valleys, Colo, 329.
Verendrey, S. De la, exped. of, 1743–4, 674.
Vickers, W. B., mention of, 347.
Vidal, Louis P., biog. of, 787.
Vigilance committees, see Crime.
Virginia City, founding, etc., of, 108; population, etc., 167–8; hist. and descript. of, 257.
Virginia Consolidated Mining co., mill of, 118; hist. of, 133 et seq.; output of, etc., 137; taxation of, 196.
Virginia and Truckee R. R. co., subsidy to, etc., 195, 236–8.

W

Wasatch mountains, descript. of, 9.
Waid, O. C., biog. of, 806.
Waldheimer, M. J., biog. of, 573.
Walker, E. T., democratic rioter, 649.
Walker, Capt. R., trapping exped., 41, 44; in Bonneville party, 681.
Walker, Joseph, party of, mention, 62.
Walker lake, descript. of, 12–13.
Walker river, descript. of, 15.
Walrod, A., biog. of, 367.
Walsh, James, purchase of Comstock, mining share, etc., 105–6.
Walton, R., mention of, 254.
Wanless, John, defeat, election 1870, 749.
Ward, Judge J. S., mention of, 164.
Warren, Gov. F. E., app't'ment, etc., of, 753–4; biog., 754.
Warren, Lieut G. K., explor. of, 361, 765.
Warren, G. W., mention of, 254.
Washburne, H. D., explor. of, 361.

Washington co., creation of, 72.
Washoe co., Nev., hist. of, 255–6.
Washoe lake, waters of, 14.
Washoe mines, name, 104.
Washoes, Ind, troubles, etc., with, 206–7.
Wasson, Warren, Ind. agent, 216.
Water rights, Nev., mining and other purposes, 1855, 77.
Watkins, R. G., Ind. battle of, 211.
Watt, Cullen, biog. of, 792.
Weatherlow, Wm, app't'd Ind. commis., 209.
Webb, E. H., biog. of, 582.
Webb, Joseph, mention of, 72.
Webber, N. T., biog. of, 792.
Weber, Charles, mention of, 47.
Weber co., creation of, 72.
Weber river, descript. of, 15.
Weld, secretary, removal and death of, 427.
Weld co., Colo, hist. of, 638.
Wells, E. T., judge, 440, 445.
Wells, Geo., 'Book of Deeds,' MS., 101.
Wells, J. H., biog. of, 650.
Wells, R. C., mention, 622.
Wenban, Simeon, biog. of, 282.
Wenzell, C. H., biog. of, 625.
Wessels, Gen. H. W., mention of, 724.
Western Utah, see Nevada and Carson co.
Westonn, Eugene, biog. of, 394.
Wheaton, Gen., Ind. peace proposals, 717.
Wheeler, B. A., biog. of, 653.
Wheeler, B. C., biog. of, 651.
Wheeler, F. A., biog., 623.
Wheeler, Geo. M., explor. of Colo, 362, 519.
Whitaker, Bishop, efforts to promote education, 293.
Whitcomb, E. W., biog. of, 800.
White, D. D., mention of, 483.
White, James, the Comstock discov., 101.
White Pine co., Nev., hist. of, 277.
Whitsitt, R. E., biog. of, 369.
Wiggin, O. P., biog. of, 353.
Wilkinson, Gen., Pike's exped., 344.
Williams, A. J., biog. of, 368; mention of, 543.
Williams, B D., resolution of, 404; election, 1861, 416.
Williams, Bill, mention of, 62.
Williams, E., wanderings of, 350.
Williams, Evan, biog., etc., of, 225, 290.
Williams, Ezekiel, explor. of, 1807, 676–7.
Williams, J. A., mention of, 76.
Williams, T. H., defeat, senatorial contest, 1874, 191–2.
Williamson, G. R., biog. of, 369.
Wilson, A. D., explorations of Colo, 499.
Wilson, B. F., biog. of, 269.
Wilson, C. F., biog. of, 623.
Wilson, P. S., biog. of, 652.
Wilson, W. S., biog. of, 266.
Winnemucca, Ind. chief, 208; troubles with, 219–20.
Winnemucca lake, descript. of, 13.
Winnemuccas, Inds, hostilities of, 209 et seq.
Winterbotham's History, mention of, 33.
Winters, J. D., the Comstock discov., 101.
Withrow, Chase, biog. of, 615.
Witter, Daniel, biog. of, 572.
Wolfskill party, mention of, 39.
Womack, S. P., discov. of Seaton mine, 493.
Wood, F. J., biog. of, 589.
Woodburn, W., congressman, 1886, 320.
Woodruff, J. D., biog. of, 787.
Woodward, mail contract of, 226.
Woodward, A., mention of, 69.
Wooten, R., mention of, 371.
Workman, J., wanderings of, 350–1.
Worrall, C. C., biog. of, 656.
Worthington, Congressman H. G., election of, 184.
Wren, Thos, defeat, senatorial election, 1880, 204.
Wright, A., biog. of, 576.
Wright, Wm, writings of, 95.
Wyeth, N. J., trapping exped. of, 682.
Wynkoop, Major, recovers Ind. prisoners, etc., 464–5.
Wyoming, hist. of, 659 et seq.; boundaries and surface, 659-71; early explor. of, 672 et seq.; settlement and prospecting for gold, 694; polit., social, and material affairs, 730 et seq.; railroads, 733; name and admission of, 1868, 740; finances of, 755; education, 761; resources and development, 1868–88, 783 et seq.
Wyoming Development co., 776, 799–802.

Y

Yamajabs, see Majaves.
Yates, J. E., biog. of, 795.

Yellow hills, descript. of, 8.
Yellowstone lake, descript., 665.
Yellowstone national park, map, etc., 770.
Yellowstone river, descript., 664.
Young, Brigham, the Potosi mines, 104; in Wyoming, 1848, 694.
Young L. M., mention of, 73.
Younker, J. T., biog. of, 366-7.

Z

Zweck, George, biog. of, 649.